MAP OF FRANCE

Before the Revolution

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Malmedy

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Bitburg

Treves

Coblentz

Ehrenbreitstein

Andernach

Bonn

Cologne

Juliers

Aix la Chapelle

Maestricht

Tongres

THE

REIGN

OF

LOUIS THE SIXTEENTH;

AND

COMPLETE HISTORY

OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

WITH

NOTES, Critical and Explanatory;

BY

JOHN GIFFORD, Esq,

AND OTHER ABLE HISTORIANS.

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1795.

BRITISH MUSEUM

LEWIS THE SIXTEENTH.

A. D. 1774.] SUCH was the joy displayed by the people on the death of their late monarch, that they unanimously hailed his successor by the flattering appellation of *Lewis the Desired*; but the youthful king—then only in his twentieth year—wisely rejected a distinction that cast so severe a reflection on his predecessor.

The contagious distemper which had put a period to the existence of Lewis the Fifteenth, was soon communicated to his three daughters, the princesses Adelaide, Sophia, and Victoire, whose tenderness and affection for a father had, during his illness, surmounted their fears of that dreadful disorder. As some physical writers had propagated the opinion, that the same causes which produce that disorder in an individual, may, probably, operate, at the same time, upon others of the same blood and family, at whatever distance, and without any direct communication of the infection, the nation now trembled for the safety of the king and his brothers; and it was deemed by many no improbable event, that the whole royal family might have been carried off by that fatal pest, which had long been its inveterate enemy.

The princesses, however, recovered from the natural disorder, and inoculation was happily called in to the preservation of the rest of the family. The king, with his two brothers, and the countess d'Artois, wife to the youngest, were all inoculated at the same time, and passed through the disorder with the greatest ease and safety. This example was sufficient to remove the prejudices which had hitherto existed against that important

diſcovery, and to extend the practice from the court, where it immediately became *faſhionable*, throughout the provinces of France.

No ſooner was the health of Lewis confirmed, than he ſedulouſly applied himſelf to conciliate the affections of his people. For this purpoſe he prudently reſolved to repeal the moſt obnoxious meaſures of the late reign, and to remove thoſe perſons from the management of public affairs, whoſe miſtakes or misfortunes had rendered them diſagreeable to the nation.

One of the moſt popular meaſures that was adopted, was the recal of the count de Maurepas to court, whence he had been baniſhed three-and-twenty years. This nobleman had formerly been miniſter for the marine department, a ſtation for which he was eminently qualified, and was, in all reſpects, conſidered as a man of great abilities. It is ſaid, that, in ſome papers which the dauphin, father to Lewis the Sixteenth, left behind him for the uſe of his ſon, and which was only to be delivered on his acceſſion to the throne, M. de Maurepas was ſtrongly recommended, as being poſſeſſed of ſuperior talents for preſiding in his council. Upon his return to court, he declined reſuming the ſuperintendency of the marine, but accepted a ſeat in the privy-council; and continued, without any particular title, to be the mover of all public affairs.

Several ladies of high quality, who, from their ſervile aſſiduities to the late favourite, had long baſked in the ſmiles of the court, were now baniſhed from thence; while others who had obſerved a different line of conduct were recalled, and honoured with particular marks of royal favour. Matters, trivial in appearance, are uſefully attended to by princes when they contribute, in any degree, to gain the good-will and love of their people. Small conſiderations create great funds of gratitude and affection. The young monarch, in paſſing through Paris on his way to Muette, was ſurrounded by incredible numbers of people, who rended the air with their acclamations of "Long live the "king!" Stricken with theſe unſought teſtimonies of zeal and affection, he put his head out of the coach, and repeatedly exclaimed, "Long live my people! your happineſs ſhall "be the principal object of my care."

Though a change of councils took place immediately after the acceſſion of Lewis, ſome time was ſuffered to elapſe before the actual removal of the old miniſters. The duke d'Aiguillon was the firſt to reſign his office of prime-miniſter, which was ſpeedily followed by the diſmiſſion of the chancellor de Maupeou, and the abbé Terray, comptroller-general of the finances, who had juſtly incurred the deteſtation of the people. Yet, even on this occaſion, when the moſt ſevere exertions of rigour would have been juſtifiable, the moderation of the king was conſpicuous; the puniſhment of Maupeou was limited to the loſs of his employment; he was permitted to retire to his eſtate in Normandy, and to enjoy without reſtraint the fruits of his iniquity. The ſeals were delivered to M. de Miromenil,

menil, preſident of the parliament of Rouen; the count de Vergennes, who had filled with reputation the poſt of ambaſſador at the courts of Conſtantinople and Stockholm, was called to preſide over the foreign department; and the count, afterwards mareſchal, de Muy, was nominated ſecretary of war.

The joy that was excited by the removal of theſe unpopular miniſters, to whom were juſtly aſcribed the deſtruction of the parliaments, and all the other obnoxious meaſures of the late reign, may be more eaſily conceived than expreſſed. Nor were the hopes leſs ardent that were formed with regard to the future management of public affairs. The diſmiſſion of the duke d'Aiguillon had filled the partiſans of the duke de Choiſeul with the higheſt exultation; they were ſanguine in their expectations that he would again be entruſted with the government of the nation; while thoſe who wiſhed for a continuance of peace, and thoſe who were jealous of his power, were equally apprehenſive of that event. But neither the hopes of the former nor the fears of the latter were realized; he was, indeed, recalled to court, and honoured with the ſmiles of his ſovereign; but the favour he enjoyed was only extended to him as a private perſon, and he was carefully excluded from all participation in matters of ſtate.

The popularity of the king was encreaſed by the publication of an edict, in which he engaged to pay unremitting attention to the management of the finances; to reſtore the diſcharge of the public debt, which had been intercepted by his predeceſſor; and to make ample compenſation to ſuch as had ſuffered by that injurious meaſure. At the ſame time, various ſchemes of economy were adopted; and though theſe were more pleaſing in their appearance than beneficial in their effects, the people received with tranſport plans which promiſed ſome future attention to their happineſs, and, at leaſt, diſplayed a deſire of releaſing them from their burdens. The price of bread, which had riſen to an exceſſive height, was reduced by the prudent management of the new miniſters; and thoſe who, in the confuſion of the laſt reign, had treaſured up the corn in their granaries, and thereby occaſioned an artificial ſcarcity, were now prevailed upon to bring it to market.

Theſe attentions were rewarded by the applauſe of the nation, and only one circumſtance appeared now to be wanting in order to complete the general joy. This was the reſtoration of the ancient parliaments. The meaſures hitherto purſued ſeemed to encourage the expectation that it would ſpeedily take place; and equally raiſed the hopes and augmented the anxiety of the people. As the change of miniſters did not immediately produce the deſired effects, and the conduct of the court became more ambiguous, the agitation of their minds encreaſed, until fears and diſcontents ſeemed, at length, to preponderate. In this ſtate of affairs, a ſolemnity approached, which afforded the duke of Orleans an opportunity of ſignalizing that zeal for the ancient conſtitution, and the reſtoration of the parliaments, which he had diſplayed upon former occaſions.

It was neceſſary that the parliament, the princes of the blood, the great officers of ſtate, together with thoſe of ſome particular departments, ſhould attend the celebration of the ſolemn funeral ſervice for the late king, which was performed, on the twenty-ſeventh of July, in the church of the royal abbey of Saint Denis, where the religious ſervice is intermixed or attended with ſeveral public ceremonials, relative to the demiſe of the late, and the acknowledgment of the reigning monarch—matters, which, like many others, derive their importance from antiquity and forms. But the duke of Orleans, upon this occaſion, refuſed to attend, or to act, in any manner, in conjunction with the new parliament; and, in a letter to the king, he ſpecified the motives of his refuſal, and entered into a juſtification of his conduct.

Lewis, diſguſted with this unexpected oppoſition, and uncertain what effect it might produce upon the other princes of the blood, baniſhed the duke of Orleans, and his ſon, the duke of Chartres, from court. The other princes, in general, attended the ceremonial; the prince of Condé, having found a ſalvo for his ſcruples, by a diſtinction, that he did not act in conſequence of his title or birth, but, officially, as grand maſter of the king's houſhold. The place of the duke of Orleans was ſupplied by the duke of Bourbon, who went through thoſe parts of the ceremonial which were allotted to the firſt prince of the blood.

This incident encreaſed the general diſcontent; and the king, when he next repaired to the metropolis, inſtead of meeting with the uſual marks of applauſe, was received by the inhabitants in awful ſilence; dejection was ſtrongly marked on every countenance; and the youthful monarch, deeply affected by this ſudden change, determined to comply with the wiſhes of his ſubjects.

Preparations were immediately made to ſatisfy the people; the duke of Orleans was recalled to court, and again invited to attend the royal councils; the lettres-de-cachet, iſſued againſt the members of the ancient parliament, were revoked; and guards were poſted to ſecure the obnoxious perſons who compoſed the preſent, from the rage of the populace. The twelfth of November was the day appointed for the formal re-eſtabliſhment of the old parliament. The king's entry into the capital, accompanied by his youthful conſort, his brothers, and the princes of the blood, with the appearance of the late exiled members, now proceeding to their reſtoration, with all the magnificence they were capable of exhibiting, and the ſtreets lined with guards, and filled with innumerable crowds, who loaded the houſes even to their roofs, conveyed all the ſplendour of a triumph, and excited more joy than the greateſt victory. Lewis, on this happy day, rivalled the moſt illuſtrious and moſt popular of his predeceſſors.

But though prudence and inclination had concurred in leading the king to conciliate the minds of his people by the recal of the parliament, he was equally averſe with his predeceſſor,

predeceſſor from admitting any extenſion of authority that might tend to circumſcribe the plenitude of his own power. The ſpeech, which he delivered upon this occaſion in the bed of juſtice, was ſufficiently explanatory of his intentions. He obſerved that the ſtep which he had taken might ſerve as a proof of his regard for his people, whoſe tranquility and happineſs required the preſervation of the royal authority, exempt from diminution or reſtraint; and he hoped, from the attachment and zeal of the preſent aſſembly, an example of ſubmiſſion to the reſt of his ſubjects. Their repeated reſiſtance to the commands of his grandfather, had compelled that monarch to have recourſe to exertions of ſeverity in order to maintain his own authority, and to fulfil the obligations he lay under of rendering juſtice to his ſubjects: that he had now recalled them, in the expectation that they would confine themſelves to the exerciſe of thoſe functions which they were appointed to diſcharge, and which they ought never to have forſaken; and he expreſſed his deſire that they would place a juſt value on his favours, and never forget their extent.

He proceeded to declare, that it was his will that all paſt grievances ſhould be conſigned to oblivion; and that he ſhould behold, with extreme diſapprobation, whatever might tend to create diviſions, or diſturb the good order and tranquility which he wiſhed to ſee preſerved in his parliament; he recommended to the magiſtrates to limit their attention to the faithful diſcharge of their reſpective duties, and to co-operate with his wiſhes, which were directed to promote the welfare and happineſs of his ſubjects; and he concluded by informing them that his chancellor would read his ordinance to the aſſembly, from which they might be aſſured he would not ſuffer the ſmalleſt deviation to be made.

This ordinance, which may be conſidered as a code of diſcipline for the conduct and government of the parliament, was immediately regiſtered by the king's command. It contained about ſixty articles, limited the power and pretenſions of that body within very narrow bounds. The members were forbidden to tranſmit any remonſtrance or arrêt, concerning ſuch affairs as might be tranſmitted to their conſideration, to any other parliaments, except in the caſes ſpecified by the ordinance: they were enjoined never to relinquiſh the adminiſtration of public juſtice, except in caſes of abſolute neceſſity, for which the firſt preſident was to be reſponſible to the king; reſignations, in conſequence of premeditated plans, were declared to incur the penalty of forfeiture, and the guilt of petty treaſon; and the grand council, it was added, might replace the parliament, without any new edict for the purpoſe.

They were ſtill, however, permitted to enjoy the right of remonſtrating, previous to the regiſtration of any edict or letters-patent, which they might conceive injurious to the welfare of the people, provided they preſerved, in their repreſentations, the reſpect due to the throne. But the repetition of theſe remonſtrances were forbidden; and the parliament, if they proved ineffectual, were to regiſter the arrêt to which they had objected within

within a month, at farthest, from the first day of its publication. They were strictly prohibited from issuing any arrêt that might tend to excite trouble, or, in any manner, retard the execution of the king's ordinances; and they were assured, by the king himself, at the conclusion of this code, that as long as they adhered to the bounds prescribed, and made no attempt to extend their power, they might depend upon his protection and countenance.

Thus by a fortunate combination of circumstances was Lewis the Sixteenth enabled, at the commencement of his reign, not only to shake off the odium which had been incurred by the violent measures of his grandfather, but to convert it into a source of popularity for himself; and at the same time, without destroying the name of parliaments, to define the bounds of their authority, which had hitherto been indefinite. Had the magistrates conceived this limitation of their power to be a violation of the rights secured to them by the constitution, it was, indisputably, their duty to enter a protest against the conduct of the king; but having once accepted the terms of their restoration, they were certainly precluded, *in foro justitiæ*, from urging any pretensions in future beyond the spirit of the ordinance.

Some altercations, however, soon arose between them and the king, on the interpretation of the article respecting remonstrance, which was doubtfully worded; they displayed on this occasion the spirit of the ancient parliament, and endeavoured to enforce their former claims; but their infant opposition was crushed by the decision of the monarch, and his answer to their representations, *That he must be obeyed*, was conclusive.

Having thus silenced the magistracy, his next efforts were directed to the salutary purpose of restraining the intemperate zeal of the clergy. The archbishop of Paris having renewed the commotions excited by the bull *Unigenitus*, and opposed the administration of the sacrament, the king sent for him to Versailles, and in the stern language of offended majesty reproved the officious priest; declaring, that instead of consigning him to that exile, which the late monarch had repeatedly inflicted, on his again disturbing the tranquility of the kingdom, he would give him over to the utmost rigour of the law.

The provincial parliaments of Besançon, Bourdeaux, Aix, Toulouse, and Brittany, which had been suppressed by the deceased monarch, were also restored by his successor; and unanimity being established at home, France had leisure to direct her attention to her late conquest of Corsica, which still struggled to throw of the yoke, and resume her native independence.

The cruel severities which were afterwards practised against those brave but unfortunate islanders, were disgraceful to a civilized nation. For though the barbarous fierceness of the Corsicans should be urged in justification, and shown to be restrained by none of

of thoſe conventions which cuſtom has eſtabliſhed among mankind. The cauſe of its exertion, the defence of their natural rights and liberties, will, in a great meaſure, exculpate them with reſpect to its irregularity, while the original, flagrant, and uncoloured injuſtice and uſurpation on the other ſide, takes away every claim to the right of retaliation.

To juſtify their cruelty, the court of Verſailles had induſtriouſly propagated a report, that a plot had been formed by the natives to maſſacre all the French in the iſland on Aſcenſion-day; but that this horrid deſign was fortunately diſcovered by a young woman to a Frenchman, who was her gallant. As the account of this plot, however, is extremely vague, and deſtitute of every mark of authenticity, the reality of it has ever been queſtioned; and it is more than probable that the revolt of the Corſicans originated in the oppreſſion of their governors, and was rather the reſult of momentary indignation, than the conſequence of any ſettled plan.

Certain it is, that the averſion of the natives from the French was ſo invincible, that no benefits could diſguiſe, nor fear reſtrain, its effects; and the conduct of the latter ſhewed, that they conſidered extermination as the only efficacious remedy for this mortal antipathy. Various were the efforts exerted, in the courſe of the preſent campaign, by theſe intrepid defenders of their country, and aſſerters of their liberties, whom the lawleſs uſurpers of their rights ſtigmatized under the odious appellation of banditti. To particulariſe the means that were employed for their defeat would be to wound humanity by needleſs repetition of cruelties.

Suffice it to obſerve, that the ſame deſultory kind of war which had before been carried on was ſtill continued; that the defection was ſo general, that a great part of the Corſican regiment, which had been raiſed on purpoſe by France, as a proviſion and employment for reſtleſs and daring ſpirits, and to engage the nobility in its intereſts, joined the malecontents; that the loſſes of the French were ſo conſiderable, that they were neceſſarily reinforced by ſeveral regiments; that their communications between the different parts of the iſland were frequently cut off; and that the war, at length, finally degenerated, through the weakneſs and deſtruction of the natives—after many acts of the moſt deſperate valour—into the nature and reſemblance of a general hunting, in which a large portion of country is ſurrounded by a great body of armed men, who narrow the circle by degrees, until every thing within it becomes an inevitable prey.

But the inhabitants of that part of the iſland known by the name of the Pieve di Niolo, from their averſion from ſlavery, and the natural ſtrength of their country, had continued ſingle and unconquered, in the general ſubjugation of Corſica. Their central ſituation, from which the approaches were tedious and difficult, operating with the cauſes we have aſſigned, had rendered all the efforts of the French for their conqueſt,

ſince that period, equally fruitleſs. Threats of the ſevereſt puniſhments, even of a general deſtruction, having been repeatedly applied in vain, to intimidate theſe heroic aſſertors of their country's freedom, the influence of religion was, at length, proſtituted to bring them to ſubmiſſion.

For this purpoſe Aquiviva, one of their prieſts, a powerful and popular preacher, was firſt deceived himſelf, and then rendered an inſtrument to the deception and ruin of his friends and countrymen. This man was perſuaded to hold out the olive-branch to the people; and his perſuaſive eloquence, upon a ſubject to which religion ſo happily applied, and for which eaſe and ſecurity were prompt advocates with his auditors, was ſoon productive of the deſired effect, and the inhabitants of Pieve de Niolo, upon the moſt unequivocal and ſolemn aſſurances, not only of a full and unlimited pardon for their paſt reſiſtance, but of kindneſs and friendſhip for their preſent conduct, voluntarily ſubmitted to the French government.

A body of troops were accordingly admitted peaceably into the diſtrict, who had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of their natural defences, than they treacherouſly murdered two-and-forty of the principal inhabitants, who had formerly diſplayed the moſt activity and courage in the defence of their country. Amongſt thoſe, who were thus baſely circumvented, were one of the two chief magiſtrates and judges of the diſtrict, and two nephews of the very meſſenger of peace, the wretched prieſt, Aquiviva. Of theſe unhappy victims, eleven, including the judge and the prieſt's nephews, expired upon the wheel, amidſt the weeping eyes and bleeding hearts of their deluded friends, who, in vain adjured heaven and earth to avenge this perfidy.

The ſurvivors were ſent to augment the groans and encreaſe the afflictions of their countrymen, who already filled the dungeons of Baſtia. Nor was the fate of the remaining inhabitants of Niolo much happier. A bitter ſenſe of the loſſes they had formerly ſuſtained, in various conflicts with this miſerable people, unfortunately prevailed, with the French, over every ſenſe of humanity and juſtice. The whole diſtrict was ruined and deſtroyed; the houſes were burned, and the cattle carried off in triumph by the ſoldiers as a prey. One Capracinta was diſtinguiſhed for defending his houſe, ſingly, againſt his numerous aſſailants, and, after killing ſeveral, periſhed, unſubdued, amidſt the flames.

A. D. 1775.] The expences incurred by this diſgraceful expedition tended to enlarge the wounds which had been inflicted by the ſhameful profuſion of the late monarch; and the elevation of Turgot to the office of comptroller-general of the finances, afforded no ſmall ſhare of diſcontent to the powerful body of the farmers-general. That miniſter, alike diſtinguiſhed for his integrity and talents, had releaſed the commerce of grain from many injudicious reſtrictions, both with regard to the internal traffic and to foreign exportation;

portation; but a ſcarcity of corn unfortunately occurring at the moment of his regulations, thoſe effects which proceeded from dearth were aſcribed to the innovations he had ſuggeſted. His ſecret enemies ſedulouſly propagated reports, that the public diſtreſs was the conſequence of certain political combinations; and the people, whoſe real miſery was augmented by a miſtaken idea of the incapacity and oppreſſion of their rulers, tumultuouſly aſſembled in large and formidable bodies. They inſulted the magiſtrates, plundered the houſes, and, in the commiſſion of theſe outrages, not only deſtroyed vaſt quantities of corn and flour, which might have alleviated their wants, but encreaſed the general diſtreſs, by deterring the proprietors of proviſions from bringing them to market.

A diſtemper which had extended its fatal ravages among the cattle through the heart of the kingdom, added to the public gloom; and at Dijon, the capital of Burgundy, the inſurrection of the populace was attended with the moſt fatal effects. The unhappy people, ſtimulated by want, had pillaged the houſe of the intendant, who with difficulty eſcaped from their fury. To check their progreſs it was neceſſary to ſummons to the ſupport of government a body of regular troops; yet the famiſhed inſurgents for ſome time ſucceſsfully reſiſted the efforts of diſciplined valour, and five hundred of them periſhed before they relinquiſhed the ineffectual conflict.

This diſtreſs, and the commotions it excited, reached the metropolis; and Lewis, after having exerted in vain all the arts that benevolence could ſuggeſt for ſoothing the minds of the people, was reluctantly compelled to repreſs their outrages by the moſt deciſive meaſures. Having ſummoned the parliament to attend him at Verſailles, he explained to them the urgency of the circumſtances which obliged him to deviate from the common courſe of juſtice, and then forbade them to make any remonſtrances on the meaſures he was about to purſue. The magiſtrates, ſenſible of the neceſſity of adopting ſome ſpeedy and vigorous ſyſtem, ſilently acquieſced in the mandate of their ſovereign.

The king, having thus fortified the royal authority by the tacit approbation of his parliament, commiſſioned the *marechauſſée*, a regular regiment of thief-takers, to diſperſe the ſeditious multitude, and to execute ſummary juſtice on the moſt guilty. At the ſame time a pardon was promiſed to ſuch as ſhould return home, and make ſatisfaction for the corn they had ſeized. The good effects of theſe regulations were ſoon diſcernable; numbers endeavoured to efface their miſconduct by reimburſing the perſons whom they had plundered; ſome few expiated their offences with their lives; and a plentiful harveſt which enſued baniſhed the diſtreſs of the people, and reſtored tranquillity to the kingdom.

The king availed himſelf of this opportunity to celebrate, with royal magnificence, the ceremony of his coronation, which was performed, as uſual, at Rheims. Twenty

millions of livres, opportunely ſupplied by the clergy, prevented the expence from being felt by the people; and, on this occaſion, the ancient dignities of the kingdom were revived. The count de Provence repreſented the duke of Burgundy; the count d'Artois, the duke of Normandy; the duke of Orleans, the duke of Aquitaine; the duke of Chartres, the count of Toulouſe; the prince of Condé, the count of Flanders; and the duke of Bourbon, the count of Champagne.

This ceremony was followed by the publication of an edict which ſtrongly diſplayed the humanity of Lewis: the puniſhment of death, hitherto annexed to the crime of deſertion, was changed into the leſs rigorous ſentence of working as ſlaves upon the public roads. With equal attention to the general welfare of his ſubjects, the king availed himſelf of the favourable moment of peace to reduce a part of his numerous forces, and to fulfil thoſe promiſes of economy, which, on his acceſſion to the throne, he had made to his people. The death of the mareſchal de Muy was ſucceeded by the appointment of the count de Saint Germain, an able and popular officer, to the vacant poſt of ſecretary at war.

This nobleman, intent on ſignalizing his adminiſtration by ſome act of *éclat*, ventured on a reform which expoſed him to the reſentment of the firſt families in France. The mouſquetaires, a military corps, inſtituted for the ſpecial protection of the royal perſon, were wholly compoſed of young men of high birth; and though ſuch a guard muſt have been highly grateful to the ſovereign, yet the expence attending it was ſeverely felt, and deeply regretted. The ſuppreſſion of this corps had been frequently agitated, but no miniſter had yet been found ſufficiently bold to expoſe himſelf to the odium which ſuch a meaſure muſt neceſſarily incur. The count de Saint Germain, regardleſs of cenſure when the welfare of his country required his exertions, repreſented to Lewis the advantages to be derived from the ſavings that muſt accrue from the reduction he propoſed; and in conſequence of theſe repreſentations an edict was publiſhed for the ſuppreſſion of the mouſquetaires; and thoſe gallant men, celebrated for their courage, and for their friendſhip to each other, received the news of their diſmiſſion with marks of the deepeſt deſpair. M. de la Chaire, a veteran officer of approved valour, and one of their commanders, fainted on the reception of the fatal mandate; and all the reſt vented their grief in loud and pathetic exclamations.

A. D. 1777, 1778.] The new miniſter of the marine, M. de Sartine, diſcharged the duties of his ſtation with equal zeal and fidelity; and his exertions were inceſſantly directed to the augmentation of the naval ſtrength of his country: the object, however, of ſuch augmentation by no means ſecured to him the praiſe to which his exertions would otherwiſe have been entitled, ſince it tended to involve the nation in a war highly prejudicial to its intereſts and welfare. The unhappy conteſt between Great Britain and her American colonies had commenced ſoon after the acceſſion of Lewis to the throne of his

his anceſtors; and, after a ſeries of alternate diſaſters and ſucceſſes, equally calculated to irritate the minds of either party, the conflict now raged with ſuch fury, that all hopes of accommodation ſeemed to be at an end. That deſpicable and diſhoneſt ſyſtem of policy, which ſanctions the perpetual encouragement of internal commotions in a rival kingdom; a policy which had occaſionally prevailed in almoſt all the European courts, and which had been ſuffered, too invariably, to ſway the councils of Verſailles, now influenced the miniſters of France to interfere in the diſpute ſubſiſting between England and her North American ſubjects. The opportunity of humbling a rival, of repairing the loſſes ſuſtained in the preceding war, and, at the ſame time, of monopolizing the American commerce, was not, in the opinion of men who were ever willing to ſacrifice juſtice to policy, to be neglected. But as too early an avowal of their deſigns might fruſtrate the object they had in view, they determined, at firſt, to afford only private aſſiſtance to the Americans.

Before the cloſe of the year 1776, the French ports in Europe began to ſwarm with American privateers, and to be crouded with the prizes taken by thoſe veſſels from the Engliſh, which were at firſt openly ſold without the ſmalleſt colour of diſguiſe. On repeated remonſtrances from the Britiſh court, the obſervance of a little more decorum was enforced, ſome check was given to the open and avowed ſale of prizes; but the practice ſtill continued. In all the French colonies in the Weſt-Indies, the American depredations were much more avowedly countenanced. Even French ſhips took American commiſſions; and with few, and, ſometimes, no American ſeamen on board, carried on a war upon the Britiſh commerce with impunity. The temporiſing policy, and indeciſive meaſures of the Engliſh court, prevented, at this unfortunate period, the proper aſſertion of national dignity.

In the enſuing year ſeveral French officers were permitted to ſerve in the American armies; and, among others, the marquis de la Fayette, a young enthuſiaſt, diſtinguiſhed by thoſe romantic ideas which prevailed in the days of chivalry; who was ſuffered to purchaſe and freight a ſhip with military ſtores (in which he embarked with ſeveral of his friends) for the ſervice of the Americans. Indeed, the conduct of France, in every thing that regarded England and America, was now ſo ſlightly covered, and ſo little qualified, that it ſeemed to leave no room for any doubt—except with thoſe who were determined to place ſo implicit a faith in words, as to admit of no other ſpecies of evidence—as to the part which ſhe would finally take in the conteſt. As ſhe was not yet, however, in ſufficient preparation for proceeding to the utmoſt extremities, nor her negociation with the Americans—two of whoſe agents, Deane and Franklin, had ſucceſſively arrived at Paris—advanced to an abſolute determination, ſhe occaſionally relaxed in certain points, when ſhe found herſelf ſo cloſely preſſed by the Britiſh miniſters, that an obſtinate perſeverance would precipitate matters to that concluſion which ſhe wiſhed for ſometime longer to defer.

Thus,

Thus, when an American adventurer had taken and carried into Dunkirk, with a privateer fitted out at that port, the Engliſh packet from Holland, and ſent the mail to the American miniſters at Paris, it then ſeemed neceſſary, in ſome degree, to diſcountenance ſo flagrant a violation of good neighbourhood, as well as of the ſtanding treaties between the two nations, and even of the particular marine laws and regulations eſtabliſhed in France, in regard to her conduct with the people of other countries. The captain and his crew were accordingly committed for ſome ſhort time to priſon. Yet even this appearance of ſatisfaction was obliterated by the circumſtances which attended it: for the impriſonment of the captain was repreſented to the Americans, as proceeding merely from ſome informality in his commiſſion, and irregularity in his proceedings, which had brought him to, if not within, the verge of piracy, and which were too glaring to be entirely paſſed over without notice. And he was, with his crew, not only ſpeedily releaſed from his mock confinement, but he was permitted to purchaſe, fit out, and arm a much ſtronger veſſel, and better ſailer, than the former, for the avowed purpoſe of continuing his depredations on the Britiſh commerce.

It was in the ſame line of policy, that when the French Newfoundland fiſhery would have been totally intercepted and deſtroyed in caſe of an immediate rupture, and that the capture of their ſeamen would have been more ruinous and irreparable than the loſs even of the ſhips and cargoes, the Engliſh ambaſſador obtained, in that critical ſituation, an order from the miniſters, that all the American Privateers, with their prizes, ſhould immediately depart the kingdom. Yet, ſatisfactory as this compliance, and concluſive as this order appeared, it was combated with ſuch ingenuity, and ſuch expedients were practiſed to defeat its effects, that it was not complied with, in a ſingle inſtance, throughout the kingdom. It, however, anſwered the purpoſe for which it was intended, by gaining time, and opening a ſubject of tedious and indeciſive controverſy, until the French ſhips were ſafe in their reſpective ports.

But though M. de Sartine was the principal advocate for the American cauſe, he was determined that the charges of duplicity which ſuch a line of conduct muſt inevitably bring upon his country ſhould not reſt perſonally with himſelf. He, therefore, upon ſome reports which tended to diſcourage the commerce with the Americans, by enforcing a belief that the protection of the court would not be extended to French veſſels conveying the products of that continent, and that ſuch veſſels muſt, of courſe, if taken, become legal prizes to the Engliſh, aſſured the ſeveral chambers of commerce, by a *public* inſtrument, (iſſued on the fourth of July, 1777) and in direct contravention of all the Engliſh navigation laws, that the king was determined to afford the fulleſt protection to their commerce, and would reclaim all the ſhips that ſhould be captured under that pretext.

Upon the whole, whatever evaſion or duplicity might have appeared in the language or profeſſions of the French miniſters, their conduct had become ſo unequivocal as ſcarce-

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ly to admit of a double interpretation. It was eaſy to perceive that, beſides thoſe powerful motives which had their ſource in enmity and revenge, they had now acquired ſo thorough a reliſh for the ſweets of the American commerce, that nothing leſs than the moſt irreſiſtible neceſſity could induce them to forego the poſſeſſion of what they had obtained, and the vaſt hopes with which they had flattered themſelves in future. The Engliſh council, however, expreſſed their conviction, that the harmony which ſubſiſted between the two nations would not be interrupted; and their confidence was founded on the idea that the houſe of Bourbon would not ſupport the Americans, on the double account, that it would be teaching an evil leſſon againſt themſelves which might be too ſoon practiſed in their own colonies; and that the eſtabliſhment of an independent ſtate and riſing empire in the New World would be dangerous to their future intereſts both in Europe and America. This doctrine, it muſt be confeſſed, was more ſolid than many people, at that time, were willing to acknowledge; as a ſubject of ſpeculative controverſy, it would undoubtedly afford room for ample diſcuſſion; but, unfortunately, miniſters, like the reſt of mankind, are leſs inclined to look to future and remote contingencies, than to the greateſt preſent advantages, and to the gratification of the moſt urgent and powerful paſſions.

At length, the deſigns of France being brought to maturity, the maſk was thrown off, and a treaty, eventual and defenſive, was concluded at Paris, on the ſixth of February, 1778, between Lewis the Sixteenth and the United States of America. The preamble ſets forth, "That his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty and the United States having con-"cluded a treaty of *amity* and *commerce*[1], for the reciprocal advantage of their ſubjects and "citizens, have thought it neceſſary to take into conſideration the means of ſtrengthening "thoſe engagements, and of rendering them uſeful to the ſafety and tranquility "of the two parties; particularly in caſe Great Britain, in reſentment of that connec-"tion, and of the good correſpondence which is the object of the ſaid treaty, ſhould break "the peace with France, either by direct hoſtilities, or by obſtructing her commerce "and navigation, in a manner contrary to the rights of nations, and the peace ſubſiſting "between the two crowns.—And his majeſty and the ſaid United States having reſolved "in that caſe to join their councils and efforts againſt the enterprizes of the common enemy."

The treaty conſiſts of the following articles:

1. If a war ſhould break out between France and Great Britain, during the continuance of the preſent war between the United States and England, his majeſty and the ſaid United States ſhall make it a common cauſe, and aid each other mutually with their good

[1] On the 30th. of January, 1778.

offices

offices, their councils, and their forces, according to the exigency of conjunctures, as becomes good and faithful allies.

2. The eſſential and direct end of the preſent defenſive alliance is, to maintain effectually the liberty, ſovereignty, and independence, abſolute and unlimited, of the ſaid United States, as well in matters of government as of commerce.

3. The two contracting parties ſhall each on its own part, and in the manner it may judge moſt proper, make all the efforts in its power againſt their common enemy, in order to attain the end propoſed.

4. The contracting parties agree, that in caſe either of them ſhould form a particular enterprize, in which the concurrence of the other may be deſired, the party whoſe concurrence is deſired, ſhall readily and with good faith join to act in concert for that purpoſe, as far as circumſtances and its own particular ſituation will permit, and in that caſe they ſhall regulate, by a particular convention, the quantity and kind of ſuccour to be furniſhed, and the time and manner of its being brought into action, as well as the advantages which are to be its compenſation.

5. If the United States ſhould think fit to attempt the reduction of the Britiſh power, remaining in the northern parts of America, or the iſlands of Bermudas, thoſe countries or iſlands, in caſe of ſucceſs, ſhall be confederated with, or dependent upon, the ſaid United States.

6. The Moſt Chriſtian king renounces for ever the poſſeſſion of the iſlands of Bermudas, as well as of any part of the continent of America, which before the treaty of Paris, in 1763, or in virtue of that treaty, were acknowledged to belong to the crown of Great Britain, or to the United States, heretofore called Britiſh colonies, or which are, at this time, or have lately been, under the power of the king and crown of Great Britain.

7. If his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty ſhall think proper to attack any of the iſlands ſituated in the gulph of Mexico, or near that gulph, which are at preſent under the power of Great Britain, all the ſaid iſles, in caſe of ſucceſs, ſhall appertain to the crown of France.

8. Neither of the two parties ſhall conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain, without the formal conſent of the other, firſt obtained; and they mutually engage not to lay down their arms, until the independence of the United States ſhall have been formally or tacitly aſſured by the treaty or treaties that ſhall terminate the war.

9. The

9. The contracting parties declare, that, being reſolved to fulfil, each on its own part, the clauſes and conditions of the preſent treaty of alliance, according to its own power, and circumſtances, there ſhall be no after-claims of compenſation, on one ſide or the other, whatever may be the event of the war.

10. The Moſt Chriſtian king and the United States agree to invite or admit other powers, who may have received injuries from England, to make a common cauſe with them, and to accede to the preſent alliance, under ſuch conditions as ſhall be freely agreed to, and ſettled between all the parties.

11. The two parties guarantee mutually, from the preſent time, and for ever, againſt all other powers, to wit—the United States to his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, the preſent poſſeſſions of the crown of France in America, as well as thoſe which it may acquire by the future treaty of peace; and his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty guarantees on his part to the United States, their liberty, ſovereignty, and independence, abſolute and unlimited, as well in matters of government as commerce, and alſo their poſſeſſions, and the additions or conqueſts that their confederation may obtain during the war, from any of the dominions now or heretofore poſſeſſed by Great Britain in North-America, conformable to the fifth and ſixth articles above-written, the whole as their poſſeſſions ſhall be fixed and aſſured to the ſaid States, at the moment of the ceſſation of the preſent war with England.

12. In order to fix more preciſely the ſeveral applications of the preceding articles, the contracting parties declare, that in caſe of a rupture between France and England, the reciprocal guarantee declared in the ſaid article ſhall have its full force and effect the moment ſuch war ſhall break out; and if ſuch rupture ſhall not take place, the mutual obligation of the ſaid guarantees ſhall not commence until the moment of the ceſſation of the preſent war between the United States and England, ſhall have aſcertained their poſſeſſions.

It is impoſſible to peruſe this treaty without conſidering it as tantamount to a declaration of war againſt England; and, indeed, there can be little doubt but that it was intended to operate as ſuch. To the honour of Lewis the Sixteenth, however, be it ſpoken, that far from encouraging the inſidious projects of his miniſters, he diſcountenanced them to the utmoſt; and that, uniformly averſe from every thing that was unjuſt or ungenerous, and, conſidering this treaty as a meaſure of that deſcription, he indignantly threw away the pen, when urged to ſanction it with his ſignature. But in an evil hour for himſelf, his family, and his kingdom, he unfortunately yielded to the importunate perſuaſions of a party, whoſe ſolicitations are ſaid to have been ſeconded by the

powerful influence of his royal conſort, and ſigned that fatal inſtrument which involved both hemiſpheres in the horrors of war[2].

The duke de Noailles, ambaſſador to the court of London, was, in the month of March, inſtructed to acquaint the miniſters of Great Britain with the purport of this treaty, which he accordingly ratified to them in the following manner:

"The underſigned ambaſſador of his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty has received expreſs or-
"ders to make the following declaration to the court of London.

"The United States of North America, who are in full poſſeſſion of independence,
"as pronounced by them, on the fourth of July, 1776, having propoſed to the king to
"conſolidate, by a formal convention, the connection begun to be eſtabliſhed between
"the two nations, the reſpective plenipotentiaries have ſigned a treaty of friendſhip and
"commerce, deſigned to ſerve as a foundation for their mutual good correſpondence.

"His majeſty, being determined to cultivate the good underſtanding ſubſiſting be-
"tween France and Great Britain, by every means compatible with his dignity and the
"good of his ſubjects, thinks it neceſſary to make his proceeding known to the court of
"London; and to declare, at the ſame time, that the contracting parties have paid great
"attention not to ſtipulate any excluſive advantages in favour of the French nation;
"and that the United States have reſerved the liberty of treating with every nation
"whatever, upon the ſame footing of equality and reciprocity.

"In making this communication to the court of London, the king is firmly perſuad-
"ed it will find new proofs of his majeſty's conſtant and ſincere diſpoſition for peace;
"and that his Britannic majeſty, animated by the ſame ſentiments, will equally avoid
"every thing that may alter their good harmony; and that he will particularly take ef-
"fectual meaſures to prevent the commerce between his majeſty's ſubjects and the United
"States of North America from being interrupted; and to cauſe all the uſages received
"between commercial nations to be, in this reſpect, obſerved, and all thoſe rules which
"can be ſaid to ſubſiſt between the two crowns of France and Great Britain.

"In this juſt confidence, the underſigned ambaſſador thinks it ſuperfluous to acquaint
"the Britiſh miniſter, that, the king his maſter being determined to afford effectual pro-
"tection to the lawful commerce of his ſubjects, and to maintain the dignity of his

[2] It is worthy of remark, that the French nobility, who have ſince been ſtigmatized as determined foes to liberty, were the moſt forward, on this occaſion, to eſpouſe a cauſe which they conſidered—whether juſtly or unjuſtly we ſhall not *here* enquire—as the cauſe of freedom.

"flag,

" flag, his majeſty has, in conſequence, taken eventual meaſures, in concert with the " United States of North America."

This declaration, by which inſult was added to injury, was received by the Britiſh court with evident marks of indignation; and the recall of the Engliſh ambaſſador from Verſailles, a meaſure which was now rendered almoſt a matter of neceſſity, was the ſignal for the commencement of hoſtilities.

As the French miniſtry had long prepared for this event, they began the war with conſiderable advantage. In the month of April, the count d'Eſtaing ſailed from Toulon with twelve ſhips of the line and four frigates. On board this fleet was embarked a body of land forces; and Silas Deane, the American envoy at the court of Verſailles, and Conrad Alexander Gerard, ſecretary to the council of ſtate, who had ſigned the late treaty, in the name of his ſovereign, and was now appointed miniſter-plenipotentiary to the United States of America, accompanied the count on board the Languedoc.

This armament was deſtined to ſtrike an important blow againſt the Engliſh in America, who, at the period of its arrival on that coaſt, were ſtationed in the environs of Sandy-Hook, whence they afterwards paſſed over to New York. Had not d'Eſtaing been delayed by bad weather, and other unexpected impediments which he met with on his voyage, he would have had an opportunity of meeting the Engliſh tranſports in the Delaware, or on the paſſage from thence, extremely loaded and encumbered, and convoyed only by two ſhips of the line, and ſome frigates. The Britiſh fleet muſt conſequently have been deſtroyed; and as the enemy could not then, by any poſſible means, have proſecuted its way to New York, and would have been encloſed, on one ſide, by the American army, and, on the other, by the French fleet, cut off from all ſupply of proviſions and deſtitute of every reſource, a ſimilar diſgrace to that ſuſtained by the Engliſh, at Saratoga, in the preceding campaign, muſt neceſſarily have been incurred.

Indeed, had d'Eſtaing, even then, directed his courſe immediately to New-York, inſtead of the Cheſapeak or Delaware, he ſtill might have ſecured the moſt important advantages, as he would, in that caſe, have encountered the Engliſh fleet and army, when they were entangled, either with the laying or paſſing of the bridge of boats, which had been conſtructed for the purpoſe of conveying the troops from the continent to Sandy-Hook, recently become an iſland by a violent breach of the ſea. In either circumſtance he muſt have cruſhed the enemy; but his great object was the ſurpriſe of the Engliſh fleet in the Delaware, and the conſequent encloſure of the army at Philadelphia, a deſign which, providentially for the Engliſh, was fruſtrated by the winds and weather.

On the eleventh of July d'Eſtaing made his appearance off Sandy-Hook, where lay the Britiſh fleet, conſiſting of ſix ſixty-four gun ſhips, three of fifty, two of forty guns, with ſome frigates and ſloops, under the command of lord Howe. But the ſuperiority of the French was, in ſome meaſure, counterbalanced by the advantage which the Engliſh

liſh enjoyed in the poſſeſſion of that port or harbour which is formed by Sandy-Hook; the entrance of which is narrow, and the navigation for large ſhips rendered dangerous by a bar which croſſes it, and from whence the inlet paſſes to New-York. The expected and avowed object of d'Eſtaing was to force that paſſage, and to attack the Engliſh ſquadron in the harbour. Notwithſtanding the utmoſt exertions of preparation made by lord Howe, that the time could poſſibly admit, yet from a variety of unavoidable incidents, his ſhips were not arrived in their reſpective ſituations of defence, nor had there been ſufficient time to chuſe their ſituations with proper judgment, when d'Eſtaing appeared without the Hook. Under theſe circumſtances, which, with reſpect to effect, might be conſidered, in ſome degree, as affording the advantages of a ſurprize, if he had puſhed on directly to paſs the bar and force the paſſage, it would ſeem, that the advantage of ſituation could not be capable of counteracting the vaſt ſuperiority of his force. But as d'Eſtaing was of opinion that his large ſhips could not paſs, in ſafety, through the ſtreights and over the bar, he caſt anchor on the Jerſey ſide, about four miles without the Hook, and in the vicinity of the ſmall town of Shrewſbury.

In this poſition the French fleet remained at anchor eleven days, which were paſſed in taking in a ſupply of water and proviſions. The Engliſh fleet was thus blocked up, and many veſſels under Engliſh colours (who were ignorant of the loſs of their uſual protection) were daily captured by the French. On the twenty-ſecond of July d'Eſtaing left his ſtation, and foregoing the probable advantage of a deſperate attack on the Britiſh fleet at Sandy-Hook, which an unuſual riſe of the water would have enabled him to make, without danger to his ſhips paſſing the bar, ſteered toward Rhode Iſland, the invaſion of which he had planned in concert with the United States. The American general Sullivan aſſembled a body of troops, in the neighbourhood of Providence, with a view to make a deſcent on the north end of the iſland; whilſt d'Eſtaing was to enter the harbour of Newport, near its ſouthern extremity, and, after deſtroying the ſhipping, by a powerful aſſault on the works facing the ſea, to place the Britiſh forces between two fires.

The French fleet either blocked up or entered the ſeveral inlets, between which Rhode, and its adjoining ſmaller iſlands, are encloſed, and which form a communication more or leſs navigable in the different branches, between the open ſea and the back continent; on the twenty-ninth of July, the main body caſt anchor without Brenton's Ledge, about five miles from Newport. Two of their line of battle ſhips ran up the Naraganſet paſſage, and anchored off the north end of the iſland of Conanicut, where they were prevented for ſeveral days, by contrary winds, from rejoining the fleet: while ſome of their frigates, entering the Secconet paſſage, compelled the Engliſh to burn three ſmall armed veſſels, which muſt otherwiſe have been captured.

Two

Two oppoſite bays, in the inlets on the eaſtern and weſtern ſides of the iſland, compreſs it ſo much, as to form a kind of iſthmus, by which the ſouthern end, that ſpreads into the ocean, is connected with the main body. The town of Newport lies juſt within this peninſula, at the opening of the iſthmus, on the weſtern ſide of the iſland, and oppoſite the iſland of Conanicut; the ſpace between both forming a bay, which includes, or forms, the harbour. The inlet to the harbour from the ſea, called the middle channel, is narrow, and encloſed by Brenton's point, and the oppoſite point of Conanicut, which forms the ſouthern extremities of both iſlands. A chain of high grounds, which croſſes the iſthmus from channel to channel above Newport, was ſtrongly covered by lines, redoubts, and artillery; ſo that the peninſula might be conſidered as a garriſon, diſtinct from the reſt of the iſland; and, under the protection of a ſuperior naval force, might, in a great meaſure, defy any attempts from the northern ſide, ſuppoſing that an enemy had effected a landing, in ſuch circumſtances. But the French, being maſters by ſea, rendered the taſk of defence, under the apprehenſion of an attack on both ſides at the ſame time, exceedingly arduous.

General Sullivan aſſembled a body of ten thouſand men—of whom one half were volunteers from New England and Connecticut—to ſecond the efforts of d'Eſtaing. As the operations of the French fleet were regulated by thoſe of the army on land, they continued inactive, until Sullivan was in a condition to paſs over from the continent to the north end of the iſland. On the eighth of Auguſt, finding that meaſure in forwardneſs, and the wind being favourable, they entered the harbour under an eaſy ſail, cannonading the batteries and town as they paſſed, and receiving their fire, without any material effect on either ſide. They anchored above the town, between Goat iſland and Conanicut, but nearer to the latter, on which both the French and Americans had parties for ſome days paſt.

D'Eſtaing, by thus entering the harbour, reduced the Engliſh to the neceſſity of deſtroying ſix of their frigates, which muſt otherwiſe have fallen into his hands; but he was prevented from reaping any farther advantage, by a ſudden change of wind, which induced him to put to ſea; and, after ſome ſharp but indeciſive actions between ſingle ſhips, he deemed it prudent to ſail to Boſton, in order to repair the damages he had ſuſtained during a violent tempeſt, which, by diſperſing both fleets, had prevented a general engagement.

If d'Eſtaing, inſtead of going to Boſton, had re-entered the harbour, and co-operated with the Americans, in conformity with their moſt earneſt ſolicitations, the ſtate of the Engliſh garriſon in Rhode iſland would have been extremely perilous; and he had a fair proſpect of retrieving, by a ſtroke of no ſmall importance, the failure of ſucceſs in his grand object. Such a ſucceſsful co-operation would likewiſe have had a wonderful effect in conciliating the minds of his new allies, and in giving them an idea which they were not much diſpoſed to entertain, of the vigour and efficacy of the French councils and

arms.

arms. The departure of d'Eſtaing effectually fruſtrated the attempt on the iſland, and Sullivan, ſoon after, withdrew his troops.

In the mean time, the Engliſh admiral, on the Newfoundland ſtation, having received intelligence of the commencement of hoſtilities by d'Eſtaing, diſpatched a body of troops with orders to reduce the ſmall iſlands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon, which had been allotted to France by the laſt treaty of peace, for the purpoſe of curing and drying their fiſh, and ſerving as a ſtore-houſe and ſhelter for the veſſels employed in their fiſhery.

As France had been particularly reſtricted by the treaty from fortifying thoſe iſlands, and equally tied down from any encreaſe of a ſmall limited number of troops in them, which were only adapted to the ſupport of the civil government, and not to any purpoſes of defence, againſt whatever might deſerve the name of enemy, this ſervice was accordingly performed without difficulty. A capitulation was granted, in conſequence of which the governor, with the inhabitants and the garriſon, amounting in the whole to about two thouſand, were tranſmitted to France: all the accommodations of habitation, trade, and fiſhery were deſtroyed; and the iſlands thrown back into their original ſtate.

From the continent of America the flame of war had been rapidly communicated to the Weſt-India iſlands. The marquis de Bouillé, governor-general of Martinico, was informed of the defenceleſs ſtate of the iſland of Dominica, which, by the treaty of Paris had been ceded by France to England. The Britiſh government had, indeed, incurred a conſiderable expence in fortifying the iſland, and in ſupplying the works with a numerous artillery, but the garriſon was totally incompetent to the defence of the one, or to the uſe of the other. The marquis, accordingly, landed on the iſland, on the ſeventh of September, 1778, at dawn of day, with about two thouſand men, and proceeded to attack the different batteries and forts by land, as the marine force which accompanied him did by ſea. The few regular troops, not exceeding one hundred men, together with the militia and inhabitants in general, did all that could be expected againſt ſuch a ſuperiority of force, and under ſuch circumſtances of ſurprize. But the French having eaſily reduced thoſe batteries which lay firſt in their way, and which were but half-manned, and advanced to attack the little capital of Roſeau, by ſea and land, which likewiſe comprehended the principal fortifications of the iſland, the commander of the Engliſh troops, perceiving the futility of defence, prudently determined to ſave the inhabitants from plunder and ruin, by entering into a capitulation.

The terms, by the generoſity of the marquis de Bouillé, were rendered highly favourable to the inhabitants. Beſides the honours of war, and the liberty of retaining their arms, with the fulleſt ſecurity to their eſtates, property of every ſort, rights, privileges, and

and immunities, they were allowed to retain every part of their civil and religious government, with all their laws, cuſtoms, ordinances, courts, and miniſters of juſtice, until the concluſion of a peace; and, at that period, if the iſland ſhould be ceded to France, they had the liberty of choice, whether to adhere to their own political form of government, or to accept that eſtabliſhed in the French iſlands. And in either event, ſuch of the inhabitants as did not chuſe to continue under a French government, were to be at liberty to ſell all their eſtates real and perſonal, and to retire with their effects wherever they pleaſed. Not the ſmalleſt diſorder nor pillage was allowed; and the marquis de Bouillé, in lieu of plunder, diſtributed a conſiderable ſum of money among his troops.

D'Eſtaing, during theſe tranſactions, had been buſily employed in refitting his ſhips, and having compleated this object, he quited, early in November, the harbour of Boſton, with a full determination to reduce all the Britiſh poſſeſſions in the Weſt-Indies. Previous to his departure, he publiſhed a declaration, intended to be diſperſed among the French inhabitants of Canada, to whom it was addreſſed, in the name of their ancient ſovereign, the king of France. The object of this publication was to recall the affection to their former government, and to revive all the national attachments of that people, thereby to prepare them for an invaſion either from France or America, and to raiſe their expectation and hope to no diſtant change of maſters. For theſe purpoſes they were applied to and invoked, by all the endearing and flattering ties of country, blood, language, common laws, cuſtom, and religion; by their former friendſhips, ancient glory, and fellowſhip in arms; and even by their common participation in the dangers and misfortunes of the laſt war. To touch the vanity of a people exceedingly prone to that failing, they were flattered by reminding them of thoſe peculiar military honours, diſtinctions, and royal decorations, which would have conſtituted the glorious rewards of their proweſs in the French ſervice; from which they had been ſo long debarred, and which were held ſo dear by all their countrymen. They were taught to conſider the French and Americans as equally friends, and almoſt as one people; whoſe invaſion of Canada, whether jointly or ſeperately, inſtead of conveying hoſtility or deſolation to them, would have, for its ſole object, their liberation from the galling yoke of a foreign power, whoſe reſidence was fixed in another hemiſphere; their emancipation from ſubjection to a people who differed wholly from them in religion, in manners, in language, in every thing; whoſe jealous and deſpotic government would, ſooner or later, treat them as a conquered people, and undoubtedly much worſe than they had done their own late countrymen, the Americans, to whom they were indebted for their former victories. Their future condition, in the event of this propoſed emancipation from the government of Great Britain, was left almoſt entirely in the dark; although ſome faint and diſtant alluſion was holden out, to a ſimilar ſtate of freedom to that poſſeſſed by the Britiſh colonies. D'Eſtaing ſeemed not altogether authoriſed to give up the idea of the reſtoration of Canada to the dominion of France; but he was aware that an avowal of thoſe ſentiments might have been yet imprudent with reſpect to that people, and would have been

been diſguſting and alarming, in the higheſt degree, to the Americans. He, however, aſſured the Canadians, in the name of the French king, that all his former ſubjects, who, ſhould relinquiſh their dependence on Great Britain, might depend on his ſupport and protection.

Aware of the danger to which the Weſt-India iſlands would be expoſed from the ſuperiority of the French in that quarter, the Engliſh commander at New York had, ſoon after the reduction of Dominica, detached a body of five thouſand troops for their protection, under the command of general Grant. The firſt expedition undertaken by theſe forces, whoſe operations were ſeconded by a Britiſh fleet, under admiral Barrington, was the reduction of the French iſland of Saint Lucia; an enterprize of the utmoſt importance in all the enſuing operations of the war. The reſerve of the Britiſh army, with the grenadiers and light infantry, under the command of general Matthews, was landed at the grand Cul de Sac in the evening of the thirteenth of December. That officer with his detachment, immediately puſhed forward to the heights upon the north ſide of the bay, which were occupied by the chevalier de Micoud, the French commandant, with the regular forces and militia of the iſland. Theſe poſts, though difficult of acceſs, were ſoon forced by the ſuperior numbers of the Engliſh, who alſo took poſſeſſion of a field-piece, with which the French fired upon the boats employed in landing the troops, and a four-gun battery, which had been ſucceſsfully directed againſt the ſhipping at the entrance of the harbour.

General Preſcot, meanwhile, had landed with five regiments, with which he guarded the environs of the bay, and, at the ſame time, puſhed on his advanced poſts, ſo as to preſerve a communication during the night with the reſerve. The next morning the reſerve followed, and ſupported by general Preſcot, advanced to the little capital of Morne Fortune, of which they took poſſeſſion. The chevalier de Micoud made the beſt defence that his ſituation would admit of, but, conſtantly preſſed by ſuperior numbers, he was compelled to retire before the Britiſh troops, from poſt to poſt. As the reſerve advanced, general Preſcot exerted the utmoſt diligence and circumſpection in ſupplying the poſts and batteries in their rear with every poſſible means of defence.

While theſe meaſures of ſecurity were carrying into execution, general Meadows puſhed forward and took poſſeſſion of the important poſt of the Viegie, which commanded the north ſide of the careenage harbour; while another Britiſh officer, with the remainder of the troops, guarded the landing place, kept up the communication with the fleet, and ſent detachments to occupy ſeveral poſts upon the mountains, which overlooked and commanded the ſouth ſide of the grand Cul de Sac.

The laſt French flag, on thoſe poſts which were in ſight among the neighbouring hills, was ſcarcely ſtricken, when d'Eſtaing, with a conſiderable force, appeared in view of the Britiſh

Britiſh fleet and army. Beſides his original ſquadron of twelve large ſhips of the line, he was now accompanied by a numerous fleet of frigates, privateers, and tranſports, with a land force, amounting to eight thouſand men. Theſe were intended for the reduction of all the Britiſh Leeward ſettlements; from the immediate purſuit of which project d'Eſtaing had been deterred by the intelligence he received of the attack on Saint Lucia; a circumſtance which he conſidered as ſingularly fortunate, it ſeeming to afford him an opportunity of cruſhing, at a ſingle blow, the whole Britiſh force by ſea and land; and, indeed, had he arrived but four-and-twenty hours ſooner, his moſt ſanguine hopes muſt, in all human probability, have been completely gratified. As it was, the day being far advanced, d'Eſtaing deferred his operations till the enſuing morning.

The Britiſh fleet, which conſiſted only of one ſhip of ſeventy-four guns, one of ſeventy, two of ſixty-four, three of fifty, and three frigates, was ſtationed in the moſt ſouthern inlet, called the grand Cul de Sac; the tranſports filling the interior part of the bay, and the ſhips of war drawn up in a line acroſs the entrance, which was ſtill farther ſecured by a battery on the ſouthern, and another on the northern oppoſite points of land. The careenage bay which led up towards Morne Fortune, lay between two and three miles to the northward of the grand Cul de Sac; and the peninſula of the Viegie, occupied by general Meadows, formed the northern boundary of the careenage, and covered its entrance on that ſide; Choc bay, and Gros Iſlet bay lay ſtill farther north.

Strange as it may appear, it is certain that the intelligence received by d'Eſtaing was ſo imperfect, that he did not even know that the Britiſh forces had extended their operations ſo far as to have taken poſſeſſion of the Viegie, and other poſts adjoining to the careenage; and, under this deluſion, his firſt motion in the morning was to ſtand in, with his whole fleet of ſhips of war and tranſports, for that bay. But a well-directed fire, which his own ſhip, the Languedoc, received from one of thoſe batteries which had ſo lately changed maſters, ſoon convinced him of his miſtake. Diſconcerted by a circumſtance ſo wholly unexpected, he was, for ſome time, at a loſs how to act. At length, however, d'Eſtaing, with ten ſail of the line, ſtood on for the enemy's ſquadron. A warm conflict enſued; but the Engliſh admiral ſuſtained the attack with the utmoſt firmneſs, and, being ably ſeconded by the battery from the northern ſhore, which compleatly raked the enemies ſhips as they bore up, compelled them to fall to leeward, and diſcontinue the engagement.

At four in the afternoon, d'Eſtaing, having made a new diſpoſition, renewed the action with twelve ſail of the line. This attack was better ſupported and longer continued than the firſt; the cannonade was exceedingly heavy, and its whole weight concentrated within a narrower direction than before; but neither the change of poſition, nor the additional force, were capable of rendering this effort more ſucceſsful than the former. After a long and cloſe engagement, the French fleet fell into confuſion, and retired from action, having ſuſtained conſiderable damage, without having been able to make the

ſmalleſt effective impreſſion on the Britiſh line. The next day the whole fleet plied up to windward, and anchored in the evening off Groſs Iſlet, about two leagues to the northward.

D'Eſtaing now reſolved to make a deſcent upon the iſland, and, accordingly, landed his troops, during the night and the following morning, in Choc bay, which lay between Groſs Iſlet and the careenage. The country which was now the ſcene of action was as difficult and impracticable, whether with reſpect to its face, or to the climate, in which it would ſeem that war could, in any manner, be conducted. It preſented no regular face, but a broken and confuſed heap of ſteep and abrupt hills, ſcattered among greater mountains, every where diſſected by narrow winding vallies, deep defiles, and difficult gullies. The Engliſh general, Grant, with the bulk of his forces, occupied all the ſtrong holds among the hills on either ſide of the grand Cul de Sac; and commanded, by ſeveral detached poſts, the ground that extended from thence to the careenage, which lay at a diſtance of about two miles. A battery on their ſide, and at the ſouth point of the careenage, with another on the oppoſite point of the Viegie, defended the entrance into that bay, and, as we have before ſtated, checked the attempt of the French fleet to attain that object. Theſe troops were alſo poſſeſſed of two other batteries, near the bottom of the bay, where it narrows into, or is joined by a creek, which, paſſing Morne Fortune, interſects the country for ſome way farther up. Theſe batteries were covered in front by the creek, and commanded, in a conſiderable degree, the land approaches to the Viegie.

Thus general Meadows, who, with the reſerve, was ſtationed, and, as it were, ſhut up in that peninſula, was, by diſtance and ſituation, as well as that decided ſuperiority which the numbers of the French enabled them to maintain in all the parts of whatever ſervice they undertook, totally cut off from the ſupport of the main body, any farther than what might be derived from the batteries above mentioned. He was, indeed, in poſſeſſion of very ſtrong ground, but there were circumſtances to counterbalance that advantage. A retreat, however preſſed or overpowered he might be, was impoſſible; and the very circumſtance of ſituation, which afforded ſtrength to the peninſula in one reſpect, rendered it liable to danger in another, as he was expoſed to a landing and attack from the ſea in the rear, at the very inſtant that he might have been deſperately engaged, or perhaps overborne, in the front. But, fortunately for the Engliſh, his troops, though ſmall in number (not exceeding thirteen hundred men) had been trained to diſcipline, inured to fatigue, and accuſtomed to exertions of courage in the plains of America; while their boſoms were fired with the ſame paſſion for glory which ſo ardently glowed in the breaſt of their commander.

The French were extremely diſappointed when, after their landing, they diſcovered that the Engliſh were in poſſeſſion of the mountains on the ſouth ſide of the grand Cul de

de Sac; for the bombarding of the Britiſh fleet from thoſe heights, which ſo effectually commanded that bay, was the firſt great object of their landing; which, from the ſtrong poſition occupied by that part of the enemy's troops, was now totally unattainable, without a general engagement, which d'Eſtaing was not yet diſpoſed to riſk.

After an attentive conſideration of the different circumſtances, the French commanders determined to direct their firſt effort ſeparately againſt general Meadows; and to attack the peninſula, at the ſame time, by land and ſea. For the firſt of theſe purpoſes, about five thouſand of their beſt troops were drawn out (on the eighteenth of December) and advanced in three columns to attack the Britiſh lines, which were drawn acroſs the iſthmus that joins the peninſula to the continent. That on the right was led by the count d'Eſtaing; the centre by the count de Lovendhal; and the left column by the marquis de Bouillé, governor of Martinico. The remainder of the forces were kept diſengaged, to watch the motions of the Engliſh troops that were ſtationed in the other poſts, and to check any attempt they might make to ſuccour general Meadows.

On the near approach of the columns, they were enfiladed, with great effect, by the batteries on the ſouth of the bay; but, notwithſtanding this impediment, they ruſhed on to the charge, with that impetuoſity which ſo ſtrongly characterizes their nation. They were received with a coolneſs, ſteadineſs, and immoveable firmneſs, which even exceeded the expectations of thoſe who were moſt verſed in the temper and character of their enemy. The French troops were ſuffered to advance ſo cloſe to the entrenchments, without oppoſition, that the Britiſh front line fired but once, and then received the enemy on the bayonet. That fire had, of courſe, a dreadful effect; but the French, notwithſtanding, ſupported the conflict with great reſolution, and ſuffered extremely before they were entirely repulſed.

As ſoon as they had recovered their breath and order, they renewed the attack with the ſame eagerneſs and impetuoſity as before; and were again encountered with the ſame determined reſolution and inflexible obſtinacy. Although they had ſuffered ſeverely in theſe two attacks, they again rallied, and returned to the charge the third time. But the affair was now ſoon decided. They were totally broken, and obliged to retire in the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion, leaving their dead and wounded in the power of the victors[3]. The diverſion attempted by ſea produced little or no effect.

[3] In a converſation which the author had with the count de Lovendhal, on the ſubject of this expedition, two years after it took place, he had the ſatisfaction to hear that nobleman declare, that a more able and maſterly diſpoſition for the reception of an enemy, more invincible firmneſs in ſuſtaining, or more intrepid courage in repelling an attack, than was that day diſplayed by the Engliſh commander and his troops, no officer had ever witneſſed. The count profeſſed the higheſt admiration and eſteem for general Meadows, and predicted, from what he had ſeen of his conduct in this action, that he would make one of the firſt generals in Europe. The whole tenour of that gallant officer's behaviour tends to juſtify the opinion entertained of him by the count,

The loſs ſuſtained by the French exceeded any thing that could have been ſuppoſed or apprehended, whether from the numbers engaged, or from the duration of the action. No leſs than four hundred men were killed upon the ſpot; five hundred were ſo deſperately wounded as to be rendered incapable of ſervice; and ſix hundred more were ſlightly wounded; the whole amounting to a number conſiderably ſuperior to that of the enemy whom they had encountered. The loſs of the victors was comparatively as ſmall, as that on the ſide of the vanquiſhed was great, and beyond uſual example; not one Britiſh officer—though many were wounded—loſt his life in the action.

Count d'Eſtaing continued ten days longer on the iſland, without making any farther attempt, by ſea or land, to recover poſſeſſion of it, notwithſtanding the vaſt ſuperiority of his naval force, which hourly acquired an acceſſion of ſtrength, by the arrival of French and American privateers, which flocked thither from all quarters, to partake of the ſpoil, if not of the glory, of the enterprize. He, at length, however, found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of relinquiſhing a conteſt, which had proved equally barren of profit and of honour. He, accordingly, embarked his troops, on the night of the twenty-eighth, and, on the following day, abandoned the iſland to its deſtiny. The chevalier de Micoud, thus deprived of all expectation of ſuccour, gave up the idea of farther reſiſtance, and ſurrendered to the Engliſh.

In order to prevent any interruption of the thread of our narration, we deemed it expedient to preſent under one point of view all the military operations in America and the Weſt Indies; though many of them were poſterior to the hoſtile events which occurred in Europe, to which we ſhall advert. The firſt act of hoſtility—committed, however, under circumſtances which peculiarly juſtified the attempt—was the capture of the Licorne frigate by the Engliſh, on the ſeventeenth of June. This, which was immediately followed by other acts of a ſimilar nature, was made uſe of by the French miniſtry as the oſtenſible ground for iſſuing out orders for repriſals on the ſhips of Great Britain; and an ordinance for the diſtribution of prizes—which had been ſigned on the twenty-eighth of March, though, from political motives, it had hitherto lain dormant—was now immediately publiſhed. Some days after its publication, the French fleet ſailed from Breſt, amounting to thirty-two ſail of the line, and a great number of frigates. They were divided in three ſquadrons or diviſions, the whole being under the command of the count d'Orvilliers, who was aſſiſted, in his own particular diviſion, by admiral count de Guichen. The ſecond was commanded by count du Chaffault, aſſiſted by M. de Rochechouart; and the third by the duke of Chartres, a prince of the blood, who was ſeconded by admiral count de Graſſe. M. de la Motte Piquet, though bearing the rank of admiral, acted as firſt captain in the duke of Chartres' ſhip. On their departure from Breſt they captured an Engliſh frigate, the Lively, which had been ſent to watch their motions.

On

On the twenty-third of July the count d'Orvilliers deſcried the Engliſh fleet, under the command of admiral Keppel; but as his principal object was to intercept the enemy's trade, and to protect that of his own country, he ſtudiouſly avoided an engagement, until the twenty-ſeventh, when the efforts of the Engliſh to bring him to action, at length, proved ſucceſsful. During this interval two French ſhips of the line had been ſeparated from the fleet, ſo that the two admirals engaged on equal terms, each having thirty ſail of the line. The action, however, being reluctantly entered upon, on the part of the French, was wholly indeciſive: count d'Orvilliers availed himſelf of the approach of night to return to the port of Breſt; and the Engliſh, ſoon after, retired within their harbours to refit.

It is a matter of extreme regret, inaſmuch as it tends to deſtroy the repoſe of a great part of mankind, that while the active ſpirit of enterprize, which forms ſo prominent a feature in the character of Europeans, has extended their commerce and intercourſe to the moſt diſtant regions of the world, their contentions and animoſities have kept an equal pace with their diſcoveries, and have been either diſſeminated amongſt, or in ſome degree affected, the remoteſt nations; experience thereby expoſing the fallacy of that liberal ſyſtem of general advantage, which a ſpeculative philoſopher might otherwiſe have hoped from the eſtabliſhment of a free and eaſy communication between all the different communities of men. It has been obſerved—and the obſervation has, unhappily, but too much truth in it—that ſuch is the nature of man, that it may be a queſtion of no ſmall doubt, whether the proſcriptive laws or policy of China and Japan, againſt the admiſſion of foreigners, have not true wiſdom for their baſis; and, however fatal they may be to the progreſs of ſcience and arts, and the diffuſion of general knowledge, whether they do not lay a more ſolid and permanent foundation of public ſecurity and private happineſs, than ſyſtems more refined, and inſtitutions more liberal. Thus much is certainly clear, that the adoption of this policy would have ſaved many great nations from unexpected ruin, and from general deſolation.

While the effects of the conteſt between France and England were gradually ſpreading through the different parts of the old and the new weſtern world, its rage was ſpeedily communicated to the remoter regions of the eaſt; to a quarter of the globe, naturally and originally appertaining to the moſt peaceable, as well as to the moſt unmixed and primitive race of mankind; a race more abhorrent of blood and cruelty than any other.

The ſettlements of France in the Eaſt Indies had been totally ſubdued in the laſt war, and, though reſtored on the peace, were, by the conditions of the treaty, left in a ſtate of weakneſs and degradation. Previous to any public declaration of war, the Engliſh Eaſt India company, apprized of the diſpoſition of the court of Verſailles to vindicate the independence of America, diſpatched orders to their governors to anticipate all danger in that quarter by an immediate attack on the poſſeſſions of the French. In conſequence

ſequence of theſe inſtructions, preparations were made by the government of Madras for taking the field with all poſſible diſpatch; but before the Britiſh forces could proceed on their intended expedition, the hoſtile fleets of France and England, under the command of monſieur Tronjolli and admiral Vernon, met near the road of Pondicherry; when an obſtinate conflict enſued, which, though attended with no material loſs on either ſide, proved highly advantageous to the Engliſh, inaſmuch as it induced the French commodore to leave the coaſt, and enabled his adverſary to fulfil the object of his expedition, in forming the blockade of Pondicherry.

That city was completely inveſted by the Engliſh army on the twenty-firſt of Auguſt; the deficiencies ariſing from the weakneſs of its works were amply ſupplied by the bravery of the garriſon, and the ability of the governor, M. de Bellecombe, who, with about three thouſand men, of whom only nine hundred were Europeans, gallantly reſiſted, for the ſpace of a month, all the efforts of the Engliſh army, amounting, in the whole to ten thouſand five hundred men. But the moſt ſpirited exertions could only tend to protract the hour of ſubmiſſion; a practicable breach being made in the walls, and every preparation for a general aſſault completed, the governor was reduced to the neceſſity of averting the impending ruin by a timely capitulation, which was ſigned on the ſixteenth of October. The gallantry of his conduct enſured him the moſt honourable terms from a generous foe; the regiment of Pondicherry were, at his requeſt, allowed to keep their colours; all private property was ſecured; the European part of the garriſon were to be tranſported to France; and the ſeapoys, or black troops, were to be diſbanded in the country.

The victors, at the ſame time, took poſſeſſion of the different factories of the French in Bengal, and on the coaſts of Coromandel; the Engliſh flag was erected on the walls of Chandernagore, Gemain, Carical, and Maſulipatam: the fort of Mahie, in the dominions of Hyder Ally, and protected by the name of that prince, with the iſlands of Mauritius and Bourbon, ſtrong in the number of their inhabitants, and the advantages of their ſituation, alone defied the ſtorm of war.

A. D. 1779.] Count d'Eſtaing, having received a conſiderable acceſſion of force during his ſtay at Martinico, whither he had returned after his unſucceſsful attempt to recover the iſland of Saint Lucia, was enabled to open the preſent campaign with vigour and effect, and induced to project expeditions the moſt daring and deciſive. Saint Vincent's, one of the neutral iſlands, and which had been ceded to England, at the concluſion of the laſt war, was the firſt object of his enterprize, and became an eaſy conqueſt. He then purſued his courſe for Grenada, and arrived off that iſland, on the ſecond of July, with a fleet of five-and-twenty ſail of the line, and twelve frigates, having on board a body of forces, which, including marines, amounted to ten thouſand men. The iſland did not contain more than one hundred and fifty regular troops, and about four hundred

hundred armed inhabitants; while its whole ſtrength conſiſted in a fortified hill, which commanded the fort, harbour, and town of Saint George.

The French landed between two and three thouſand men, under the conduct of count Dillon, who the next day inveſted the hill, and made the neceſſary preparations for carrying it by ſtorm on the following night. The governor, lord Macartney, had placed great reliance on the natural and artificial ſtrength of this poſt; and by the inhabitants it was deemed to afford ſo perfect a ſecurity, that it was rendered a depoſit for plate, jewels, and other moſt valuable moveables. Their reſiſtance was proportioned to the booty it contained; and though d'Eſtaing headed a column of the French troops in perſon, they were repulſed at the firſt onſet. The ſuperiority of their numbers, however, proved finally deciſive, and they forced the lines, after a ſevere conteſt, which laſted about an hour and an half.

The cannon which they had taken on the top of the hill were now directed againſt the fort; and the governor, ſenſible of the inutility of farther reſiſtance, propoſed a capitulation; but d'Eſtaing, inflated with the pride of conqueſt, rejected with diſdain the proffered terms; and inſolently preſcribed ſuch arbitrary conditions, as the governor and inhabitants thought it better to truſt to the law and cuſtoms of nations than accept: they therefore ſurrendered without any ſtipulations whatſoever, and abandoned themſelves to the diſcretion of the victor.

The ſeverity and oppreſſion exerciſed by d'Eſtaing, after the reduction of the iſland, ſullied the ſplendour of his conqueſt; but his arbitrary proceedings were ſoon ſuſpended by the appearance of the Engliſh admiral. Byron, on his return to Saint Lucia, had been informed of the loſs of Saint Vincent's, and, in conjunction with general Grant, had concerted a plan for the recovery of that iſland: but, while they were on their paſſage, they received the diſagreeable intelligence of the invaſion of Grenada, and immediately changed their deſign, in the hopes of being ſtill able to preſerve that valuable ſettlement.

A ſignal from a battery on the iſland firſt apprized the French commander of the enemy's approach: he immediately iſſued orders for his whole fleet to ſtand out to ſea; and, though greatly ſuperior in numbers to admiral Byron, deemed it more prudent to ſecure his preſent acquiſition, than to hazard it in ſearch of freſh laurels. The Engliſh in vain endeavoured to bring on a general action; d'Eſtaing conſtantly and ſucceſsfully eluded their efforts; and the conteſt that enſued was partial and indeciſive. During the action the Engliſh were firſt informed of the total reduction of the iſland of Grenada: the object of the enterprize was thus at an end; ſome of their ſhips had ſuffered conſiderably in the engagement; and they determined to retreat to Saint Chriſtopher's; while d'Eſtaing,

taing, ſatisfied with the protection he had afforded to his new conqueſt, returned, during the night, to Grenada.

But no ſooner had he regulated the government of that iſland, than he ſteered for Martinico; and, having there taken in an ample ſupply of naval ſtores, proceeded towards Saint Chriſtopher's, and defied the Engliſh to battle. Incapable of forcing them in their own harbour, and having thus retorted the inſult that had been formerly offered to him at Martinico, he directed his efforts to a different quarter.

America had hitherto received no very eſſential ſervice, with reſpect to the direct operations of the war, from any co-operation of the French arms. The attempt on Rhode Iſland, in conjunction with d'Eſtaing, was productive of expence, danger, and loſs, uncompenſated by the ſmalleſt benefit. Nor was the conduct of that commander more ſatisfactory to the Americans than the expedition itſelf was advantageous. On the other hand, much miſchief and danger to the ſouthern provinces had ariſen during the height of the connection, and were perhaps ſcarcely counterbalanced by the recovery of Philadelphia; even admitting that event to have been an indirect conſequence of the French alliance; and ſuppoſing that the Britiſh forces would not otherwiſe have evacuated that capital. It alſo afforded a juſt ſubject of complaint to the Americans, that the protection, equipment, and ſupply afforded to the French fleet at Boſton, ſhould produce no better effect, than that immediate deſertion of their coaſts, which expoſed them to the ſouthern invaſion. Upon the whole their new alliance had not as yet produced thoſe important advantages which had been certainly holden out in the warmth of ſpeculation; nor even that proportion of them, which might have been reaſonably expected, as well from a conſideration of the motives which led to the connection, as of the general ſtate of affairs, and the means and power of the ally.

Impreſſed by theſe conſiderations, the French court now determined to afford ſome eſſential aid to their new allies, by directing d'Eſtaing's whole force to their aſſiſtance. That commander, accordingly, having firſt waited to ſee the homeward-bound Weſt India trade clear of danger, proceeded, with two-and-twenty ſhips of the line and ten frigates, to the coaſt of North-America. His firſt object, which was expected to be accompliſhed with little difficulty, was the deſtruction of the force under the Engliſh general Prevoſt, and the conſequent liberation of the ſouthern colonies from all their preſent danger and alarm. The ſecond was of greater importance, and likely to be attended with much greater difficulty and danger: it was a deſign to attack, in conjunction with general Waſhington, the Britiſh force at New-York, by ſea and land at the ſame time; and thus, by the reduction of that iſland and its dependencies, together with the conſequent ruin of the enemy's fleet and army, to bring the war on that continent to a final concluſion.

As

As ſoon as d'Eſtaing had arrived on the coaſt of America, he was informed that general Lincoln, who commanded at Charles-Town, had received orders to act in concert with him: ſome few days were conſequently loſt in adjuſting the future operations of their combined forces; and it was not till more than a week after his firſt appearance that he anchored off the bar of the Tybee, at the mouth of the river Savannah. The troops were landed at Beaulieu, about thirteen miles from Savannah town; the frigates were ſtationed ſo as to ſecure the different inlets of the river; and the French, with the American light-horſe, having driven in the out-poſts of the enemy, count d'Eſtaing ſummoned general Prevoſt to ſurrender the place to the arms of his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty.

This ſummons was conveyed in terms the moſt haughty and imperious; the count vaunted, in high language, that he commanded the ſame troops, a detachment of whom had recently taken the Hoſpital-Hill in Grenada by ſtorm, notwithſtanding its ſtrength was ſo great as to be deemed by its defenders impregnable. He held out the circumſtances of that tranſaction as a leſſon of caution, to ſhew the futility, and the very great danger, with the force which the Engliſh general had, and ſuch works as he had to defend, of reſiſting the ardour of thoſe conquering troops, whoſe pillage he was himſelf unable to reſtrain. General Prevoſt was warned, in rather commanding terms, that he ſhould be perſonally reſponſible for all the unhappy or fatal conſequences which might be the reſult of his obſtinacy, in venturing a fruitleſs reſiſtance againſt a force, with which he was wholly incapable of contending.

Though general Prevoſt had diligently employed the interval, between the arrival of the French and the receipt of this ſummons, in ſtrengthening the imperfect fortifications of the town, he yet was in hourly expectation of being joined by a conſiderable detachment, then abſent on an expedition againſt South Carolina. This circumſtance induced him to return an ambiguous anſwer; and count d'Eſtaing, in hopes of obtaining poſſeſſion of the town without bloodſhed, conſented to a truce for twenty-four hours. He had ſoon reaſon to lament the addreſs that had deceived him into this ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities; in the ſhort ſpace mentioned, the expected detachment entered Savannah, and the anſwer of the Engliſh general announced his reſolution to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity.

The French forces conſiſted of near five thouſand regular troops, and ſome hundreds of mulattoes and free negroes, whom they had brought with them from the Weſt-Indies: the Americans, who joined them under the conduct of general Lincoln, ſwelled the numbers of the beſieging army to eight thouſand men: the Britiſh garriſon that defended Savannah did not exceed three thouſand. D'Eſtaing, having previouſly puſhed a ſap to within three hundred yards of the abbatis, to the left of the Britiſh center, began to bombard the town, in the night of the third of October; and, on the enſuing morn, he opened a violent cannonade, with thirty-ſeven pieces of heavy artillery, and nine mor-

tars, from his land batteries, and ſixteen cannon from the water, which was continued for five ſucceſſive days. The town and its inhabitants ſuffered greatly from the fire of the French; but neither the troops, nor the works they defended, ſuſtained any material injury. With a view to encreaſe the diſtreſs of the beſieged, the allied generals, deſtitute of that courteſy and humanity which ſo ſtrongly characterize the military operations of civilized nations, refuſed, in language the moſt brutal and inſulting, a paſſage through their lines to the women and children of Savannah, which was requeſted by general Prevoſt.

The regular approaches that had been firſt determined on but ill ſuited the impetuoſity of the French commander; he was ſenſible of the danger to which his ſhips were expoſed, in a moſt critical ſeaſon of the year, upon a coaſt which could afford them no poſſible ſhelter; he obſerved that his batteries had produced but little effect on the Britiſh works; he was impatient to proceed in queſt of new enterprizes; and he relied, with implicit confidence, on the ſuperiority of his force, and the goodneſs of his troops.

Theſe various motives ſuperinduced a reſolution which, had it been adopted previous to the return and junction of the Britiſh detachment to general Prevoſt, might have been attended with ſucceſs. The works, then weak and imperfect, were open to an aſſault, and would probably have been forced by the impetuous valour of the French; but they had now been ſtrengthened by the aſſiduous labour of three weeks, and were covered with a numerous artillery, partly brought from the Engliſh ſhips, amounting to near one hundred pieces, and directed by captain Moncrieffe, an engineer of approved and conſummate ſkill. Yet theſe obſtacles, though they eſcaped not the obſervation, could not abate the ardor, of count d'Eſtaing.

On the ninth of October, before the dawn of day, the allies began their attack on the Britiſh lines, after a very heavy cannonade and bombardment, which had been continued during the greater part of the preceding night. D'Eſtaing in perſon led the flower of both armies, and was accompanied by all the principal officers of each. They advanced in three columns; the attack was made with great ſpirit, and ſupported with an extraordinary degree of obſtinate bravery; but they were received with ſuch undaunted courage, and firm perſeverance, that, after a dreadful conflict of ſeveral hours, they were obliged to retire, with conſiderable loſs.

The Poliſh count Polaſki, who had greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the American war, was mortally wounded in the action, in which twelve hundred of the allies are ſaid to have fallen. M. d'Eſtaing himſelf was ſeverely wounded in two places. Major-general Fontange, with ſome other French officers of diſtinction, was likewiſe wounded. This repulſe entirely fruſtrated the deſigns of the French commander, who immediately raiſed the ſiege, and abandoned the unpropitious coaſt. After detaching one ſquadron of his

his fleet to Saint Domingo; a ſecond, under M. de la Motte Piquet, to Martinico; and a third, under Monſieur de Vaudreuil, to the Cheſapeak, whoſe preſence prevented the invaſion of Virginia, and retarded that of Carolina; count d'Eſtaing himſelf, with the ſhips leaſt fit for ſervice, ſailed for Europe.

But the diſappointments experienced by France in this quarter of the globe were amply compenſated by the ſucceſs of her negociations in Europe; where, by the intrigues of her miniſters, Spain was induced to reſign the office of mediator, which ſhe had in vain aſſumed, and, by becoming a principal in the war, to fulfil the conditions of the Family Compact. The combination againſt England ſeemed now too powerful to be reſiſted; while the French miniſtry, anxious to repel the charge of perfidy which had been ſtrongly urged againſt them by Great Britain, attempted a juſtification of their conduct in a manifeſto, which they publiſhed at Paris in the name of their ſovereign.

This manifeſto ſets forth, "That at the acceſſion of Lewis the Sixteenth to the throne "of his anceſtors, France enjoyed the moſt profound peace, his deſire to perpetuate the "bleſſings whereof the king immediately ſignified to the different powers of Europe. "This diſpoſition of his majeſty was generally applauded; the king of England in par-"ticular teſtified his ſatisfaction, and gave the moſt expreſſive aſſurances of ſincere "friendſhip. Such a reciprocity of ſentiment juſtified his majeſty in believing, that "the court of London was at laſt diſpoſed to adopt a mode of conduct more equitable "and friendly than that which had been purſued ſince the concluſion of the peace of "1763; and that a final ſtop would be put to thoſe acts of *tyranny*, which his ſubjects "had, in every quarter of the globe, experienced, on the part of England, from the era "above mentioned. His majeſty perſuaded himſelf that he could place a ſtill greater "reliance on the king of England's proteſtations, as the primordial ſeed of the Ameri-"can revolution began to unfold itſelf in a manner highly alarming to the intereſt of "Great Britain.

"But the court of London, vainly imputing that to fear or weakneſs, which was but "the natural reſult of his majeſty's pacific diſpoſition, ſtrictly adhered to her cuſtomary "ſyſtem, and continued every haraſſing act of violence againſt the commerce and navi-"gation of the ſubjects of France. His majeſty repreſented theſe outrages to the king "of England with the utmoſt candour, and, judging of his ſentiments by his own, had "the greateſt confidence, that the grievances would no ſooner be made known than re-"dreſſed. Nay, farther, his majeſty, being thoroughly acquainted with the embarraſſ-"ment which the affairs of North America had occaſioned the court of London, chari-"tably forbore to encreaſe that embarraſſment, by inſiſting too haſtily on thoſe repara-"tions of injuries, which the Engliſh miniſters had never ceaſed to promiſe, nor ever "failed to evade.

" Such was the ſtate of affairs between the two courts, when the meaſures of the " court of London *compelled* the Engliſh coloniſts to have recourſe to arms for the pre- " ſervation of their rights, their privileges, and their freedom. The whole world knows " the era when this *brilliant event* ſhone forth; the multiplied and unſucceſsful efforts " made by the Americans to be reinſtated in the boſom of their mother country; the " diſdainful manner in which they were ſpurned by England; and, finally, the act of " independence, which was at length, and could not but have been, the natural reſult of " ſuch treatment.

" The war in which the United States of North America found themſelves involved, " with regard to England, neceſſarily compelled them to explore the means of forming " connections with the other powers of Europe, and of opening a direct commerce with " them. His majeſty would have neglected the moſt eſſential intereſts of his kingdom, " were he to have refuſed the Americans admiſſion into his ports, or that participation of " commercial advantages which is enjoyed by every other nation.

" This conduct, ſo much the reſult of juſtice and of wiſdom, was adopted by far the " greater part of the commercial ſtates of Europe; yet it gave occaſion to the court of " London to prefer her repreſentations, and give vent to all the bitterneſs of complaint. " She imagined, no doubt, that ſhe had but to employ her uſual ſtyle of haughtineſs and " ambition to obtain of France an unbounded deference to her will. But, to the moſt " unreaſonable propoſitions, and the moſt intemperate meaſures, his majeſty oppoſed " nothing but the *calmneſs of juſtice*, and the *moderation of reaſon*. He gave the king of " England plainly to underſtand, that he neither was, nor did he pretend to be, a judge " of the diſputes with his colonies; much leſs would it become him to avenge the quar- " rel of that monarch: that in conſequence he was under no obligation to treat the " Americans as rebels; to exclude them from his ports; and to prohibit them from all " commercial intercourſe with his ſubjects. Nevertheleſs his majeſty was very ready to " ſhackle, as much as depended on him, the exportation of arms and military ſtores; and " gave the moſt poſitive aſſurance, not only that he would not protect this ſpecies of " commerce, but that he would alſo allow England free permiſſion to ſtop thoſe of his " ſubjects who ſhould be detected in carrying on ſuch illicit traffic, obſerving only the faith " of treaties, and the laws and uſages of the ſea. His majeſty went ſtill farther: he was " ſcrupulouſly exact in obſerving every commercial ſtipulation in the treaty of Utrecht, " although it was daily violated by the court of London; and England, at the very time, " had refuſed to ratify it in all its parts. As a conſequence of the amicable part thus taken " by his majeſty, he interdicted the American privateers from arming in his ports; he " would neither ſuffer them to ſell their prizes, nor to remain one moment longer in " the ports of France than was conſiſtent with the ſtipulations of the above treaty. He " ſtrictly enjoined his ſubjects not to purchaſe ſuch prizes; and in caſe of diſobedience " they were *threatened* with confiſcation. Theſe acts had the deſired effect: but though

" diſtinguiſhed

" diſtinguiſhed as well by their condeſcenſion, as by their ſtrict adherence to the ſpirit " and letter of a treaty, which his majeſty (had he been ſo diſpoſed) might have conſi- " dered as non-exiſting; all theſe acts were far from ſatisfying the court of London. " That court affected to conſider his majeſty as reſponſible for all tranſgreſſions, al- " though the king of England, notwithſtanding a ſolemn act of parliament, could not " himſelf prevent his own merchants from furniſhing the North American colonies " with merchandize, and even military ſtores.

" It is eaſy to conceive how the refuſal to yield to the aſſuming demands, and *arbitrary* " pretenſions of England, would mortify the ſelf-ſufficiency of that power, and revive " its ancient animoſity to France. She was the more irritated from her having begun to " experience ſome checks in America, which prognoſticated to her the irrevocable ſepa- " ration of her colonies; and from foreſeeing the inevitable calamities and loſſes reſult- " ing from ſuch a ſeparation; and obſerving France profiting by that commerce, which " ſhe, with an inconſiderate hand, had thrown away, and adopting every means to render " her flag reſpectable.

" Theſe are the combined cauſes which have encreaſed the deſpair of the court of " London, and have led her to cover the ſeas with her privateers, furniſhed with letters " of marque, conceived in the moſt offenſive terms; to violate, without ſcruple, the " faith of treaties; to haraſs, under the moſt frivolous and abſurd pretences, the trade " and navigation of his majeſty's ſubjects; to aſſume to herſelf a tyrannical empire of " the ſea; to preſcribe unknown and inadmiſſible laws and regulations; to inſult, on many " occaſions, the French flag; in ſhort, to infringe on his majeſty's territories, as well in " Europe as in America, in a ſtyle of inſult the moſt marked and characteriſtic.

" If his majeſty had been leſs attentive to the ſacred rights of humanity; if he had " been more prodigal of the blood of his ſubjects; in ſhort, if, inſtead of following the " benevolent impulſe of his nature, he had ſought to avenge wounded honour; he could " not, for a moment, have heſitated to make repriſals, and to repel thoſe inſults which " had been offered to his dignity by the force of his arms. But he ſtifled even his juſt " reſentments. He was deſirous that the meaſure of his goodneſs might overflow, be- " cauſe he ſtill retained ſuch an opinion of his enemies as to expect they would yield " that to moderation and amicable adjuſtment, on his part, which their own intereſts " required of them.

" Theſe were the conſiderations which moved his majeſty to detail the whole of his " complaints to the court of London. This detail was accompanied with the moſt ſerious " repreſentations, his majeſty being deſirous that the king of England ſhould not be left in " any uncertainty, as to his majeſty's actual determination to maintain his own dignity " inviolate; to protect the rights and intereſts of his ſubjects; and to make his flag re-

" ſpected.

" ſpected. But the court of London affected to obſerve an offenſive ſilence on every " grievance repreſented by the French ambaſſador; and when it was determined to " vouchſafe an anſwer, it was an eaſy matter to deny the beſt authenticated facts; to ad- " vance principles contrary to the law of nations, to poſitive treaties, to marine uſage; " and to encourage judgments without juſtice, and confiſcations without mercy, not " leaving to the injured even the means of appeal. At the ſame time that the court of " London put the moderation and forbearance of the king to the ſevereſt trial, prepara- " tions were making, and armaments equipping, in the Engliſh ports, which could not " have America for their object; the deſign was too determinate to be miſtaken. His " majeſty, therefore, found it indiſpenſible to make ſuch diſpoſitions, on his part, as " might be ſufficient to prevent the evil deſigns of his enemy, and, at the ſame time, " to provide againſt depredations and inſults ſimilar to thoſe committed in 1755.

" In this ſtate of things his majeſty, who had hitherto rejected the overtures of the " United States of North America, (and that in contradiction to his moſt preſſing in- " tereſts) now perceived that he had not a moment to loſe in concluding a treaty with " them. Their independence had been declared and *eſtabliſhed*; England herſelf had, in " ſome degree, recognized that independence, by permitting the exiſtence of acts which " carried away every implication of ſovereignty. Had it been the intention of his ma- " jeſty to deceive England, and to adopt meaſures for the purpoſe of concealing the de- " ception, he might have drawn the veil of ſecrecy over his engagements with his preſent " allies; but the principles of *juſtice*, which have ever directed his majeſty, and his ſin- " cere deſire of preſerving peace, operated as deciſive inducements for him to purſue a " conduct more generous and noble: he conceived it a duty which he owed to himſelf " to notify to the king of England the alliance he had formed with the United States. " Nothing could be more ſimple nor leſs offenſive than the reſcript delivered by the " French ambaſſador to the Britiſh miniſter. But the council of Saint James's were not " of this opinion; and the king of England, after having firſt broken the peace, by re- " calling his ambaſſador, announced to his parliament the declaration of his majeſty, as " an act of hoſtility, as a formal and premeditated aggreſſion. It would be inſulting " credulity to ſuppoſe it can be believed, that his majeſty's recognition of the indepen- " dence of the Thirteen United States of America ſhould of itſelf have ſo irritated the " king of England: that prince, without doubt, is well acquainted with all thoſe in- " ſtances of the kind which not only the Britiſh annals, but his own reign, can furniſh. " His reſentment is founded on another principle. The French treaty defeated and ren- " dered uſeleſs the plan formed at London for the ſudden and precarious coalition that " was about to be formed with America, and it baffled thoſe ſecret projects adopted by " his Britannic majeſty for that purpoſe. The real cauſe of that extreme animoſity " which the king of England has manifeſted, and which he has communicated to his " parliament, was his inability to recover America, and to turn her arms againſt France.

" A conduct

" A conduct thus extraordinary taught his majeſty what he had to expect from the " court of London; and, even had there remained a poſſibility of doubt, the immenſe " preparations carrying on in the different ports of England, with redoubled vigour, " would have ſufficed to ſolve the doubt. Meaſures ſo manifeſtly directed againſt " France had the effect of impoſing a law upon his majeſty; he put himſelf in a condi- " tion to repel force by force; it was with this view that he haſtened the equipment of " his armaments, and that he diſpatched a ſquadron to America under the command of " count d'Eſtaing.

" It is notorious that the armaments of France were in a condition to act offenſively " long before thoſe of England were ready. It was in his majeſty's power to make a " ſudden and moſt ſenſible impreſſion on England. The king was avowedly engaged in " the enterprize, and his plans were on the point of being carried into execution, when " the bare whiſper of peace ſtayed his hand, and ſuſpended their accompliſhment. His " Catholic majeſty imparted to the king the deſire of the court of London to avail her- " ſelf of the mediation of Spain on the ſubject of conciliation. But his Catholic ma- " jeſty would not engage to act as mediator without a previous aſſurance of his good " offices being unequivocally accepted, in a caſe where he interpoſed without being made " acquainted with the principal objects, which were to ſerve as the baſis of negociation.

" The king received the overture with a ſatisfaction proportioned to the wiſh he had " uniformly expreſſed for the continuance of peace. Notwithſtanding the king of Spain " had profeſſed it to be a matter of perfect indifference to him, whether his mediation was " accepted or not; and that notwithſtanding the overtures he made, he left the king, his " nephew, entirely at liberty to act as he thought proper, yet his majeſty not only con- " ſented to the mediation, but he immediately countermanded the ſailing of the Breſt " fleet, and agreed to communicate his conditions of peace the moment that England " ſhould expreſs, in poſitive terms, a deſire of reconciliation, in which the United States " of North America were to be comprehended; France by no means entertaining an " idea of abandoning them: there could not ſurely be any thing more conformable to " the oſtenſible wiſhes of the court of London, than this propoſal. His Catholic ma- " jeſty loſt not a moment in the diſcuſſion of the buſineſs with the king of England and " his miniſter; but it was quickly diſcovered by the court of Madrid, that the Engliſh " miniſters were not ſincere in their overtures for peace. They inſiſted on the neceſſity " of his majeſty's withdrawing the reſcript which had been delivered by his ambaſſador " on the thirteenth of March, 1778, as a preliminary and indiſpenſible ſtep to reconci- " liation. Such an anſwer was injurious to *Spain* as well as France; and it developed " the hoſtile intentions of England in the cleareſt point of view. Both monarchs view- " ed each other with amazement; and although his majeſty (ever animated with a love " of peace) left the Catholic king to act as he thought moſt prudent with reſpect to con-

" tinuing

" tinuing his mediation, yet he judged it expedient to recommend his chargé des affaires " at London to obſerve a profound ſilence on the ſubject.

" The hope of peace, however, continued to flatter the diſpoſition of his majeſty, " until the fleets commanded by the admirals Keppel and Byron ſailed out of port. " Then it was that the veil of deception, which had ſerved to cover the real intentions " of the court of London, was rent aſunder. It was no longer poſſible to place confi- " dence in her inſidious profeſſions, nor could her aggreſſive deſign be any longer doubt- " ed. The face of things being thus changed, his majeſty found himſelf obliged to " make an alteration in thoſe meaſures which he had previouſly adopted, for the ſecurity " of his poſſeſſions, and the preſervation of the commerce of his ſubjects. The event " will very ſoon demonſtrate his majeſty's foreſight to have been juſt. The world can " witneſs in what manner his majeſty's frigate, the *Belle Poule*, was attacked by an Eng- " liſh frigate, within view of the French coaſt; nor is it leſs notorious that two other " frigates, and a ſmaller veſſel, were ſurprized and carried into the ports of England. " The departure of the fleet under count d'Orvilliers became abſolutely neceſſary to " fruſtrate the deſigns of the enemies of his majeſty's crown, and to revenge the inſults " his flag had received. Providence diſpoſed *the triumph in favour of the French arms*; " count d'Orvilliers, after being attacked by the Engliſh fleet, *forced them to retreat with* " *conſiderable damage*.

" Since that period hoſtilities have been continued without any declaration of war. " The court of London has not declared it, becauſe ſhe wants reaſons to juſtify her con- " duct. Nor has ſhe dared to accuſe France publickly of being the aggreſſor, after " three of his majeſty's veſſels had been captured by the Engliſh fleet; and ſhe felt that " ſhe would have ample cauſe to bluſh, when the execution of thoſe orders ſhe had ſent " clandeſtinely to India ſhould have opened the eyes of all Europe to the degree of re- " liance which can be placed in her pacific profeſſions, and ſhould have enabled every " court in it to determine to which of the two powers, France or England, the term of " *perfidious* moſt properly applies, an epithet which the Engliſh miniſter loſes no oppor- " tunity of beſtowing upon France.

" As to the king, if he has deferred notifying to the world the multiplied injuries he " has ſuſtained from the court of London; if he has delayed demonſtrating the abſolute " neceſſity of his having recourſe to arms; ſuch a procraſtination, on the part of his " majeſty, has been owing to a fond hope that the Engliſh miniſter would at laſt recol- " lect himſelf, and, that either juſtice, or the critical ſituation into which he has plunged " his country, would have prevailed on him to change his conduct.

" This hope appeared to have been the better founded, as the Engliſh miniſter was " continually diſpatching his emiſſaries to ſound his majeſty's diſpotion, at the very " time

" time the king of Spain was negociating with him for peace. His majeſty, ſo far from
" belying thoſe ſentiments which he had invariably expreſſed, liſtened with eagerneſs
" to the advice of the king, his uncle; and, to convince that prince of his perſevering
" ſincerity, his majeſty entruſted him, without reſerve, with thoſe *very moderate* condi-
" tions, on which his majeſty would moſt gladly have laid down his arms.

" The Catholic king communicated to the court of London the aſſurances he had
" received from his majeſty; and he urged that court to perfect the reconciliation which
" ſhe had long ſo earneſtly *affected* to deſire. But the Engliſh miniſter, although con-
" ſtantly feigning a wiſh for peace, never returned an *ingenuous* anſwer to the king of
" Spain, but was perpetually *inſulting* his Catholic majeſty with a tender of inadmiſſible
" propoſitions, quite foreign from the ſubject of diſpute.

" It was now clear, from the moſt indiſputable evidence, that England did not wiſh for
" peace, and that ſhe negociated for no other purpoſe but that of gaining time to make
" the neceſſary preparations for war. The king of Spain was perfectly ſenſible of this
" truth; nor was he leſs ſenſible how much his own dignity was committed; yet his
" heart anticipated the calamities of war, and he forgot his own *wrongs*, in his anxious
" wiſh for peace. He even ſuggeſted a new plan for a ceſſation of arms for a term of
" years. This plan was perfectly agreeable to his majeſty, on condition that the United
" States of America ſhould be compriſed in the propoſal, and that, during the truce,
" they ſhould be treated as independent. To render it more eaſy for the king of Eng-
" land to ſubſcribe to this eſſential ſtipulation, his majeſty conſented that he ſhould
" either treat immediately with congreſs, or through the mediation of the king
" of Spain.

" In conſequence of theſe overtures, his Catholic majeſty diſpatched his plan to the
" court of London. Beſides the time limited for the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities [during
" which the United States were to be conſidered as independent *de facto*] his Catholic
" majeſty took it upon himſelf to propoſe, relative to America, that each party ſhould
" have the poſſeſſion of what they occupied at the time of ſigning the treaty of ſuſpen-
" ſion, guaranteed to them. Such infinite pains did the king of Spain take to ſtop the
" effuſion of human blood.

" There is not a doubt but that theſe conditions muſt appear to every well-judging
" perſon, ſuch as would have been accepted; they were, however, formally rejected by
" the court of London, nor has that court ſhewn any diſpoſition to peace, unleſs
" on the *abſurd* conditions that his majeſty ſhould abandon the Americans, and leave
" them to themſelves.

" After this afflicting declaration, the continuation is become *inevitable*; and therefore
" his majeſty has invited the Catholic king to join him in virtue of their reciprocal en-

" gagements,

" gagements, to avenge their *reſpective injuries*, and to put an end to that tyrannical " empire which England has uſurped, and pretends to maintain, upon the ocean.

" This ſuccinct expoſure of the political views, and the progreſſive ſeries of events " which have occaſioned the preſent rupture between the courts of Verſailles and London " will enable all Europe to draw a parallel between the conduct of his majeſty, and that " of the king of England; to render juſtice to the *purity and directneſs of intention* which, " during the whole of the diſpute, has characterized his majeſty; and, finally, all Eu- " rope will be enabled, by this publication, to judge, *which* of the two ſovereigns is the " real author of the war which afflicts their kingdoms; and which of the two poten- " tates will be anſwerable, at the tribunal of Heaven, for that train of calamities occa- " ſioned by the war!"

Such is the language of a manifeſto, which ſtands almoſt without a parallel in the annals of Europe; thoſe annals moſt certainly preſent not a more flagrant attempt to impoſe on the credulity, or rather a more daring inſult to the *common ſenſe* of mankind. The manifeſto exhibits an impotent effort to ſanction violence and injuſtice; and to convert acts of aggreſſion, the moſt hoſtile and unequivocal, into proofs of a pacific diſpoſition. But manifeſtoes, however unfounded in truth, muſt be conſidered as a kind of ſacrifice to decency; for, in every war, it is to be preſumed that *one* party muſt be guilty of a ſhameful violation of every principle of juſtice and humanity;—to ſay nothing of the direct and poſitive precepts of the Chriſtian religion;—and it is probably a conſciouſneſs of the effect which ſuch a violation muſt produce on all *well-judging* minds, that gives riſe to the publication of manifeſtoes calculated to transfer the odium to an adverſary.

A "Juſtifying Memorial" ſoon appeared on the part of England, in reply to the unfounded declarations of the French; it was explanatory, ſpecific, and concluſive; ſome parts of it are worthy to be recorded in hiſtory:—After tracing the origin of the unhappy diſpute with the American colonies, it is remarked, that the court of Verſailles had eaſily forgotten the faith of treaties, the duties of allies, and the right of ſovereigns, to endeavour to profit by circumſtances which appeared favourable to its ambitious deſigns; that it did not bluſh to debaſe its dignity by the ſecret connections it formed with rebellious ſubjects; and, after having exhauſted all the ſhameful reſources of perfidy and diſſimulation, it dared to avow, in the face of Europe (full of indignation at its conduct) the ſolemn treaties which the miniſters of the Moſt Chriſtian king had ſigned with the dark agents of the Engliſh colonies, who founded their pretended independence on nothing but the daringneſs of their revolt.

It enforced the neceſſary diſcrimination between the oppoſite duties impoſed on nations by war and peace; which duties, it was maintained, had been perpetually confounded in the manifeſto publiſhed by France, who pretended to juſtify her conduct, in making the beſt,

beſt, by turns, nay, almoſt at the ſame time, of thoſe rights which an enemy only is permitted to claim, and of thoſe maxims which regulate the obligations and procedure of national friendſhip: it was obſerved, that the fineſſe of the court of Verſailles, in blending inceſſantly two oppoſitions, which have no connection, was the natural conſequence of a falſe and treacherous policy, which could not bear the light of the day.

The Engliſh miniſter inſiſted, that the full juſtification of his maſter, and the indelible condemnation of France, might be reduced to the proof of two ſimple, and almoſt ſelf-evident, principles. The firſt of theſe was—that a profound, permanent, and, on the part of England, a ſincere and true peace, ſubſiſted between the two nations, when France formed connections with the revolted colonies, ſecret at firſt, but afterwards public and avowed: the ſecond—that according to the beſt acknowledged maxims of the rights of nations, and even according to the tenor of treaties actually ſubſiſting between the two crowns, theſe connections might be regarded as infractions of the peace; and the public avowal of theſe connections was equivalent to a declaration of war on the part of the Moſt Chriſtian king.

The court of Verſailles was challenged to prove, that any of the vague complaints which were ſo copiouſly ſcattered over the manifeſto had the ſmalleſt foundation in truth; the accuſations of treachery were ſucceſsfully repelled; and the charge of haughtineſs and ambition was boldly retorted. It was urged that, if ſome facts, which France enhanced as the ground of their complaints, were built on a leſs ſandy baſis, the Engliſh miniſters had cleared them without delay, by a moſt clear and entire juſtification of the motives and rights of their ſovereign, who might puniſh a contraband trade on his coaſt, without wounding the public repoſe; and to whom the law of nations gave an indiſputable right to ſeize all veſſels which carried arms or warlike ſtores to his enemies or rebellious ſubjects; that the courts of juſtice were always open to individuals of all nations, and thoſe muſt be very ignorant of the Britiſh conſtitution, who could ſuppoſe that the royal authority was capable of ſhutting up the means of appeal, that, every time that the court of Verſailles had been able to eſtabliſh the truth of any real injuries which its ſubjects had ſuſtained, without the knowledge or approbation of the king of England, his majeſty had given the moſt ſpeedy and effectual orders to ſtop an abuſe, which was equally injurious to his own dignity and to the intereſt of his neighbours. It was aſked, Whether probability ſanctioned the conjecture, that whilſt the forces of England were employed in bringing back to their duty the revolted colonies of America, ſhe ſhould have choſen that moment to irritate the moſt reſpectable powers of Europe, by the injuſtice and violence of her conduct?

In order to eſtabliſh clearly the pacific ſyſtem which ſubſiſted between the two nations, the very teſtimony of the court of Verſailles was appealed to. It was aſſerted, that at the very time in which that court did not bluſh to place all thoſe pretended in-

fractions of the public peace, which would have engaged a prince, leſs ſparing of his ſubjects' blood, to make, without heſitation, repriſals, and to repel inſult by force of arms—the miniſter of the Moſt Chriſtian king ſpoke the language of confidence and friendſhip; and that, inſtead of denouncing any deſign of vengeance, with that haughty tone, which at leaſt ſpares injuſtice from the reproaches of perfidy and diſſimulation, the court of Verſailles concealed the moſt treacherous conduct under the ſmootheſt profeſſions—profeſſions which now ſerved to belie its declaration, and to call to mind thoſe ſentiments which ought to have regulated its conduct. It was called upon to acknowledge, that till the moment that it dictated to the marquis de Noailles that declaration which had been received as the ſignal of war, it did not know any ground of complaint, ſufficiently real or important, to authorize a violation of the obligations of peace, and the faith of treaties, to which it had ſworn both in the face of heaven and earth; and to diſengage from that amity, of which, to the laſt moment, it had repeated the moſt ſolemn and lively aſſurances.

The warlike preparations of England were declared to have been the *conſequence* and not the *cauſe* of the proceedings of France, whoſe dangerous policy, without a motive, and without an enemy, precipitated the building and arming of ſhips in all her ports; and which employed a conſiderable part of her revenues in the expence of thoſe military preparations, the neceſſity or object of which it was impoſſible to declare: in this reſpect the king of England only followed the council of his prudence, and the *example* of his neighbours, and that with a view to maintain the general tranquillity of Europe.

Adverting to the declaration of the French miniſter, that the Britiſh monarch, "inſtead of confining himſelf within the limits of a lawful defence, gave himſelf up to a "hope of conqueſt; and that the reconciliation of Great Britain with her colonies, announced, on her part, a fixed project of re-allying them with her crown, to arm them "againſt France," the court of Verſailles was ſummoned, in the face of Europe, to produce a proof of an aſſertion as odious as it was bold, and to develope thoſe public operations, or ſecret intrigues, that could authorize the ſuſpicions of France, that Great Britain, after a long and painful diſpute, offered peace to her ſubjects, with no other deſign than to undertake a freſh war againſt a reſpectable power, with which ſhe had preſerved all the appearances of friendſhip.

To prove that France was bound by every obligation of friendſhip and treaty with the king of England, who had never failed in his legitimate engagement, the French miniſter was referred to the treaty ſigned at Paris, on the tenth of February, 1763, between their Britannic, Moſt Chriſtian, Catholic, and Moſt Faithful majeſties, which confirms, in the moſt preciſe and ſolemn manner, the obligations which natural juſtice impoſes on all nations which are in mutual friendſhip. After having compriſed, in a general form, all the ſtates and ſubjects of the high contracting powers, they declared their reſolution, "not

" not only never to permit any hoſtilities by land or ſea, but even to procure recipro-
" cally, on every occaſion, all that can contribute to their mutual glory, intereſt, and
" advantages, without giving any ſuccour or protection, directly or indirectly, to thoſe
" who would do any prejudice to one or other of the high contracting parties." Such was the ſacred engagement which France had contracted with Great Britain; and the latter very juſtly maintained, that ſuch a promiſe ought to bind with greater ſtrength and energy againſt the domeſtic rebels, than the foreign enemies of the two crowns. The revolt of the Americans, it was contended, put the fidelity of the court of Verſailles to the proof; if France had intended to fulfil her duty, it was impoſſible for her to have miſtaken it; the ſpirit as well as the letter of the treaty of Paris impoſed on her an obligation to bar her ports againſt the American veſſels; to forbid her ſubjects to have any commerce with that rebellious people; and not to afford either ſuccour or protection to the domeſtic enemies of a crown with which ſhe had ſworn a ſincere and inviolable friendſhip.

It was obſerved, that after the declaration of independence, the agents of the revolted colonies, who were anxious to draw from Europe thoſe military aids, without which it was impoſſible for them to continue the war, endeavoured to penetrate into and ſettle in the different ſtates; but that France was the only power which would afford them an aſylum, hopes, and aſſiſtance. The difficulty of preventing, in all caſes, illicit commerce, was readily acknowledged; but it was inſiſted, that the conduct of the French merchants, who furniſhed America not only with uſeful and neceſſary merchandize, but even with ſaltpetre, gun-powder, arms, and artillery, loudly proclaimed that they were aſſured not only of impunity, but of the protection and favour of the miniſters of the court of Verſailles.

To eſtabliſh, beyond the reach of confutation, the hoſtile diſpoſition, and aggreſſive conduct, of France, the Engliſh miniſters adverted to facts of ſuch profeſſed notoriety, as to preclude the chance of contradiction; they mentioned the proceedings of a company, aſſociated for the expreſs purpoſe of ſupplying the Americans with whatever could nouriſh and maintain the fire of revolt; the chief of the enterprize was publickly named; his houſe was eſtabliſhed at Paris; his correſpondents at Dunkirk, Nantz, and Bourdeaux, were equally known: the immenſe magazines which they formed, and which they repleniſhed every day, were laden in ſhips that they built or bought; and they ſcarcely diſſembled their objects, or the place of their deſtination.

Theſe facts, which could be conſidered only as manifeſt breaches of the faith of treaties, were continually multiplied, and the Britiſh ambaſſador had diligently communicated his complaints and proofs to the court of Verſailles: he even pointed out the names, number, and quality of the ſhips, that the commercial agents of America had fitted out in the ports of France, to carry to the rebels arms, warlike ſtores, and even French officers,

cers, who had engaged in the ſervice of the revolted colonies: the duties, places, and perſons were always ſpecified, with a preciſion that afforded the miniſters of his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty the greateſt facility of being aſſured of theſe reports, and of ſtopping in time the progreſs of theſe illicit armaments. Numerous examples, demonſtrative of the neglect of the court of Verſailles to fulfil the conditions of peace, and of its conſtant attention to nouriſh fear and diſcord, were cited; and the following quotation was made from a ſhort memorial preſented by lord Stormont to the count de Vergennes, in the month of November, 1777, as giving a juſt, though very imperfect idea of the wrongs which Britain had ſo often ſuſtained:—"There is a ſixty-gun ſhip at Rochfort, and an "Eaſt-India ſhip, pierced for ſixty guns, at l'Orient, which are deſtined for the ſervice "of the rebels. They are laden with different merchandize, and freighted by Meſſrs. "Chaumont, Holken, and Sabatier. The ſhip l'Heureux ſailed from Marſeilles the "twenty-ſixth of September, under another name: ſhe goes ſtraight to New Hamp-"ſhire, though it is pretended ſhe is bound to the French iſlands. They have been "permitted to take on board three thouſand muſquets, and twenty-five thouſand pounds "of ſulphur; a merchandize as neceſſary to the Americans, as uſeleſs to the iſlands. "This ſhip is commanded by M. Lundi, a French officer of diſtinction, formerly lieu-"tenant to M. de Bougainville. L'Hippopotame, belonging to the Sieur Beaumarchais, "will have on board four thouſand muſquets, and many warlike ſtores for the uſe of the "rebels. There are about fifty French ſhips laden with ammunition for the uſe of the "rebels, preparing to ſail to North America. They will go from Nantz, l'Orient, "Saint Malo, Havre, Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and other different ports."—Then followed the names of the perſons principally intereſted.

Various other acts of aggreſſion were ſpecified and detailed. Ships, it was affirmed, had been purchaſed and arrived in France to cruize in the European ſeas, nay, even on the coaſts of Great Britain: to ſave appearances the captains of theſe corſairs hoiſted the American flag, but their crews were always compoſed of a great number of Frenchmen, who entered, with impunity, under the very eyes of the governors and officers of the maritime provinces: a numerous ſwarm of theſe corſairs, animated by a ſpirit of rapine, ſailed from the French ports, and, after cruiſing in the Britiſh ſeas, re-entered, or took ſhelter in the ſame ports: thither they brought their prizes, and under a rude, weak artifice, which they ſometimes vouchſafed to employ, the prizes were ſold, publickly and commodiouſly enough, in the ſight of the royal officers, always diſpoſed to protect the commerce of thoſe traders, who violated the laws, to conform to the French miniſtry. The corſairs enriched themſelves with the ſpoils of the Britiſh ſubjects; and, after having profited of full liberty to repair their loſſes, provide for their wants, and procure all warlike ſtores, gunpowder, cannon, and rigging, which might ſerve for new enterprizes, they departed freely from the ſame ports to make new cruizes. The Repriſal privateer, which had brought Franklin, agent to the revolted colonies, to Europe, was received, with two prizes ſhe had taken, in her poſſeſſion; ſhe remained in the port of Nantz as long as ſhe

ſhe thought convenient; put twice to ſea to plunder the ſubjects of England; and went quietly into l'Orient with the new prizes ſhe had made.

Notwithſtanding the ſtrongeſt repreſentations of the Britiſh ambaſſador, notwithſtanding the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of the French miniſters, the captain of that corſair was permitted to ſtay at l'Orient as long as it was neceſſary to refit his ſhip, to provide ſixty barrels of gunpowder, and to receive as many French ſeamen as choſe to engage with him. Furniſhed with theſe reinforcements, the Repriſal ſailed a third time from the ports of France, and preſently formed a little ſquadron of pirates, by the connected junction of the Lexington and the Dolphin, two privateers, the firſt of which had already carried more than one prize into the river of Bourdeaux; and the other, fitted out at Nantz, and manned entirely by Frenchmen, had nothing American but the commander. Theſe three ſhips, which ſo publickly enjoyed the protection of the court of Verſailles, in a ſhort time afterwards took fifteen Britiſh veſſels, the greateſt part of which were taken into the ports of France, and ſecretly ſold. Similar inſtances of aggreſſive conduct were adduced in the French iſlands in the Weſt-Indies.

To the firſt repreſentations of the Britiſh ambaſſador, on the ſubject of the privateers, which were fitted out in the French ports under American colours, the miniſters of his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty replied, with expreſſions of ſurprize and indignation, and by a poſitive declaration, that attempts, ſo contrary to the faith of treaties, and the public tranquillity, ſhould never be ſuffered. But the train of events ſoon manifeſted the inconſtancy, or rather the falſhood of the court of Verſailles; and the Engliſh ambaſſador was ordered to repreſent to the French miniſters the ſerious, but inevitable, conſequences of their policy. He fulfilled his commiſſion with all the conſideration due to a reſpectable power, the preſervation of whoſe friendſhip was deſired, but with a friendſhip worthy of a ſovereign, and a nation little accuſtomed to do or to ſuffer injuſtice. The court of Verſailles was called upon to explain its conduct, and its intentions, without delay or evaſion; and the king of England propoſed to it the alternative of peace or war. France choſe peace, in order to wound her enemy more ſurely and ſecretly, without having any thing to dread from her juſtice. She ſeverely condemned thoſe ſuccours and armaments, which the principles of public equity would not permit her to juſtify. She declared to the Britiſh ambaſſador, that ſhe was reſolved to baniſh the American corſairs immediately from all the ports of France, never to return again; and that ſhe would take, in future, the moſt rigorous precautions to prevent the ſale of prizes taken from the ſubjects of Great Britain. The orders given to that effect aſtoniſhed the partiſans of the rebels, and ſeemed to check the progreſs of the evil: but ſubjects of complaint ſprang up again daily; and the manner in which theſe orders were firſt eluded, then violated, and, at length, entirely forgotten, by the merchants, privateers, nay, even by the royal officers, was not excuſable by the proteſtations of friendſhip, with which the court of

Verſailles

Verſailles accompanied thoſe infractions of peace, until the very moment that the treaty of alliance, which it had ſigned with the agents of the revolted American colonies, was announced by the French ambaſſador in London.

If a foreign enemy, acknowledged by all the powers of Europe, had conquered the Britiſh American dominions; and if France had confirmed, by a ſolemn treaty, an act of violence, that had plundered, in the midſt of a profound peace, a reſpectable neighbour, of whom ſhe ſtiled herſelf the friend and ally; all Europe would have ſtood up againſt the injuſtice of her conduct, which ſhamefully violated all that is moſt ſacred among men. The firſt diſcovery, the uninterrupted poſſeſſion of two hundred years, and the conſent of all nations, were ſufficient to aſcertain the rights of Great Britain over the lands of North America, and its ſovereignty over the people that had ſettled there, with the permiſſion, and under the government of the predeceſſors of the king of England. If even this people had dared to ſhake off the yoke of authority, or rather of the laws; if they had uſurped the provinces and prerogatives of their ſovereign; and if they had ſought the alliance of ſtrangers to ſupport their pretended independence; thoſe ſtrangers could not, it was contended, accept their alliance, ratify their uſurpations, and acknowledge their independence, without ſuppoſing that *revolt* hath more extenſive rights than thoſe of *war*; and without granting to rebellious ſubjects a lawful title to conqueſt, which they could not have made, but in contempt both of law and juſtice. The ſecret enemies of peace —ſaid the Britiſh miniſter—of England, and, *perhaps, of France herſelf*, had nevertheleſs the criminal dexterity to perſuade his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, that he could, without violating the faith of treaties, publickly declare, that he received the revolted ſubjects of a king, his neighbour and ally, into the number of his allies. The profeſſions of friendſhip which accompanied that declaration, which the marquis de Noailles was ordered to make to the court of London, only ſerved to aggravate the injury by the inſult; and it was reſerved for France to boaſt of pacific diſpoſitions, in the very inſtant that her ambition inſtigated her to execute and avow an act of perfidy, unexampled in the hiſtory of nations.

In anſwer to the aſſertion, that it was not the acknowledgment of the independence of America that had enraged the king of England, who could not be ignorant of all the examples of the like kind that the Britiſh annals, even of his own reign, furniſh, it was properly obſerved, that no ſuch examples exiſted; that the king of England never acknowledged the independence of a people, who had ſhaken off the yoke of their lawful prince; and a concern was expreſſed, that the miniſters of his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty ſhould have cheated the piety of their ſovereign, to cover, with ſo reſpectable a name, aſſertions, without any foundation or likelihood, which were contradicted by the memory of all Europe.

The

The memorial concluded with a well-founded obſervation, that the declaration of the marquis de Noailles was a ſignal of the public infraction of the peace—in conſequence of which the king of England directly proclaimed to all nations that he accepted the war which France offered; the laſt proceedings of his majeſty, it was maintained, was rather the offspring of his prudence than his juſtice; and Europe was left to judge if the court of London wanted means to "juſtify a declaration of war, and if ſhe did not dare to "accuſe France publickly of being the aggreſſor."

Such is the ſubſtance of the Britiſh memorial, publiſhed as a reply to the French manifeſto; the facts it exhibits are ſtrong, pointed, and unanſwerable, and the arguments it contains are generally concluſive; but unhappily there is no earthly tribunal endued with power to enforce, on ſuch occaſions, the verdict which juſtice would dictate; to check the deſtructive efforts of ambition; to reſtrain the luſt of conqueſt; to avert the deadly effects of national enmity; and to fruſtrate the fatal projects of revenge. The die was already caſt; the flames of war were widely diffuſed; and amidſt the clang of arms, reaſon but ſeldom can exert her ſalutary ſway.

The intrigues of France had prevailed in the cabinet of Madrid; and the Spaniſh ambaſſador having quitted London, the two branches of the houſe of Bourbon formed a junction of their naval forces, amounting to ſixty-ſix ſail of the line, with which they triumphantly entered the Britiſh Channel. This deciſive ſuperiority compelled the Engliſh fleet to ſeek for refuge in its own ports; while the inhabitants of the Britiſh coaſt were in momentary expectation that the enemy would effect a deſcent; and even Plymouth trembled for her ſafety. But the dread of the approaching equinoctial ſtorms ſuperinduced a ſeparation of the combined fleets, after they had captured the Ardent, an Engliſh ſhip of the line; and the French ſailors, in their return to port, communicated to their countrymen a peſtilential diſorder, which raged for ſome time in different parts of the kingdom.

With a view to encreaſe the embarraſſments of England, and to divide her force, Spain, with a conſiderable army, formed the memorable ſiege of Gibraltar; an enterprize which had a contrary effect to that it was intended to produce, and finally terminated in the diſgrace of Spain, and the exultation of her foe. The land forces were entruſted to the command of Don Alvarez; Don Barcello blocked up the harbour with a number of xebecques and frigates; while Don Lewis de Cordova, with twelve ſhips of the line, was ſtationed near to afford ſupport to its operations.

Amidſt the rage of war Lewis the Sixteenth diſplayed that regard for ſcience which had early formed the prominent feature of his reign; and while his operations againſt the enemy were marked by the utmoſt vigour of exertion, two ſhips obtained a voluntary and honourable exemption from the hoſtile attempts of the French fleets. Previous to the

commencement of hoſtilities, the Engliſh had ſent two veſſels into the South Seas, commanded by captains Cook and Clerke, to explore the coaſts and iſlands of Japan and California; the return of thoſe veſſels was hourly expected in Europe: and Lewis, with that conſiderate humanity which reflects the brighteſt luſtre on his character, commanded his naval officers, by a circular letter, to abſtain from hoſtilities againſt thoſe ſhips, and to treat them, in all reſpects, as neutral veſſels. The letters alſo mentioned captain Cook, who had long diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſucceſſive voyages of diſcovery, in terms of the higheſt reſpect; but that celebrated navigator did not live to enjoy this grateful teſtimony of his merit; having already fallen a victim to the blind fury of the ſavages, in one of the newly-diſcovered iſlands.

A. D. 1780.] To augment thoſe reſources which were indiſpenſibly requiſite for the ſupport of the war, M. Neckar, who now preſided over the finances of France, exerted his talents in the taſk of reform. Not a ſingle department of the revenue eſcaped his vigilance and attention; rigid economy and judicious improvements precluded the neceſſity of additional impoſts; and a variety of unneceſſary offices in the houſhold of the king and queen were aboliſhed, at the expreſs requiſition of their majeſties, whoſe concern for the eaſe of their ſubjects, and the general welfare of the kingdom, led to the adoption of many other important regulations.

The zeal and induſtry of the director-general of the finances were rivalled by the addreſs of the French miniſters at the different courts of Europe. Fearful leſt the intimate connection which had ſubſiſted between the Engliſh and Ruſſians might lead to an alliance hoſtile to the intereſts of France, the French ambaſſador at the court of Peterſburgh was inſtructed, at this critical juncture, to conciliate the inclinations of the empreſs, by every compliance that the honour of his country would permit; and the fears of France were ſoon extinguiſhed by a manifeſto as favourable to the views of the court of Verſailles, as it was unpropitious to thoſe of Saint James's. The jealouſy that had been excited by the former aſcendancy of Great Britain, and the dominion to which ſhe had attained on the ſea, had even extended, and been nouriſhed by, the moſt diſtant powers of the north; the empreſs of Ruſſia embraced the opportunity to emancipate her commerce from the controul of the Engliſh; and was readily perſuaded, by the ambaſſador of France, to place herſelf at the head of a confederacy formed of her northern neighbours. She accordingly addreſſed a declaration to the courts of London, Verſailles, and Madrid, in which, after expatiating at large on the juſtice and moderation of which ſhe had given ſuch convincing proofs in the courſe of her war with the Ottoman Porte, and the ſtrict regard which ſhe had always ſhewn for the rights of neutrality and of commerce in general, ſhe lamented that her example had not been permitted to influence the preſent belligerent powers, but that her ſubjects had been precluded from the peaceable enjoyment of the fruits of their induſtry, and the advantages belonging to neutral nations; that they had been moleſted in their navigation, and retarded in their operations, by the ſhips and privateers

vateers of the contending ſovereigns; and that ſhe found herſelf, with concern, under the neceſſity of removing thoſe vexations which were offered to the commerce of Ruſſia in particular, and to that of Europe in general, by all the means compatible with her own dignity, and with the welfare of her ſubjects.

She proceeded to demand that neutral ſhips ſhould enjoy a free navigation, even from port to port, and on the coaſts of the belligerent powers; that all the effects belonging to thoſe powers ſhould be looked upon as free on board ſuch neutral ſhips, excepting only thoſe goods that were agreed to be contraband, as arms, ammunition, and warlike ſtores; that if any ſuch were found, beyond what might properly appertain to the ſhip's crew or paſſengers, they might be ſeized and confiſcated according to law; but neither the veſſels, paſſengers, nor the reſt of the goods, were to be detained for that reaſon, nor hindered from purſuing their voyage; that theſe principles were to ſerve as rules in the judicial proceedings and ſentences upon the legality of prizes; and her imperial majeſty declared, that to render them ſtill more reſpected, and to protect the honour of her flag, ſhe had given orders to fit out a conſiderable naval force. The kings of Denmark and Sweden immediately acceded to the declarations of the empreſs of Ruſſia; the States-general of the United Provinces, after that delay which generally prevails in the deliberations of the Republic, followed their example; and this formidable confederacy aſſumed the title of the Armed Neutrality, and engaged to make a common cauſe of it at ſea, againſt any of the powers that ſhould violate the principles which had been laid down in the Ruſſian memorial.

The king of France haſtened publickly to declare his entire approbation of a meaſure, the adoption of which his miniſters had been long ſecretly endeavouring to promote. He declared that what her imperial majeſty claimed from the belligerent powers was nothing elſe than the rules preſcribed to the French navy; the execution of which was enforced with an exactneſs known and applauded by all Europe. He heartily coincided with the principles and views of the empreſs; and he aſſerted, that from the meaſures ſhe had now adopted, ſolid advantages would undoubtedly reſult not only to her ſubjects, but likewiſe to all nations.

While France, thus ſucceſsful in the cabinet, ſecured the friendſhip of the northern potentates, the arms of her kindred ally received a deep and deſperate check. A Spaniſh fleet of eleven ſhips of the line and two frigates, cruiſing near Cape Saint Vincent's, under the command of Don Juan de Langara, were encountered, on the ſixteenth of January, by a Britiſh fleet of ſuperior force, commanded by admiral Rodney, the object of whoſe deſtination was the relief of Gibraltar. The Spaniards diſplayed great gallantry in maintaining, for a conſiderable time, the unequal conflict; but they were unable to avert that fate which an inferior force muſt ever expect to incur. One of their ſhips, the Saint Domingo, of ſeventy guns and ſix hundred men, was blown up in the action.

The admiral's ſhip, the Phœnix of eighty guns, with four more ſhips of ſeventy guns, were taken; another of the ſame rate was driven aſhore and deſtroyed; and the reſt of the fleet, after ſuſtaining conſiderable damage, eſcaped with difficulty into the neighbouring ports. Admiral Rodney immediately purſued his courſe to Gibraltar; relieved the garriſon of that fortreſs; then repaſſing the ſtreights, ſteered to the Weſt Indies, after detaching admiral Digby, with his prizes and part of his ſquadron to Great Britain, who, on his paſſage, fell in with and captured the Prothée, a French man of war of ſixty-four guns.

Nor was this the only diſaſter which aroſe from the fooliſh perſeverance of Spain in the fruitleſs ſiege of Gibraltar. France had, during the winter, at an immenſe expence, continued thoſe preparations, the object of which was to give the allies a deciſive ſuperiority at ſea; but the meditated junction of the combined fleets was retarded by the obſtinacy of the Spaniards, who confined their hoſtile attempts to that impregnable fortreſs; and the ſhips of France were confined in their harbours, by the ſuperior force of Great Britain, whoſe naval armaments ſhe was not able to encounter ſingly. Admiral Geary, with the Engliſh fleet, continued vigilantly to obſerve their motions, and the Artois, the Pearl, the Capricieuſe, the Nymphe, and the Belle-Poule, ſwelled the number of frigates, loſt to France in the ſpace of a few months, to eight, beſides the count d'Artois, a private ſhip of war, carrying ſixty-four guns. The chevalier de Kergariou, who commanded the Belle-Poule, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a bloody and gallant reſiſtance: though his ſhip mounted only thirty-two guns, and the enemy he encountered had ſixty-four, he maintained the combat with undaunted reſolution; when mortally wounded, he continued to exclaim, "*Courage, mes enfans! courage!*" and expired while animating to farther exertions his courageous crew. On his death the command devolved on his firſt lieutenant, M. la Motte Tabourel, who emulated the heroic valour of his captain, and, for three quarters of an hour, defended the Belle-Poule with equal vigour. He then reluctantly ſtruck his flag, the ſhip being on the point of ſinking. Six feet water were in the hold; ſixteen ſhot in the hull of the ſhip; the maſts and yards broken; the ſails and rigging cut to pieces; the captain and twenty-four men killed; and the ſecond captain, with fifty men, wounded. The chevalier du Remain, in the Nymphe, had diſplayed ſimilar bravery in the defence of his ſhip; equal in force to the enemy, he only yielded to her ſuperior fortune; before the colours of the Nymphe were ſtricken, two thirds of her crew were killed and wounded; and among the former was the chevalier du Remain himſelf.

Finding there was no proſpect of being joined by the Spaniards, the French ſhips of war had eſcaped from Breſt in ſmall diviſions, and repaired to Cadiz; and as the combined fleets were cruiſing off Cape Saint Vincent, fortune ſeemed diſpoſed to make them ample amends for their former diſappointments. A rich and extenſive convoy for the Britiſh poſſeſſions in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies had ſailed from England under the feeble protection

protection of a ſingle ſhip of the line, and only two frigates; and Don Louis de Cordova, who commanded the allied ſquadrons, was agreeably ſurprized, on the eighth of Auguſt, with the ſight of this valuable and defenceleſs fleet. A ſignal was made for a general chace; the ſhips of war eſcaped by their ſuperior ſailing; but five Eaſt Indiamen, and fifty veſſels bound to the Weſt Indies, were taken and carried into Cadiz; the former, beſides arms and ammunition, with a train of artillery, conveyed naval ſtores for the ſupply of the Britiſh ſquadron in that quarter; and the latter contained tents and camp equipage for the troops deſigned for active ſervice in the Leeward Iſlands; but the greateſt loſs which Great Britain ſuſtained, on this occaſion, was that of fifteen hundred and twenty ſeamen, and twelve hundred and fifty-five ſoldiers, who became the captives of the houſe of Bourbon.

In the Weſt Indies, M. de la Motte Piquet, with four ſhips of the line, attacked, on the twentieth of March, a ſmaller ſquadron of the Engliſh under commodore Cornwallis; the action, which continued the whole night and part of the following day, was totally indeciſive, not a ſhip being taken on either ſide. The French admiral, having ſuſtained conſiderable damage, and being anxious to join the grand fleet, left the enemy in a diſabled ſtate, and bore away for Cape François. The count de Guichen had ſailed from Breſt to ſupply the place of count d'Eſtaing; the fleet under his command, when united, conſiſted of twenty-three ſhips of the line, beſides frigates; and, on the ſeventeenth of April, he fell in with admiral Rodney, whoſe force did not exceed twenty ſhips of the line. An engagement enſued, which, like the other, was maintained with great obſtinacy, and proved equally indeciſive. The French retired to Guadaloupe, for the purpoſe of refitting their ſhattered veſſels; while the Engliſh, reſolute to renew the action, preſerved their ſtation off the iſland of Martinico.

As ſoon as the count de Guichen had repaired his ſhips, he again ſailed to encounter the enemy: on the evening of the fifteenth of May the hoſtile fleets engaged, but after a fruitleſs effuſion of human blood, night parted the combatants; who again met, on the nineteenth of the ſame month, when a third action enſued, equally partial and indeciſive. But though the French, in theſe different engagements, had no advantage to boaſt, they nevertheleſs convinced the Engliſh that the decided ſuperiority on which they had been accuſtomed to reckon, in naval encounters, no longer exiſted; for whatever inferiority there might be on the part of the common ſeamen of the French fleet, there appeared to be no inferiority, with reſpect either to naval ſkill or courage, in the French officers.

The count de Guichen was joined, in the month of June, by a Spaniſh ſquadron, but the refuſal of its admiral to concur in any attack on the Engliſh ſettlements, totally deſtroyed the effects of the ſuperiority which that junction afforded him. Thus debarred, by the ſuperfluous caution of his colleague, from all hoſtile attempts, he ſeized the opportunity to eſcort the homeward-bound trade towards Europe; the ſickly ſtate of his men

men induced him to continue his voyage, and he conducted the rich fleet he had undertaken to convoy in ſafety to Cadiz. He was there joined by the count d'Eſtaing, who aſſumed the chief command; the fleet of France, by this union, was ſwelled to ſix-and-thirty ſail of the line; but the ſhips themſelves were foul and out of repair, and the feeble condition of the crews ſofar precluded the poſſibility of attack, that, though the French admiral, on his paſſage, fell in with an Engliſh fleet of only twenty ſhips of the line, he ſtudiouſly avoided an engagement, and purſued his courſe to the ports of France.

The Engliſh, meanwhile, had been anxious to avail themſelves of the inactivity of the French in America, and, by the reduction of Charles Town, had excited a conſiderable alarm throughout that continent. The earneſt ſolicitations of the United States, at length, awakened the French miniſtry to a juſt ſenſe of the importance of affording effectual ſupport to their allies; and, in the beginning of May, the count de Rochambeau was detached from Breſt with a ſtrong body of troops, and the chevalier de Ternay with ſeven ſhips of the line and ſeveral frigates. Six thouſand of the troops were landed, on the tenth of July, at Rhode Iſland, which, during the courſe of the preceding year, had been evacuated by the Britiſh, and now acknowledged the authority of the United States.

Count Rochambeau was highly flattered with the reception he experienced from the Americans, who appointed a committee from the general aſſembly of Rhode Iſland to congratulate him on his arrival; and the ſatisfaction evinced by the latter was greatly encreaſed by the declaration of the French commander, that his ſovereign would never ſheath the ſword until the independence of America was ſecured; that the troops he had brought over were only the vanguard of a much greater force that was deſtined to their aid; and that he had the king's orders to aſſure them that the whole power of France ſhould be exerted for their ſupport; he added, that the French troops were under the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and, ſubject to the orders of general Waſhington, would live with the Americans as their brethren.

Rhode Iſland was allotted, as a place of arms, by the United States, to their allies; and count Rochambeau, while he awaited the promiſed reinforcement, diligently employed his troops in repairing and ſtrengthening the works on the iſland; a precaution on which he had ſoon after reaſon to congratulate himſelf. General Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot, returned, after the reduction of Charles Town, to New York, formed a plan of attack againſt the French fleet and army; but general Waſhington, having diſcovered their intentions, croſſed the North River with twelve thouſand men; and the Engliſh commander, ſenſible of the danger to which his abſence muſt expoſe New York, abandoned his project.

A plan,

A plan, formed by the French and their allies, proved equally abortive. It was expected that Monſieur de Guichen, from the Weſt India iſlands, would ſteer his courſe to America, to join the freſh ſhips of M. Ternay; and that the grand army, under general Waſhington, being alſo reinforced by the troops of Rochambeau, an attack by ſea and land might be made on the Britiſh troops at New York, with ſuch a ſuperiority of force, as muſt have enſured ſucceſs; the reduction of lord Cornwallis's detachment to the ſouthward muſt naturally have enſued; and the marquis de la Fayette was to have proceeded, with a conſiderable army, on a winter expedition againſt Canada.

In expectation of theſe events, la Fayette publiſhed a preparatory memorial, addreſſed to the French Canadians, and calling upon them, by all the ancient ties of allegiance, blood, religion, and country, as well as by the natural deſire of recovering their loſt liberties, to be ready to join and aſſiſt him; and holding out all the ſeverities of war, and all the terrors of military execution, to thoſe, if any ſuch there were, who, blindly perverſe to their own intereſts, and forgetful of all thoſe ties and duties, ſhould, in any manner, oppoſe the arms or impede the generous deſigns of their deliverers; but when the diligence of Waſhington had ſwelled his army to twenty thouſand men, the whole project was diſconcerted by the departure of the count de Guichen for Europe, which expoſed the Americans to as ſevere a diſappointment as any they had experienced during the courſe of the war.

The count's departure, which was juſtified by the bad ſtate of his ſhips, preſerved him from thoſe calamities in which the Weſt India iſlands were ſoon after involved. A hurricane, which raged with a degree of violence that baffles all deſcription, ſpread deſolation, both by ſea and land, throughout that quarter of the world. At Martinico, the beautiful town of Saint Pierre, built upon the ſhore, was entirely overwhelmed and waſhed away; the town of Baſſe-terre in Guadaloupe ſhared the ſame fate: ſixty ſail of tranſports from France, juſt arrived at Martinico with ſtores, and two thouſand five hundred troops on board, were driven out to ſea, and almoſt all ſwallowed up by the waves. The Experiment of fifty guns, with the Juno of forty, and ſeveral other French frigates, were totally loſt. Grenada and Saint Vincent's equally preſented a ſcene of terror and deſolation; and in the latter not a ſingle houſe was capable of withſtanding the fury of the ſtorm. The Britiſh ſettlements and marine ſuffered alſo, in a proportionate degree: Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Saint Lucia, were the principal victims to its rage; admiral Rodney, with eleven ſhips of the line, had fortunately proceeded to the coaſt of America; but the Andromeda and Laurel, Britiſh frigates, were both wrecked on the coaſt of Martinico. The humanity of that gallant officer, the marquis de Bouillé, governor general of the French Weſt India iſlands, ſhone forth, on this occaſion, with diſtinguiſhed luſtre; thirty-one Engliſh ſailors, the ſcanty remnant that was ſaved from the crews of the Andromeda and Laurel, were ſent by the marquis, under a flag of truce, to the Britiſh commodore

commodore at Saint Lucia, with a letter, in which he declared, that he could not conſider in the light of enemies, men who had ſo narrowly eſcaped in a contention with the force of the elements; he expreſſed his concern that their number was ſo ſmall, and that none of the officers had been ſaved.

The events of the campaign, though by no means adverſe, had neither anſwered the ſanguine expectations of the court of Verſailles, nor been productive of thoſe deciſive advantages which the miniſters of France had hoped to derive from the united force of the houſe of Bourbon. But that confederacy ſoon acquired additional ſtrength from the daring boldneſs of their enemy Great Britain, by the capture of an American packet, on board of which was Mr. Laurens, late preſident of the Congreſs, obtained poſſeſſion of the ſketch of a treaty of amity and commerce, between the Republic of Holland and the United States of America, which appeared to be in a train of negociation, and was approved by Van Berkel, a chief magiſtrate of the city of Amſterdam. This diſcovery gave ſo much offence to the court of London, that the Engliſh ambaſſador at the Hague received orders to preſent a memorial, dated the tenth of November, in which the States General were informed, that it appeared, from the papers of Mr. Laurens, that "the "States of Amſterdam had entered into a clandeſtine correſpondence with the American "rebels, ſo early as the month of Auguſt, 1778; that inſtructions and powers had been "given by them, for the purpoſe of entering into a treaty of indiſſoluble friendſhip "with the ſaid rebels, natural ſubjects of a ſovereign to whom the Republic was united "by the ſtricteſt ties of friendſhip;" his Britannic majeſty, therefore, required that ſo irregular a conduct might be formally diſavowed; and alſo inſiſted "on ſpeedy ſatisfac-"tion, adequate to the offence, and the exemplary puniſhment of the penſionary Van "Berkel and his accomplices, as diſturbers of the public peace, and violators of the "rights of nations."—The States General not giving an immediate anſwer to this memorial, the demand contained in it was preſſed by the Britiſh ambaſſador, in repeated conferences, and in a ſecond memorial. Their recorder was then directed to wait on him, and to inform him, that his memorial had been taken *ad referendum* by the deputies of the reſpective provinces, according to the received cuſtom and conſtitution of government; and that they would endeavour to frame an anſwer to his memorial, as ſoon as the nature of their government would permit. This gave ſo little ſatisfaction to the Britiſh court, who had the moſt convincing proofs of the treachery of the Dutch, that their ambaſſador was ordered to withdraw from the Hague, and a declaration of war againſt Holland was publiſhed on the twentieth of December; a meaſure which was received at Paris with open exultation, and which neceſſarily threw that republic into the arms of France.

A. D. 1781.] The French miniſters, anxious to haraſs the enemy in every quarter, ſanctioned with their approbation a ſcheme, propoſed by the baron de Rullecourt, for taking

taking the iſland of Jerſey by a *coup-de-main*. For this purpoſe twelve hundred men of the legion of Luxembourg were entruſted to the command of the baron, who, in the night of the ſixth of January, traverſed, in flat-bottomed boats, the ſpace that ſeparates the iſland from the continent; and, having effected a landing, at the Bank du Violet, wholly unperceived by the enemy, though not without the loſs of two hundred men, ſuſtained in conſequence of a privateer, with four tranſports, being wrecked upon the rocks, he puſhed forward to the little town of Saint Hellier, the capital of Jerſey, and drew up his troops in the market-place, whence he detached a party to the houſe of the lieutenant-governor, major Corbett, who was immediately ſecured, but not before he had found means to convey information of the ſtate of things to three regiments, which were ſtationed in different parts of the iſland. The baron de Rullecourt propoſed to the lieutenant-governor to ſign articles of capitulation; threatening, in caſe he refuſed, to ſet fire to the town, and put the inhabitants to the ſword; and, at the ſame time, in order to prevail on him to comply, falſely aſſured him, that he had landed above five thouſand men on the iſland. The lieutenant-governor repreſented, that, being a priſoner, he was in conſequence deprived of all authority, and that, therefore, his ſigning any terms of capitulation, or proceeding to give any orders, could anſwer no purpoſe. The French general, however, perſiſted in his requiſition; and major Corbett, influenced by his menaces reſpecting the town and its inhabitants, and paying too much regard to his repreſentations, was, at length, prevailed upon to ſign the articles, and to ſend orders to ſome officers under his command to comply with the capitulation.

But when Elizabeth caſtle was ſummoned, by the French, to ſurrender, captain Aylward, who commanded the Engliſh garriſon, not only peremptorily refuſed, but fired upon them, and compelled them to retire. In the mean time, the Britiſh troops, under the command of major Pierſon, who was next in ſeniority to the lieutenant-governor, together with the militia of the iſland, aſſembled upon the heights near the town. The baron de Rullecourt ſent to them a requiſition that they ſhould conform to the capitulation; but received for anſwer, "That if the French did not lay down their arms, and "ſurrender themſelves priſoners, in twenty minutes they would be attacked." Accordingly, major Pierſon, having made a very judicious diſpoſition of the Britiſh troops, attacked the French with great vigour and impetuoſity. During the heat of the action, the baron de Rullecourt compelled major Corbett to ſtand cloſe by him, ſaying that he ſhould ſhare his fate. But the French general received a mortal wound, from a muſquet ball, which broke his lower jaw-bone; and, in leſs than half an hour from the commencement of the action, in which the brave major Pierſon was alſo killed, the French ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war.

The attention of the French was diverted from the ſubject of this diſappointment, by the famous *Compte rendu*, or ſtate of the finances of France, which M. Neckar, director-general of the finances, now laid before the king, and cauſed to be printed for the

public inſpection; a meaſure which excited the greater aſtoniſhment, inaſmuch as the ſtricteſt ſecrecy had generally been obſerved, with reſpect to all the operations of the government. In this memorial M. Neckar obſerved, that he had been induced to render to his majeſty a public account of the ſucceſs of his labours, and of the actual ſtate of the French finances, by the conſideration, that the openneſs and authenticity of ſuch an account might tend greatly to promote the welfare of his majeſty's affairs. Such a ſtatement of accounts might alſo put every perſon who was concerned in his majeſty's councils in a ſituation to ſtudy and to attend to the ſtate of the finances; a ſpecies of knowledge important in itſelf; and having either connection with, or relation to, all deliberations of moment. He took notice, that a principal cauſe of the great credit of England was, the public notoriety to which the ſtate of her finances was ſubmitted; this account was every year preſented to parliament, and afterwards printed; and the money lenders, being thus regularly made acquainted with the proportion maintained between the receipts and diſburſements, were not rendered uneaſy by thoſe chimerical ſuſpicions and fears which were the inſeparable concomitants of a more diſguiſed conduct. But in France, the ſtate of the finances had conſtantly been made a matter of myſtery; or, if it was ſometimes ſpoken of, it was in the preambles of edicts; and always at the moment when there was occaſion to borrow. But it was of great moment to fix the public confidence upon a more ſolid baſis. The ſovereign of ſuch a kingdom as France might always, at his pleaſure, maintain the balance between his ordinary expences and revenues. The diminution of the former, ever ſeconded by the public wiſh, was in his own hands, and, when circumſtances required it, the augmentation of the impoſts was ſubmitted to his power [5]. But the moſt dangerous, as well as the moſt unjuſt of all reſources, was that of ſeeking temporary aids in a blind confidence, and engaging for loans, without having, either by an augmentation of the revenue, or by a retrenchment of expences, provided for the intereſt. Such an adminiſtration, as reduced, by procraſtinating the moment of embarraſſment, only increaſed the evil, and made farther advances in undermining the precipice; whilſt a different conduct, more ſimple and more liberal, would multiply the reſources of the ſovereign, and perpetually reſtrain him from every ſpecies of injuſtice.

M. Neckar divided his account of the French finances into three parts; the firſt, concerning the actual ſtate of the finances, and all the operations which related to the royal treaſury, and to public credit; the ſecond was intended to unfold the operations which

5 "*L'augmentation des impots eſt ſoumiſe a la puiſſance du Roi.*"—This aſſertion is *conſtitutionally* falſe. The privilege of raiſing taxes by the ſimple *fiat* of the ſovereign, had, indeed, frequently been aſſerted by the moſt tyrannical of the French monarchs, but had never been acknowledged by the nation; and our readers muſt have been convinced by the frequent diſcuſſions of that ſubject, in the courſe of this Hiſtory, that the kings of France, whenever they exerciſed ſuch privilege, were guilty of a groſs violation of the conſtitutional laws of the realm.

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had united important meaſures of economy with great advantages in government; and, in the third, he gave an account of ſome diſpoſitions and regulations which had lately taken place, and which had for their object the general welfare of the people, and the proſperity of the ſtate. At the cloſe of his addreſs to the French monarch, M. Neckar expreſſed himſelf in the following terms:—"My whole time has been devoted, without "intermiſſion, to the exerciſe of the important functions which your majeſty has en- "truſted to my charge. I have neither ſacrificed to fame, nor to power; and I have diſ- "dained the trappings of vanity. I have renounced even the deareſt private ſatisfaction, "that of ſerving my friends, or obtaining the gratitude of thoſe who ſurround me. If "any perſon owes to my ſingle favour either a penſion, a place, or an employment, "let him be named. I have had no other object than my duty, and the hopes of merit- "ing the approbation of my maſter, new to me; but my devotion and zeal for his ſer- "vice ſhall not be exceeded by any of his ſubjects: and I alſo avow, that I have proud- "ly relied on the public approbation, of which wicked men have endeavoured to de- "ſpoil me; but, in ſpite of their efforts, truth and juſtice will prevail."

In the third part of this publication, M. Neckar expreſſes very ſtrongly his regret, that, in conſequence of the commencement of the war, the introduction of reform, and the promotion of economy, had not been productive of all thoſe beneficial effects to the people, which they might have received from them, if peace had been continued. Had no war broken out, many of the burthens might have been lightened, their taxes might have been reduced, the national debt leſſened, canals opened, trade promoted and extended, new and uſeful eſtabliſhments founded in the kingdom, and various bleſſings communicated to the nation. On this ſubject, M. Neckar expreſſed himſelf with the wiſdom of a ſtateſman, and exhibited the benevolent and enlarged views of a real patriot, who had the good of his country at heart.

Towards the end of June the fleet of France, conſiſting of eighteen ſhips of the line, under the command of the count de Guichen, ſailed from Breſt, and effected a junction with the Spaniards at Cadiz. The united ſquadrons, amounting to no leſs than fifty ſhips of the line, ſteered ſouth-eaſt; and detached two large ſhips, with ſeveral frigates, to eſcort the duke de Crillon, and a conſiderable body of land forces, to Minorca, the invaſion of which iſland had been determined on by the courts of Verſailles and Madrid. After performing this ſervice, the combined fleets directed their courſe towards the Engliſh channel. Admiral Darby, who had but twenty-three ſhips of the line under his command, retired at their approach; but the elements warred in favour of the Engliſh; a violent tempeſt diſperſed the French and Spaniards, and compelled them to ſeek for ſhelter in their reſpective ports.

But the principal efforts of the combined powers were directed againſt the Britiſh poſſeſſions in America and the Weſt-Indies. At the latter end of March, monſieur de

Graſſe ſailed, with twenty ſhips of the line, one of fifty-four guns, and ſeveral frigates, with ſix thouſand land forces, from Breſt for Martinico. Off Fort Royal he deſcried the Britiſh fleet, conſiſting of ſeventeen ſail of the line, under the command of admiral Hood. The convoy with which de Graſſe was encumbered compelled him at firſt to prepare for action with caution; but four ſhips of the line having eluded the vigilance of the Britiſh admiral, and joined the French from Fort Royal, he now determined to avail himſelf of this decided ſuperiority, and to bring on a general engagement. In the mean time, the Engliſh had been alſo reinforced by a ſhip of ſeventy-four guns; and their commander diſplayed admirable ſkill in his manœuvres; yet the advantages of the French were numerous and evident, and an action of three hours, fought on the twenty-ninth of April, was only terminated by the approach of night. On the return of day, M. de Graſſe would have renewed the engagement, but the Engliſh bore away to Antigua, to repair the damages they had ſuſtained in the unequal conflict; while the French directed their operations to the reduction of the Britiſh ſettlements.

The loſs of Saint Lucia ſtill continued a ſubject of extreme regret to the French, who once more reſolved to attempt its recovery; for this purpoſe, the marquis de Bouillé, whoſe enterpriſing ſpirit had already been repeatedly diſplayed, with the viſcount Damas, and a conſiderable body of troops, landed on the iſland, during the abſence of a great part of the Engliſh garriſon, which had been drafted away for the capture of the Dutch ſettlement of Saint Euſtatius. They immediately occupied the town of Groſs Iſlet, and ſummoned brigadier-general Saint Leger, the commanding officer, to ſurrender; but the marquis, being ſoon convinced that the ſtrength of the Engliſh was far ſuperior to what the natives, impatient to return under the French government, had taught him to believe, abandoned the project; and, having ſuddenly re-embarked his troops in the night, ſteered his courſe towards Tobago.

Againſt that iſland he had previouſly detached a ſmall ſquadron, with a conſiderable body of troops, under the conduct of monſieur de Blanchelande, late governor of Saint Vincent's. The ſmall garriſon of Tobago, amounting to little more than four hundred men, gradually retired before the invaders to Concordia, a high ground, naturally ſtrong, and which commands a view of both ſides of the iſland. They were there inveſted by monſieur de Blanchelande; and the marquis de Bouillé, ſoon after arriving with the French fleet, aſſumed the ſupreme command.

Though that nobleman was poſſeſſed of ſuch a ſuperiority in the number of his troops, yet the reſiſtance of the garriſon of Tobago was long and obſtinate: during ſix days, they maintained themſelves, with undaunted courage, in the poſt of Concordia; and when the French had occupied the adjacent hills, which, in ſome meaſure, commanded the poſt, the Engliſh on a ſudden quitted it, and retreated to another ſtation, almoſt equally ſtrong, and at a conſiderable diſtance.

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But theſe efforts, though they protracted, could not avert, the final ſubmiſſion of the iſland; the ardour of the marquis de Bouillé was encreaſed by the difficulties he had to encounter: under a burning ſun, he, in perſon, conducted his troops through the moſt intricate paſſages of the iſland; to unite terror to force he reduced two of the neighbouring plantations to aſhes; and the inhabitants, hopeleſs of ſuccour, at length conſented to ſurrender. The marquis, neither elated by ſucceſs, nor provoked by the obſtacles their perſeverance had preſented, ſet an example of generoſity to all other commanders, in a ſimilar ſituation, and granted to the vanquiſhed the ſame favourable conditions as had been extended to the inhabitants of Dominica.

Tobago had no ſooner ſubmitted to the dominion of France, than the Britiſh fleet, under admiral Rodney, appeared in ſight. M. de Graſſe immediately got under ſail, and offered the enemy battle; but the Engliſh, foiled in their efforts to prevent the reduction of the iſland, declined the encounter; and the French admiral re-conveyed the marquis de Bouillé to Martinico, touched at the Havannah to receive a ſupply of money, and, with twenty-eight ſail of the line, and ſeveral frigates, directed his courſe towards America, and anchored in the Cheſapeak the laſt day in Auguſt.

General Arnold, who had lately forſaken the American cauſe and joined the Britiſh troops, had been detached from New York, with a ſelect body of forces, to make an irruption into the province of Virginia, the extenſive plantations of which had largely contributed to furniſh the reſources of congreſs. The French, who were ſtationed at Rhode Iſland, deemed this a proper opportunity for atoning for their paſt inactivity, and for rendering an eſſential ſervice to their allies, by cutting off the retreat of Arnold and his party from the Cheſapeak. To reconnoitre that bay a ſhip of the line and ſome frigates were diſpatched, which fell in with and captured the Romulus, a Britiſh man of war, of forty-four guns; and ſoon after count Rochambeau ſailed with the land forces from Rhode Iſland, under convoy of monſieur Ternay's fleet.

Off Cape Henry, the French admiral was ſurprized by the unexpected appearance of the Britiſh ſquadron under admiral Graves; an action immediately enſued, which, though partial and indeciſive, ſo far diſabled the French ſhips as to render their return to Rhode Iſland a matter of neceſſity, by which means the project of giving aſſiſtance to the Americans was wholly diſconcerted, and an opportunity afforded to the Engliſh to complete, with impunity, the devaſtation of Virginia.

To that county the attention of Lord Cornwallis, who could no longer ſubſiſt in the exhauſted province of Carolina, was alſo directed; having traverſed a hoſtile country of above three hundred miles, he arrived at Peterſburgh ſome few days after general Philips had fallen a victim to the heat of the climate. He immediately aſſumed the chief command, and was enabled, by a reinforcement of two thouſand men from New York, to

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diſplay that active vigour which forms the prominent feature of his character. He penetrated as far as Williamſburgh, the capital of Virginia; defeated, on his retreat, a conſiderable corps under the marquis de la Fayette, ſent to diſpute his paſſage of James River; and eſtabliſhed his place at arms at York town, ſituated on the banks of the river of that name, which, being navigable for ſhips of great ſize and burthen, enabled him to receive any ſuccours or ſupport by ſea.

This poſt Lord Cornwallis applied himſelf, with great diligence, to fortify, in the hope that it would effectually ſecure him from all hoſtile attempts; but, unhappily, he was deſtined to find ruin where he looked for protection. By a rapid ſucceſſion of the moſt judicious movements, Waſhington had contrived to deceive his antagoniſt Clinton; while count Rochambeau paſſed over from Rhode Iſland, and, in conjunction with the American army, menaced New York with an immediate attack. That poſt, with its dependencies, was kept in a ſtate of continual alarm for above ſix weeks; when the combined army rapidly traverſed the Jerſeys, croſſed the Delaware, paſſed through Philadelphia, and arrived at the head of the river Elk, at the bottom of the Cheſapeak.

On the ſame day monſieur de Graſſe, with his fleet from the Weſt Indies, arrived alſo in the bay, where, after blocking up York River, he inſtantly applied himſelf to ſecure the River James, which he occupied with his armed veſſels and his cruiſers, to a conſiderable diſtance. By this manœuvre, he not only precluded the poſſibility of a retreat to the Carolinas, but alſo enabled himſelf to convey, in ſecurity, the marquis de Saint Simon, with three thouſand three hundred land forces from the Weſt Indies, eighteen leagues up that river, where he effected a junction with la Fayette, who had been previouſly reinforced by general Wayne, and the ſuccours from Penſylvania.

The French fleet conſiſted of twenty-four ſhips of the line, whilſt that of the enemy, which now approached, under the command of the admirals Graves and Hood, did not exceed nineteen; but the chief object of M. de Graſſe was the capture of lord Cornwallis's army; he expected, moreover, every hour to be joined by the ſquadron from Rhode Iſland, commanded, ſince the death of M. Ternay, by monſieur de Barras, who, he knew, had lately ſailed with ſeveral tranſports, and a train of artillery, for the ſiege of New York; and fifteen hundred of his own ſeamen were ſtill employed in tranſporting the French troops up James River. Under theſe circumſtances he prudently determined to act with caution, and rather to avoid defeat than to ſeek for conqueſt; accordingly, though he ſtood out to ſea, and engaged the Engliſh fleet, he was ſatisfied with maintaining the honour of the French flag; and, without attempting to improve his advantage, he retired to his former ſtation in Cheſapeak Bay, where he was, ſoon after, ſtrengthened by the arrival of monſieur de Barras.

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Lord Cornwallis, who, with ſeven thouſand ſelect troops, ſtill occupied York Town, was now cloſely inveſted by the united forces of France and America. The count de Rochambeau, and the marquis de la Fayette, with an equal number of French, extended from a river above the town, to a moraſs in the center, where they were met by the Americans under Waſhington, who occupied the oppoſite ſide from the river to that ſpot. M. de Graſſe was entirely maſter of Cheſapeak Bay; and the duke de Lauzun, with his legion, and a body of Virginia militia under general Wieden, already preſſed the Britiſh poſt at Glouceſter Point, which was defended by colonel Tarleton, with about ſix hundred infantry and cavalry.

The commanders of the allied forces, having thus ſurrounded their enemy on all ſides, began to preſs their attacks with a degree of vivacity that precluded every hope of relief; the works of the Engliſh were penetrated by an hundred pieces of heavy ordinance; their defences were in many places ruined, and moſt of their guns were ſilenced. Two redoubts, which ſtill incommoded the progreſs of the allied army, were attacked and carried during the night; and the fate of Lord Cornwallis, from that moment, appeared unavoidable. Some damages, occaſioned by two judicious and ſpirited ſallies made by the Engliſh commander, were ſpeedily repaired; and his attempt to eſcape to the oppoſite ſide of the river was fruſtrated by the tempeſtuous weather, and by the vigilance of the French ſhips of war.

Matters were now brought to a criſis: ten days after the trenches were firſt opened, every preparation was made for a final aſſault; but this ſcene of carnage was averted by the prudence of the Britiſh commander, who, convinced of his inability to reſiſt force ſo ſuperior, determined not wantonly to ſacrifice the lives of the gallant men entruſted to his care; he, accordingly, opened a negociation, by which the troops under his command ſubmitted, on the thirteenth of October, to become priſoners of war. The Guadaloupe frigate, of twenty-four guns, with ſeveral tranſports, and fifteen hundred ſeamen, were, in the diviſion of the ſpoil, aſſigned to M. de Graſſe, in return for the French naval power and aſſiſtance; but the land forces, amounting to between five and ſix thouſand men, became the captives of the Americans.

This deciſive atchievement moſt eſſentially contributed to eſtabliſh the independence of America. The French officers diſtinguiſhed themſelves as much by their humanity, in the moment of victory, as by their courage in the hour of danger; and lord Cornwallis, in his official diſpatches, bore the moſt honourable teſtimony to their merit—"Their delicate ſenſibility of our ſituation,"—ſaid the Engliſh commander—"their "generous and preſſing offers of money, both public and private, to any amount, has "really gone beyond what I can poſſibly deſcribe; and will, I hope, make an impreſſion "on the breaſt of every Britiſh officer, whenever the fortune of war ſhould put any of "them into our power."

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This was not the only advantage obtained by the houſe of Bourbon during the preſent campaign. The arms of Spain were ſo ſucceſsful in America, as to reduce all the Britiſh ſettlements on the Miſſiſippi, and to effect the total reduction of the provinces of Weſt Florida. Penſacola ſurrendered to Don Bernardo de Galvez, the Spaniſh governor of Louiſiane, on the ninth of May. The reduction of the place was facilitated by a ſhell from the Spaniards, which accidentally burſt by the door of the magazine of an advanced redoubt, ſet fire to the powder within, and reduced, in an inſtant, the body of the redoubt to a heap of rubbiſh. By the exploſion, ſeventy-ſix ſoldiers and ſailors loſt their lives, and twenty-four were dangerouſly wounded. Even after this unfortunate diſaſter, the garriſon continued to defend the place with great gallantry, but were obliged to ſubmit to the very ſuperior force of the enemy. The Spaniſh commander granted them honourable terms of capitulation, and, in other reſpects, treated his vanquiſhed foes with great generoſity and humanity.

But Gibraltar, the favourite object of the court of Madrid, ſtill continued to deride her attempts, though planned with prudence, and conducted with vigour. On the twenty-ſeventh of November, a moſt ſpirited ſally was made by the Britiſh garriſon, with a view to ſtorm and deſtroy the whole of the advanced works of the Spaniards, which, after immenſe labour and expence, were arrived at the higheſt ſtate of perfection. The detachment which was appointed for this enterprize was formed in three columns, and marched from the garriſon at the ſetting of the moon, about three o'clock in the morning. The columns were ſeverally compoſed of an advanced corps, a body of pioneers, artillery-men carrying combuſtibles, and a ſuſtaining corps, with a reſerve at the rear. The pioneers of the left column were ſeamen; they attacked the Spaniſh works with ſuch irreſiſtible fury, that the troops who were appointed to defend them gave way on all ſides, and abandoned their ſtupendous works with great precipitation, and in the utmoſt conſternation. The pioneers and artillery-men exerted themſelves in ſo wonderful a manner, and ſpread their fire with ſuch amazing rapidity, that, in half an hour, two mortar-batteries of ten thirteen-inch mortars, and three batteries of ſix guns each, with all the lines of approach, communication, and traverſe, were in flames, and were entirely reduced to aſhes. The mortars and cannon were ſpiked, and their beds, carriages, and platforms deſtroyed. The aſtoniſhed Spaniards, ſeeing all oppoſition to be fruitleſs, offered no other reſiſtance than an ill-directed fire of round and grape ſhot from the forts of Saint Barbara, Saint Philipe, and the batteries on the lines; and remained in their camp ſpectators of the conflagration. The whole of this brave detachment, which had ſuſtained very little loſs, was in the fortreſs again by five o'clock, juſt before the break of day.

Holland, unprepared abroad and diſunited at home, was an ally that claimed the more immediate attention and ſupport of the court of Verſailles; the Britiſh commanders had eagerly invaded the iſland of Saint Euſtatius, in the Weſt Indies, which had become the general

general magazine of all nations; but the conquerors reaped not that advantage they expected from the general confiſcation; ſeveral of the veſſels richly laden with ſpoil were intercepted on their voyage to Europe, and even in ſight of the Britiſh coaſt, by Monſieur de la Motte Piquet, who was cruizing off the Lizard with ſix ſhips of the line and five frigates. And before the cloſe of the year, the iſland itſelf was recovered by the activity of the marquis de Bouillé, who ſuddenly landed with a ſelect body of troops from Martinico, ſurprized the Engliſh commandant, and reſtored Saint Euſtatius to the dominion of the Dutch the very day before count de Graſſe caſt anchor at Fort Royal, after his deciſive triumph on the coaſt of America.

But it was in the eaſt that the republic of Holland was moſt open to attack; and her excluſive poſſeſſion of the Spice Iſlands, her wealthy and populous ſettlement of Batavia, afforded the moſt faſcinating allurements to her enemies. In the beginning of the war France had the mortification to learn that her ſettlements throughout Aſia had been reduced by the ſuperior power of the Engliſh; ſhe, therefore, readily liſtened to propoſals which tended to reſtore her own colonies, in that quarter of the globe, and to ſecure thoſe of her ally. She accordingly ſigned a treaty with the Republic, by which her troops were to be put in poſſeſſion of the Cape of Good Hope, a port on the African coaſt, particularly commodious for refreſhments on the long voyage to India; and ſhe alſo engaged to detach an armament to act in conjunction with the Dutch forces in the Eaſt.

In order to fulfil this treaty, at the ſame time that the count de Graſſe ſailed from Breſt to the Weſt-Indies, Monſieur de Suffrein, with five ſhips of the line and a conſiderable body of land forces, was ſent to the Eaſt Indies and the Cape of Good Hope. On his arrival at Saint Jago, one of the Cape de Verd iſlands—on the ſixteenth of April—he deſcried a Britiſh ſquadron, of nearly equal force, at anchor within the harbour; this had ſailed from England, under the conduct of commodore Johnſtone, much about the ſame time as Suffrein had quitted Breſt, and was deſigned to take by ſurprize the Dutch ſettlements at the Cape of Good Hope. The impetuoſity of Suffrein prevailed over his reſpect to the crown of Portugal, and he made no ſcruple to enter a neutral harbour as an enemy, and to attack the Engliſh. But though, in this enterprize, he diſplayed the moſt daring ſpirit and undaunted reſolution, yet all the efforts of courage only ſerved to expoſe his ſhips to the deſtructive fire of the enemy, who derived from his ſituation advantages that neither ſkill nor courage could compenſate. The French commander was reluctantly compelled to abandon the attack, and, after touching at the Cape of Good Hope, and reinforcing that ſettlement with a ſufficient number of troops to ſecure it from inſult, he ſteered to the iſland of Mauritius, to join the count d'Orves, who, after the loſs of Pondicherry, had aſſembled at that place the ſcattered remnant of the French forces.

But while France rather hoped than expected to eſtabliſh her ancient power and influence on the coaſt of Coromandel, her ambitious views were ſeconded by a new and formidable enemy to Great Britain, who ſuddenly burſting through the unguarded paſſes, deluged with his troops the ſettlements of the Engliſh. This daring invader was Hyder Ally, regent of the kingdom of Myſore, whoſe ſucceſsful ambition had raiſed him from the humble ſituation of a ſoldier of fortune to the command of a valuable, well-regulated, and extenſive country; and who had eſtabliſhed ſuch a military force as India had never beheld, and was, indeed, thought incapable of producing. He had, more than once, diſputed the honour of victory with the Engliſh Eaſt India company; and, though frequently defeated, he ſtill appeared formidable, and had even menaced, w th his martial ſquadrons, the capital of the victors, who were confounded by the rapid evolutions of a cavalry that precluded all flight, and derided all purſuit.

The Engliſh had excited the reſentment of this Eaſtern chieftain by the reduction of Mahé, a ſettlement eſtabliſhed within his dominions, but belonging to the French. Encouraged by the neglect of the government of Madras, he penetrated through the *Gauts*—narrow paſſes in the mountains, which ſeparate his territories from thoſe of the Engliſh—and, with incredible celerity, extended his ſanguinary depredations over the face of the Carnatic. A conſiderable detachment, the flower of the Engliſh army, was overwhelmed, after a gallant reſiſtance, by the irreſiſtible weight of his cavalry. The Engliſh general Munro, who commanded the principal army belonging to the ſettlement of Madras, was compelled to retreat before his ſucceſsful arms: Madras even trembled for her ſafety; and the progreſs of the victor was only checked by the arrival of general Coote, with a large reinforcement from the province of Bengal. On the firſt of July that gallant officer brought Hyder to a general action between Porto Novo and Mooteapollam: when, after an obſtinate conflict, the latter ſuſtained a total defeat; his numerous cavalry, however, was ſtill ſpread over the fertile fields of the Carnatic, and extended on every ſide the terror of his name.

It was at this critical juncture, that the Engliſh firſt received the intelligence of a rupture with the United States of Holland, and they diſplayed no ſmall degree of vigour in attacking the ſettlements of the Dutch before they could co-operate with or receive aſſiſtance from Hyder. In Bengal, Chinſura; on the coaſt of Coromandel, Negapatnam; and Trincomalé, in the iſland of Ceylon, were ſurprized or reduced by the Engliſh; and Holland beheld, with terror, that ſtorm which threatened her ſettlements in Sumatra, Java, and the Moluccas.

Though the French had great reaſon to be contented with the operations of the campaign, the ſatisfaction they derived from thence was more than counterbalanced by the diſpleaſure they experienced on the diſmiſſal of a miniſter in whom they placed the moſt unbounded confidence. Monſieur Neckar, by his management of the finances, had acquired

quired the eſteem and applauſe of the nation; but the auſterity of his temper had excited diſguſt in the minds of thoſe who enjoyed the confidence of their ſovereign. By them, the repeated reforms he had recommended were repreſented as inconſiſtent with the dignity of the crown; and he was at length diſmiſſed from his office of director-general of the finances, which was conferred on monſieur Joli de Fleuri, counſellor of ſtate.

The memorable occurrences of this year were cloſed by the birth of the dauphin, an event which cauſed the greateſt rejoicings throughout the kingdom; the young prince was baptized by the cardinal de Rohan; the count de Provence and the princeſs Elizabeth repreſented, as ſponſors, the emperor of Germany and the princeſs of Piedmont, and beſtowed on their royal nephew the names of Lewis, Joſeph, Xavier, and Francis.

A. D. 1782.] The ſiege of Minorca, which had been undertaken in the laſt campaign, was terminated in the beginning of the preſent, by the ſurrender of Saint Philip's; the garriſon were made priſoners of war; and their commander, general Murray, acknowledged, in the moſt expreſs terms, the humane treatment they experienced from the victorious leaders, the duke de Crillon, and the baron de Falkenhayen.

The capture of the army under lord Cornwallis had ſo far encreaſed the independence of America, that the ſubſequent operations in that quarter were confined to ſome faint ſtruggles made by the Engliſh in the Carolinas and Georgia. France was, therefore, at leiſure to direct her attention to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies; and monſieur de Graſſe from the Cheſapeak had ſteered his courſe to Martinico; his naval force, when collected, conſiſted of thirty ſhips of the line; but he had already detached four, to convoy from Saint Domingo the homeward-bound trade to Europe. The court of Verſailles, to ſupply this deficiency, had fitted out at Breſt nine ſhips of the line, under the command of the marquis de Vaudreuil; theſe were accompanied by a numerous fleet of tranſports, deſtined for the ſervice of the French ſettlements in the Eaſt and Weſt; and they were eſcorted by the count de Guichen, who ſailed, at the ſame time, with ten ſhips of the line, to join the grand fleet of Spain at Cadiz. On their paſſage they were met by the Engliſh fleet of twelve ſhips of the line, under admiral Kempenfelt: the admirable manœuvres of that officer were ſeconded by the favourable ſtate of the wind; and the count de Guichen had the mortification to behold his convoy diſperſed, and fourteen of them, laden with artillery and ordnance ſtores, and having on board one thouſand and ſixty-two ſoldiers, and five hundred and forty-eight ſeamen, taken by an inferior force. He himſelf continued his courſe to Cadiz; while the marquis de Vaudreuil, having detached part of his ſquadron to the Cape of Good Hope, with the reſt joined M. de Graſſe at Martinico.

That active commander immediately prepared to profit by the deciſive ſuperiority given him by this reinforcement over the Engliſh ſquadron in thoſe ſeas. In conjunction with the marquis de Bouillé, who had already reduced the iſland of Saint Nevis, he planned

the attack of Saint Chriſtopher's, one of the moſt conſiderable of the Weſt India iſlands that yet remained in the poſſeſſion of Great Britain. The marquis landed with eight thouſand men and a formidable train of artillery, while the count de Graſſe occupied with his fleet Baſſeterre Road, and ſeemed to preclude all hopes of relief. General Frazer, the Engliſh commander, immediately retired to Brimſtone-Hill, a ſtrong poſt, which he expreſſed his determination of defending to the laſt extremity. But the operations of the French were ſoon interrupted by the appearance of a Britiſh ſquadron of twenty-two ſhips of the line, conducted by admiral Hood, an officer of approved ſkill and courage. The count de Graſſe, whoſe naval force conſiſted of twenty-nine large ſhips, immediately quitted his ſtation to encounter his daring adverſary. The action was partial and indeciſive; but, in the courſe of it, the Engliſh admiral, by a ſudden change of diſpoſition, deceived his antagoniſt, eluded his attack, and preſſing towards the iſland, gained the very anchorage in Baſſeterre Road that the French fleet had quitted.

Though the count de Graſſe could not refuſe his admiration to the ſuperior dexterity of his adverſary, he was by no means diſpoſed to leave him in quiet poſſeſſion of his advantage. The next morning he attacked, with his whole force, the Engliſh ſquadron from van to rear; but theſe ſuſtained with a ſteady fire the repeated efforts of the French; and though the count, in the courſe of the evening, renewed the attempt, the damage which his ſhips had ſuſtained compelled him reluctantly to deſiſt.

The marquis de Bouillé watched, with extreme anxiety, the operations of the rival fleets, on the reſult of which his own fate ſeemed ſo materially to depend; but, undiſmayed by the check which M. de Graſſe had experienced, he continued to preſs his attacks with additional ardour. Brimſtone-Hill was cloſely inveſted on every ſide, and while he confided the blockade of that important poſt to the marquis de Saint Simon, he himſelf marched, with four thouſand troops, to encounter a detachment that had been landed from the Britiſh ſhips. Although the number of theſe, amounting only to two thouſand four hundred men, was by no means formidable, yet their ſituation rendered an attack imprudent; and the marquis contented himſelf with a vigilant obſervance of their motions, which, debarring them of all hopes of either effecting a junction with, or affording ſuccour to their countrymen, induced them to reimbark. In the mean time, every moment was aſſiduouſly employed in the annoyance of the Engliſh intrenched at Brimſtone-Hill; the marquis de Bouillé again reſumed the command of the beſiegers; and the inceſſant fire of his artillery reduced the works and buildings to a heap of ruins. In this ſituation, the enemy conſented to ſurrender a place that was no longer tenable; and the humanity of the marquis granted the ſame favourable terms of capitulation as had been accorded to the garriſons and inhabitants of the other iſlands which the French arms had reduced.

As ſoon as the Engliſh admiral was informed of the fate of Saint Chriſtopher's, he determined to abandon a ſituation which was no longer either uſeful or ſecure; and this reſolution he executed with a ſecrecy and celerity that prevented all danger from the ſuperior force of the count de Graſſe. He cut his cables during the night, and, ſailing from Baſſeterre Road, ſteered his courſe towards Barbadoes, in the hope of joining a conſiderable ſquadron that was hourly expected from England; while the count de Graſſe and the marquis de Bouillé, after reducing the ſmall iſland of Montſerrat, returned to Martinico.

In that road one hundred and fifty tranſports, with a large quantity of artillery, and a conſiderable body of land-forces, had been aſſembled for the purpoſe of accompliſhing a ſcheme which had for its object the total extinction of the Britiſh power in the Weſt Indies. The count de Graſſe, whoſe fleet already amounted to thirty-ſix ſail of the line, was to have been joined by a ſtrong Spaniſh ſquadron from the Havannah; and the united force of the houſe of Bourbon was to have been directed againſt Jamaica, the moſt flouriſhing ſettlement belonging to the Engliſh in that quarter of the globe.

In purſuance of this deſign, the count quitted Fort Royal Bay, about the beginning of April, to proceed to the place of his deſtination; but he had ſcarce loſt ſight of the iſland of Martinico, before he deſcried the Britiſh fleet, commanded by admiral Rodney, and, by late reinforcements from Europe, encreaſed to thirty-ſix ſail of the line. He immediately hoiſted the ſignal for battle, and ſuſtained, with great intrepidity, the attack of the enemy; but, intent on the grand object of his court, he wiſely availed himſelf of a favourable wind, and bore away towards Guadaloupe.

But fortune, which had hitherto ſmiled on all the enterprizes of France, now deigned to caſt a propitious look on her adverſary. The Zelé, a ſeventy-four gun ſhip, had ſuſtained conſiderable damage in the late action; and though the count de Graſſe had gained a conſiderable ſtart of admiral Rodney, he was now reduced to the unpleaſant alternative of ſacrificing the ſhattered veſſel, which was unable to keep pace with the fleet, or of hazarding the ſucceſs of his expedition by a ſecond engagement.

The road which prudence pointed out was too plain to be miſtaken, but a high, though, on this occaſion, a *miſtaken*, ſenſe of honour, impelled him to reject her dictates, and he determined rather to riſk the failure of the important expedition with which he was entruſted, than quietly to ſuffer the loſs of a ſingle ſhip: he, therefore, bore down to the ſuccour of the Zelé, and reſcued her from ſome ſhips of the enemy who were on the point of attacking her. The approach of night prevented an immediate action; but in the morning of the twelfth of April the French admiral found that the Engliſh had gained the wind of him, and that he muſt ſtake the fortune of France on a deciſive engagement.

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The battle began at ſeven in the morning, and laſted, with unremitting fury, till half paſt ſix in the evening, when the ſetting ſun put an end to the conteſt. The French ſuſtained a total defeat; the Ville de Paris of one hundred and ten guns, commanded by count de Graſſe himſelf, the Glorieux, the Hector, and the Cæſar of ſeventy-four, with the Ardent of ſixty, were compelled to ſtrike their colours to the Britiſh flag: the Cæſar ſoon after caught fire and blew up; while the marquis de Vaudreuil collected part of the ſcattered fleet, and, with nineteen ſail of the line, effected his eſcape to Martinico; the reſt, ſhattered and diſperſed, endeavoured to reach the neareſt ports, and elude the purſuit of the victors. The number of men loſt on this occaſion has never been aſcertained, as the political caution of France in concealing the extent of her diſaſters precludes the poſſibility of inveſtigating ſimilar facts. The ſhips that were taken had on board, at the commencement of the action, four thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty men, including troops; and, by their capture, the Engliſh were ſo fortunate as to make themſelves maſters of the battering cannon, travelling carriages, and train of artillery, which had been deſtined for the reduction of Jamaica, but which were now devoted to the purpoſe of encreaſing the ſtrength of that valuable ſettlement. But as the action was ſo deſperate and deciſive, the French had rather reaſon to congratulate themſelves on the eſcape of ſo many ſhips, than to deplore the magnitude of their loſs, great as it undoubtedly was. As the ſhips in the rear diviſion of the Engliſh, under admiral Hood, had ſuſtained, comparatively, but little damage in the action, it ſeems probable that, if they had been ſuffered to purſue the flying ſquadron of M. de Vaudreuil, the victory might have been much more complete. But, in naval actions, ſo much depends upon circumſtances which none but profeſſional men are competent to appreciate, that no conjecture as to the conduct of a commander ſhould be raſhly hazarded.

It is certain that the count de Graſſe endeavoured to make amends for his want of prudence in hazarding an engagement, by a diſplay of the moſt intrepid courage during the action; though wounded, he continued to defend his ſhip to the laſt extremity, and, before he conſented to ſtrike his flag, the Ville de Paris reſembled a wreck. He was received on board the Barfleur with thoſe marks of reſpect which the truly brave never fail to ſhew to each other; after remaining a ſhort time at Jamaica, he was conveyed to England, and was there honoured by the conſtant attention of the royal family; while the applauſe of the multitude, who admired the perſonal gallantry of their enemy, contributed to ſooth the painful recollection of defeat.

The misfortunes of France ended not with the twelfth of April. The Cato and the Jaſon, two men of war of ſixty-four guns each, with the Aimable of thirty-two, and the Ceres of eighteen, were taken by a ſquadron under admiral Hood, detached, ſo late as the *eighteenth* of April, from the main Engliſh fleet. Nor were the French more fortunate in Europe, for, in that month, the Pegaſe, of ſeventy-four guns, and the Actionnaire, of ſixty-

ſixty-four, which had ſailed from Breſt for the Eaſt Indies, with ten ſhips of their convoy, were captured by the Engliſh off Uſhant.

The marquis de Vaudreuil, after the late defeat, ſteered, with all the ſhips he could collect, from Cape Francois to America; but not till he had detached monſieur Perouſe, in the Sceptre, of ſeventy four guns, with two large frigates, againſt the remote poſſeſſions of the Engliſh Hudſon's Bay company. As the marquis was unacquainted with the defenceleſs ſtate of the ſettlements, he added three hundred ſoldiers, with ſome mortars and cannon, for the purpoſe of beſieging any place that might offer reſiſtance.

But the greateſt, and, indeed, the only difficulties which monſieur Perouſe was deſtined to encounter, were thoſe which attended the navigation of obſcure ſtraits and gulphs, among the frozen regions of the north; and, for three weeks, from the moment that they paſſed the iſlands of Reſolution, which mark the entrance into Hudſon's ſtraits, they were inceſſantly expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. Notwithſtanding the power of the ſun, in the month of July, the ſhips, at one time, were ſo faſt locked up in the ice, that the ſeamen walked from one to the other; and, even after they had extricated themſelves, things appeared ſo hopeleſs, that monſieur Perouſe began to entertain thoughts of ſending back his own ſhip, the Sceptre, with one of the frigates, to the Weſt Indies, and of wintering himſelf, with the other frigate and a part of the troops, in the bay. So ſevere a trial of his conſtancy was, however, prevented by the appearance of a ſmall opening in the ice two days afterwards. Through this the ſhips forced their way with a preſs of ſail, and ſoon after diſcovered, to their no ſmall joy, the Engliſh colours flying from a fort on the banks of Churchill river.

Some compenſation for the toils and dangers of the voyage was afforded by the facility, though not by the importance, of the conqueſt: the forts of the Hudſon's Bay company were wholly unprovided with troops, and their only garriſon conſiſted of a motley crew of ſtorekeepers, clerks, and ſervants, who ſurrendered on the firſt appearance of an European enemy. Some few ſought ſhelter in the deep and impenetrable woods; and monſieur Perouſe having, by the deſtruction of the forts and merchandize, completed the object of his expedition, had yet the humane precaution to preſerve one of the magazines, in which he depoſited proviſions, arms, and ammunition, for the uſe and ſubſiſtence of the fugitives who had eluded his purſuit, and who, during the long and approaching winter, could not have received any relief from England.

While France roſe ſuperior to the preſſure of calamity, and diſplayed, in every quarter of the globe, that active ſpirit which could not be repreſſed by defeat; that leſs impetuous, but more patient, courage of the Spaniards was ſtill exerciſed in the inceſſant ſiege of Gibraltar. The duke de Crillon, after the reduction of Minorca, was entruſted with the conduct of this more arduous enterprize; and the count d'Artois and the duke

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de Bourbon, reſigned the eaſe and luxury of Verſailles, and repaired to the Spaniſh camp.

But they had ſcarce arrived before they had the mortification of beholding the principal advanced works of the beſiegers deſtroyed. A heavy fire of carcaſſes, hot-ſhot and ſhells, from the batteries of the garriſon, in the morning of the eighth of September, had the moſt dreadful effect on the batteries and works of the Spaniards, many of which ſuſtained irreparable damage. The enſuing morn the Spaniards in vain endeavoured to retaliate the injury, by playing, with one hundred pieces of cannon and ſixty mortars, upon the garriſon; but the impenetrable rock derided their efforts; and the premature attempt was only productive of inconvenience to the aſſailants.

Yet the court of Madrid, though often baffled, ſtill perſevered; and to cut off the garriſon of Gibraltar from all hopes of relief, the combined fleets of France and Spain, conſiſting of forty-four ſhips of the line, were directed to block up the harbour. This was but the prelude to a new and different mode of attack, which had been planned by the chevalier d'Arçon, an officer of diſtinction in the ſervice of France, and on which the moſt ſanguine expectations were founded. Ten ſhips of different ſizes, from ſix hundred to fourteen hundred tons burthen, were converted into floating batteries. They were ſecured by every art which the ingenuity of man could deviſe, and provided with every offenſive or defenſive material that experience ſuggeſted, or the wealth of Spain could ſupply. Their maſſy decks were furniſhed with one hundred and forty-two braſs guns, each of them carrying balls of twenty-ſix pounds, for immediate uſe, and ſeventy more, for the purpoſe of replacing occaſional deficiences. They were ſupported by a ſufficient number of frigates; and three hundred large boats were alſo collected for the purpoſe of conveying the troops that were ready to avail themſelves of the confuſion of the garriſon, and the breaches which it was expected the floating batteries muſt ſoon occaſion. But the defence of that important fortreſs was entruſted to an officer, whoſe vigilance, courage, and reſolution were never excelled; and who united the ſpirit and activity of youth with the caution and experience of age.

On the thirteenth of September, the floating batteries being fully prepared, and the wind favourable, thoſe fatal engines of deſtruction proceeded to take their ſtations oppoſite the New and Old Moles, and the encampment at Europa Point, thoſe under the command of Don Moreno and the prince of Naſſau leading the van: and, after ſuſtaining a heavy fire from the batteries of the enemy, they ſucceeded in the attempt to moor themſelves at the diſtance of one hundred and forty toiſes from the rock. While theſe batteries maintained a heavy and well-directed fire upon the garriſon, the Spaniſh lines and advanced batteries on ſhore ſupported them, with a view of dividing the enemy's attention.

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It was intended that ſeveral diviſions of gun and mortar boats ſhould proceed, ſo as to flank the garriſon along the front, and to direct their fire to ſuch particular ſpots as might ſeem proper, in order that the troops—eſpecially thoſe employed on the batteries—might receive all the annoyance poſſible; but a meaſure, ſo eſſential to the ſucceſs of the ſcheme, could not poſſibly be carried into execution, on account of the violence of the wind, and the conſequent ſwell of the ſea. Other material obſtacles alſo occurred to defeat the intention of ſending ſhips to make a diverſion towards Europa Point. Hence all the enemy's batteries, that were unexpoſed to the fire of the Spaniards from the land, were employed, uninterruptedly, againſt the floating batteries, into which ſhells, round and grape ſhot, and red-hot balls were inceſſantly poured.

Though this dreadful fire was returned without intermiſſion, the continual diſcharge of hot balls kept up by the enemy was ſuch, as rendered all the precautions taken in the conſtruction of the floating batteries of no effect; for the balls, by lodging in their ſides, neceſſarily occaſioned the fire to ſpread throughout the veſſel. But, during the day, the flames thus enkindled, were ſpeedily extinguiſhed; as night, however, approached, and the fire of the Engliſh by no means relaxed, all the floating batteries, with the gun and mortar boats, became unmanageable; and thoſe commanded by Don Moreno and the prince of Naſſau, began to burn with ſuch violence as rendered their preſervation impoſſible.

The enemy's fire, having now no oppoſition, was attended with more fatal effects, and in a few hours all the floating batteries were in flames, while the gun boats of the Engliſh prevented the Spaniards from approaching to the aſſiſtance of their countrymen: to avoid the rapid progreſs of one deſtructive element, the miſerable men were compelled to confide themſelves to another; part periſhed by the fire; part were overwhelmed by the ſea; and the ſcanty remnant was only ſaved by the Britiſh ſeamen, who diſplayed their humanity in riſking their own lives in the attempt to preſerve thoſe of their enemies. Every one of the floating batteries were deſtroyed.

One reſource ſtill remained for the accompliſhment of the object which the houſe of Bourbon ſeemed to have ſo much at heart; and the beſiegers, thus fatally repulſed in every aſſault, now reſolved to wait with patience the ſlow but certain effects of famine. With a view to prevent the garriſon from receiving any ſupplies, the combined fleets were directed to ſtretch acroſs the bay; but even this diſpoſition could not enſure ſucceſs; a violent tempeſt that aroſe ſhattered their ſhips, and drove on ſhore the Triumphant, a Spaniſh man of war of ſeventy-four guns; and the Engliſh fleet of thirty-four ſail of the line, with a conſiderable convoy, entered the ſtraits, in the month of October, and landed the troops and proviſions for the relief of Gibraltar. On their return a partial and indeciſive action took place off the ſtrait's mouth; but the Engliſh had already effected the object of their expedition; and the French and Spaniſh commanders judged

it not prudent to preſs an engagement which, if adverſe, might be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences, and, if ſucceſsful, could not tend to the immediate reduction of the fortreſs.

The war, meanwhile, was maintained in the Eaſt with increaſe of ardour, and the coaſts of Coromandel were ſtained with the blood of the contending powers. From the Cape of Good Hope monſieur Suffrein had proceeded, with favourable winds, to the iſland of Mauritius, where he reſigned the command to his ſuperior officer, count d'Orves; and the French fleet, encreaſed by this junction to ten ſhips of the line, and one of fifty guns, beſides ſeveral large frigates, ſailed for the coaſt of Coromandel, accompanied by a number of tranſports and ſtore ſhips, with a conſiderable body of land forces. On the voyage, the count d'Orves, whoſe zeal for the ſervice had riſen ſuperior to the infirmities of an impaired conſtitution, expired, and the ſole command of the fleet devolved on monſieur Suffrein, whoſe ſkill and courage entitle him to a place among the moſt diſtinguiſhed naval commanders of the age.

On his paſſage he fell in with the Hannibal, a Britiſh man of war of fifty guns, which, after a gallant but fruitleſs reſiſtance, was compelled to ſurrender, and ſwelled the number of the French ſquadron. With this addition to his ſtrength he directed his courſe along the Coromandel coaſt, and entered Madras roads, in the hope of ſurprizing, according to the intelligence he had received, the Engliſh admiral, Sir Edward Hughes, with only ſix ſhips of the line. The eaſy deſtruction of this force he conſidered himſelf capable of effecting; the loſs of the numerous trading ſhips and tranſports in the road muſt have been the inevitable conſequence of ſuch a diſaſter; and while by that means terror would have been ſpread through the town of Madras, the French forces, joined by Hyder Ally's numerous army, would have carried on their attacks againſt it by land, and the victorious ſquadron would have aſſailed it by ſea.

But this flattering illuſion, which monſieur Suffrein had ſo fondly cheriſhed, was ſpeedily diſpelled, and his hopes of finiſhing the war by one deciſive blow ſoon vaniſhed; for, to his utter ſurprize, he found that the Engliſh ſquadron had, ſome few days before, been joined by a reinforcement from Europe. Admiral Hughes had, at the ſame time, been apprized of the approach of Suffrein; his crews had been ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of three hundred land forces from Madras; and the French commander now beheld, inſtead of the defenceleſs ſquadron he had hoped to ſurprize, nine ſhips of the line drawn up in proper order, and ready to receive him.

Under theſe circumſtances, monſieur Suffrein gave up his intention of attacking the enemy, and ſtood out to ſea, with the intention of diſembarking the land forces deſtined to ſupport Hyder Ally. The Engliſh, who penetrated his deſign, immediately followed; in the courſe of the purſuit they took ſix tranſports, one of which had three hun-
dred

dred troops on board; and on the ſeventeenth of February, the two fleets came ſufficiently near each other to engage; the action, however, was but partial, for the wind was ſo favourable to the French that they were enabled to bring eight of their beſt ſhips to bear upon five of the enemy's, while the remainder of the Engliſh ſquadron were prevented from ſharing in the action. This unequal conflict was maintained, with great reſolution, for ſeveral hours; night only parted the combatants; the Engliſh admiral directed his courſe to Trincamale, while monſieur Suffrein, anxious to ſecure the retreat of his convoy, ſtood off to the north-eaſt.

The French commander, having attained this important object, once more ſet ſail in ſearch of the enemy. The latter, during this interval, had been reinforced from Europe, by two men of war of ſeventy-four guns each; but this formidable acceſſion of ſtrength did not alter the reſolution of Suffrein, who had ſtill a ſuperiority in point of numbers. On the twelfth of April he attacked the Engliſh fleet with great intrepidity; leading the attack himſelf in the Heros of ſeventy-four guns, and continuing to engage the Engliſh admiral, for a conſiderable time, within piſtol-ſhot. The damages ſuſtained by the Heros induced him to ſhift his flag into the Hannibal, a French ſhip of equal force, and, by his ſuperior fire, he diſabled and drove out of the line the Monmouth of ſixty-four guns. But though every effort was made to board that ſhip, ſhe was reſcued by the maſterly manœuvres and courageous exertions of the Engliſh; and the hoſtile fleets, after a bloody conteſt, in which they had diſplayed equal valour, and ſuffered equal loſs, ſeparated as if by mutual conſent. They kept ſight, however, of each other for ſeveral days following, but their reciprocal damages ſuſpended on both ſides all idea of attack. The Engliſh again retired to Trincamale, and the French ſquadron proceeded to Batacalo, a Dutch port in the iſland of Ceylon, about twenty leagues to the ſouthward of Trincamale.

The war on land had raged with equal fury. In the general deſtruction of the French ſettlements, on the commencement of hoſtilities, a ſmall band had fled for ſhelter to the dominions of Hyder Ally, and had ever ſince, under the command of monſieur Lally, given vigour to the operations of that enterpriſing prince. They now, in conjunction with Tippoo Saib, (the ſon of Hyder) who inherited the daring ſpirit of his father, attacked, on the ſixteenth of February, a Britiſh detachment under colonel Braithwaite, that had encamped on the banks of the Colleroon, for the protection of Tanjore and the adjacent provinces. This ſmall but ſelect corps conſiſted of two thouſand veteran infantry, with thirteen field-pieces, and two hundred and fifty cavalry. For two ſucceſſive days they repulſed, with undaunted reſolution, the reiterated attacks of Hyder's cavalry, though amounting to the formidable number of twenty thouſand; but on the third they were broken by the charge of four hundred French, who advanced with bayonets fixed, and were led on by monſieur Lally himſelf. The humanity of that offi-

cer was no leſs conſpicuous than his courage; he not only iſſued orders for putting an immediate ſtop to the carnage, but haſtened perſonally, and with apparent hazard, to chaſtiſe and reſtrain the cruel fury of the black cavalry, five of whom periſhed by his own hand in the generous exertion. He alſo prevailed on Tippoo Saib to commit the priſoners to his care, and endeavoured to ſooth their misfortunes by every mark of tenderneſs and reſpect: indeed, it cannot eſcape obſervation, that, during the whole courſe of this war, the French and Engliſh did not leſs vie with each other in acts of generous compaſſion than in deeds of daring valour.—Alas! when will that time arrive, at which the ſpirit of emulation among kingdoms ſhall have *only* virtue for its object?

The land forces, which monſieur Suffrein had landed at Porto Novo, after his firſt engagement with the Engliſh fleet, were joined by a body of native troops belonging to Hyder Ally; and the combined army immediately marched to the ſiege of Cuddalore. The garriſon of that fortreſs, being too weak to reſiſt the arms of the allies, opened their gates to the victors, on the ſixth of April; and monſieur Duchemin, the French commander, having ſecured a poſt for the reception of ſuccours, an advantage of which France was before deſtitute, proceeded to more diſtant conqueſts. He, accordingly, inveſted Peemacoli to the northward, and, after the reduction of that place, effected a junction with the main army of Hyder, and, in concert with that prince, meditated an attack on Vandiwaſh.

The approach of the Engliſh compelled them to abandon that enterprize; and the combined army, ſtrong, in their numbers, poſſeſſed themſelves of ſuch advantageous poſts, as precluded the poſſibility of attack. But the Britiſh commander, general Coote, determined, if poſſible, to bring them to action, had recourſe to a manœuvre, which effectually anſwered his purpoſe. He marched with his whole force to Arnee, a ſtrong fortreſs, in which Hyder's principal magazines were depoſited; and that prince, anxious for the ſafety of ſo valuable a poſſeſſion, relinquiſhed his ſituation on the Red Hills, and marched to the relief of the garriſon. Ever rapid in his motions, and concealing the march of his infantry by his numerous bodies of horſe, he took the enemy by ſurprize on the ſecond of June; but the ſkill of the Engliſh commander, and the bravery of his troops, were ſucceſsfully exerted for the reſtoration of order; the attack was returned with ſpirit and effect; and the allies were driven from the field with conſiderable ſlaughter. But the native troops, chiefly compoſed of cavalry, eaſily eluded the purſuit of the victors; and monſieur Duchemin had cautiouſly avoided expoſing the French, till the arrival of the marquis de Buſſy, with a ſtrong reinforcement, an event that was daily expected, might enable them to act with efficacy.

In conſequence of this plan, he retired to Cuddalore, which he ſtrengthened by additional works, and rendere ſecure from any ſudden inſult. The indiſpoſition of general Coote,

Coote, about the ſame time, joined to a want of proviſions, compelled him to quit the field; ſo that no event of any conſiderable importance took place in the Carnatic, during the remainder of the year.

But though the armies of either power were thus compelled to abſtain from hoſtilities, the rival ſquadrons of France and England ſtill continued their bloody attacks. Monſieur Suffrein had returned from Batacalo to the coaſt of Coromandel; and, having refreſhed his fleet at the Daniſh ſettlement of Tranquebar, he proceeded from thence to Cuddalore, which the French had rendered their chief place at arms, both for the land and ſea ſervice. It was his object to attack the Engliſh fleet, before the arrival of a reinforcement, which he knew had ſailed from England, and was impatiently expected at Madras. He was furniſhed at Cuddalore with four hundred French, and as many ſeapoys; and to theſe were added three hundred artillery-men, who were of the moſt eſſential ſervice to him.

Thus ſtrengthened, he appeared off Negapantam, where the Engliſh fleet lay at anchor; and admiral Hughes no ſooner deſcried his rival, than he reſigned the ſecurity of his ſtation to meet him. In this action, fought on the ſixth of April, the number of ſhips on each ſide was the ſame as in the laſt engagement; the ſame ſkill and courage were diſplayed; the French fleet, however, ſuffered the greateſt damage, retired firſt from action, and would, probably, have ſuſtained a total defeat, had not a favourable ſhift of wind reſcued them from impending danger. The captain of the Severe, of ſixty-four guns, even ſtruck his colours; but having by that means eſcaped the deſtructive fire of the Sultan, an Engliſh ſhip of ſeventy-four guns, to which he ſtruck, he renewed the engagement without hoiſting his colours, and retired for ſafety, into the midſt of his own fleet. The French commander retreated to Cuddalore, while admiral Hughes, having kept the ſea about a fortnight longer, proceeded to Madras.

Monſieur de Suffrein exerted his uſual induſtry in refitting his ſquadron; and having received advice from the Sieur d'Aymar, that he was arrived at Point de Galles, which lies on the ſouth ſide of the iſland of Ceylon, in his own ſhip, the Saint Michael of ſixty-four guns, accompanied by the Illuſtre of ſeventy-four, and the ſecond diviſion of the marquis de Buſſy's troops, the French admiral immediately ſailed from Cuddalore, and having joined this ſquadron, proceeded with his whole force to the attack of Trincamale, where he arrived towards the end of Auguſt.

Having braved the fire of the Engliſh batteries, he anchored his fleet in the moſt advantageous ſtation for the annoyance of the garriſon; the landing of the troops, under the conduct of the baron d'Agoult, was effected the next day, and the place was immediately inveſted. After two days, employed in the erection of batteries, thoſe on the left were opened early in the morning, and ſoon gained ſuch a deciſive ſuperiority, that the

the Engliſh cannon were ſilenced before night. On the following day, monſieur Suffrein, encouraged by this ſucceſs, ſummoned the garriſon to ſurrender; and the Britiſh commandant, convinced of the inutility of farther reſiſtance, conſented to capitulate.

The moſt favourable conditions were ſubſcribed by the French commanders. The honours of war were granted in the fulleſt extent; the garriſon was to be immediately conveyed to Madras, in ſhips provided at the expence of France; the Dutch inhabitants, as well as the garriſon, were to be ſecured in their private property; and all the rights and privileges of the former were to be preſerved inviolate.

Monſieur de Suffrein had ſcarce taken the neceſſary meaſures for ſecuring his new acquiſition, when the Engliſh fleet appeared off Trincamale. Admiral Hughes had been lately joined by a ſhip of ſeventy-four guns; but ſtill the advantage was on the ſide of the French, and they were ſuperior to their adverſaries by one ſhip of the line, and two of fifty guns. In the hope of eſtabliſhing the dominion of France, on the Eaſtern Ocean, by a deciſive victory, monſieur de Suffrein ſtood out to ſea, and, about three o'clock in the afternoon of the third of September, the action became general. Monſieur de Suffrein himſelf in the Heros again encountered admiral Hughes in the Superbe, and the rival commanders maintained a cloſe and bloody conflict till the evening was far advanced. Soon after ſix o'clock the French admiral's main and mizen maſts were ſhot away by the board, and an hour after he relinquiſhed the conteſt. Under cover of the night he retired to Trincamale, whence he ſent ſix of his captains, whom he accuſed of forſaking him in the hour of danger, under arreſt to the iſland of Mauritius. The approach of thoſe hurricanes which, at a certain ſeaſon of the year, ſweep, with deſtructive rage, the coaſts of Coromandel, compelled the hoſtile ſquadrons to conſult their mutual ſafety; and while the French ſought ſhelter at Achem, a port belonging to the iſland of Sumatra, the Engliſh retired to the harbour of Bombay.

While the forces of France were thus occupied in the eaſt, the attention of her miniſters at home was directed to the commotions which agitated the republic of Geneva. By the general conſtitution of Geneva, the ſovereign power of the ſtate was inveſted in the general council, which conſiſted of all the citizens and *burgeſſes*[6] aſſembled together; but,

[6] The members of this republic are divided into four claſſes—The Inhabitants, Burgeſſes, Natives, and Citizens. Under the denomination of *Inhabitants* is comprehended all ſtrangers, who eſtabliſh their reſidence within the bounds of the republic, either for a limited time or for life. Theſe have no ſhare in the legiſlature, nor can they hold any of the offices of the magiſtracy. Upon their arrival they declare their allegiance, and receive protection and defence.

The character of *Burgeſs* is deemed more honourable and advantageous than that of *Inhabitant*. It confers particular privileges in the proſecution of trade and commerce, of which the latter are deprived. It is a rank, however, that may be acquired, either by dint of favour, or through the medium of money. A ſtranger, ſettling at Geneva,

but, by degrees, the acquiſition of wealth, that never-failing ſource of oppreſſion, enabled the magiſtrates and ſenate to extend their own power, by an unconſtitutional infringement on the privileges of the people. Theſe encroachments occaſioned frequent complaints, the neglect of which, of courſe, gave riſe to ſerious diſcontents. The ſenate occaſionally impoſed taxes without the conſent of the general council; and the ſeverity exerted by the magiſtrates and ſenate againſt thoſe who cenſured and oppoſed their attempts to extend the bounds of their authority, had greatly contributed to encreaſe the number of malecontents. To prevent a continuance of thoſe diſputes, which naturally reſulted from ſuch a ſtate of things, the democratical party required the eſtabliſhment of a regular code of laws, which ſhould be for the rulers the foundation of their authority, and for the people the known ſtandard of their obedience. But at the moment when the reſtoration of tranquillity was about to be effected, and mutual confidence on the point of being ſettled on this firm baſis of public order and common ſecurity, the ſalutary project was defeated by the intrigues of the ariſtocratic party. The magiſtrates had not only recourſe to the moſt unjuſtifiable practices for maintaining the authority they had uſurped, and to the moſt exaggerated repreſentations of the oppoſition they had experienced from their fellow citizens; but, rather than ſuffer any abridgment of that authority, they courted and obtained the interference of foreign powers. Of theſe the moſt conſiderable was the king of France, who, as protector of the republic, concerted with the king of Sardinia, and the Swiſs cantons of Zurich and Berne, the means of reſtoring peace to Geneva. After many unſucceſsful efforts, they, at length, formed a code, which lodged the ſupreme power in the magiſtrates; and, to give weight to their mediation, an army of twelve thouſand men, belonging to the king of France, the king of Sardinia, and the Swiſs cantons, encamped under the walls of the city. The leaders of the democratic party were unable to contend with their rivals, thus formidably ſupported; the gates of the city were opened to the combined forces, and the pretenſions of the ſyndics were eſtabliſhed by the count de Jancourt, the count of Marmora, and meſſieurs Steiguier and Valtevalle, the miniſters plenipotentiary of the mediating powers. A general amneſty

Geneva, and wiſhing to carry on his trade exempt from reſtrictions, may, on payment of a certain ſum, be admitted into the *Bourgoeiſie*. The title of Burgeſs may alſo be conferred, in an honorary way, even on foreigners and non-reſidents; but no Burgeſs can hold any office in the magiſtracy, though he has a voice in the general aſſembly of the people.

The *Native* derives his appellation from the circumſtance of being born in the place; but though this ſhould certainly entitle him to the poſſeſſion of particular privileges, he has no political power or capacity whatſoever in the ſtate; he is, in fact, a ſtranger in the midſt of that country in which he was born and educated.

To be a *Citizen* it is neceſſary not only to be born in the republic, but alſo to be the ſon of a *Citizen* or *Burgeſs*, or of a *Native*, whoſe father and grandfather have had the ſame character. For it is not the ſon, but the grandſon of a *Native*, who has the privilege of *Citizen* by birth. The number of this claſs was, in the year 1782, eſtimated at eighteen hundred. The citizens enjoy the privilege of holding public offices, and of forming part of the legiſlature.

was,

was, at the ſame time, publiſhed, out of which only nineteen perſons were excepted; two of theſe were deprived of their employments; ſeven were condemned to perpetual exile; and the reſt were baniſhed for ten years; but the ſpirits of the inhabitants were ſeverely repreſſed by theſe new regulations; and a great number of them rather choſe to quit for ever their native country, than to ſubmit to thoſe inſtitutions which they conſidered as a violent infringement of their privileges, and as a flagrant invaſion of their liberties.

During the adminiſtration of monſieur Fleury, who, on the diſmiſſion of M. Neckar, had ſucceeded to the office of comptroller-general of the finances, many of the reforms which the latter had carried into execution were ſuperſeded, and ſome of the abuſes which he had deſtroyed were unhappily reſtored. The publication of various edicts and impoſts, neceſſary but onerous, increaſed the regret of the people for the loſs of the late miniſter, who had wiſely adopted the beſt of all maxims of finance, that economy is the ſureſt ſource of abundance.

To multiply the reſources of the government, without encreaſing the burthens of the public, the miniſters endeavoured to kindle, throughout the capital and in the different provinces, a flame of enthuſiaſm, which, if productive of no ſolid advantage, might yet dazzle the eyes of the multitude, and awe the enemies of France. The defeat of the count de Graſſe had impreſſed the kingdom with general grief and conſternation; and, in order to repair the loſs which the national marine had ſuſtained, ſeveral ſtates and wealthy communities were prevailed upon to diſplay their zeal in the conſtruction and equipment of ſhips of war, according to their reſpective ſtrength and affluence.

The clergy were more particularly diſtinguiſhed by their liberality, diſplayed in a manner highly conſiſtent with their ſacred profeſſion. They not only granted to the exigencies of the ſtate a free gift of *fifteen millions of livres*, but, at the ſame time, requeſted their ſovereign to accept an additional million, to be inviolably applied to the comfort and maintenance of thoſe ſeamen who had been wounded in the courſe of the war, and to the ſupport of the widows and orphans of ſuch as had fallen, gallantly fighting in the defence of the naval glory of France.

A. D. 1783.] Yet theſe contributions, though they reflected the higheſt honour on the donors, could afford but a partial and ſcanty ſupply, while the immenſe preparations of France called for the moſt ſolid and effectual ſupport. In conjunction with his allies, Lewis was determined this year, to make the moſt powerful efforts, for the purpoſe of promoting a ſpeedy termination of the war. The combined fleets of the houſe of Bourbon, though unable to atchieve any enterprize of importance, ſtill maintained their ſuperiority, in Europe, over the Engliſh. They marquis de Buſſy, with three

three ſhips of the line, three thouſand troops, and a conſiderable train of artillery, ſupported the hopes of France in the Eaſt, and already aſpired to the conqueſt of the Engliſh poſſeſſions on the coaſt of Coromandel. Nine ſhips of the line, and thirty tranſports, in which was embarked a ſelect corps of ſeven thouſand five hundred ſoldiers, ſailed from Breſt to America, under the conduct of monſieur de Vialis, to reinforce the marquis de Vaudreuil, and to complete the expulſion of the Engliſh from that continent; while the States-General of Holland agreed to ſupply at their own expence ten ſhips of the line, which were to ſail to Breſt, and to act in concert with the ſquadrons of France. The count d'Eſtaing was appointed to the ſupreme command of the combined fleets.

Such were the preparations for the enſuing campaign, on which the miniſters of France founded the moſt ſanguine expectations of ſucceſs; but, fortunately, their projects of ambition were fruſtrated by the pacific diſpoſition of their ſovereign, who preferred to the aggrandizement of his crown the eaſe and happineſs of his ſubjects. A change in the adminiſtration of England had effected an alteration in the ſentiments and proceedings of the Britiſh council, and all idea of farther oppoſition to the claims of America were diſclaimed by the new miniſters. The emancipation of the Americans from the domination of Great Britain had been the grand object of France; the defeat in the Weſt Indies, and the repulſe at Gibraltar, were ſtill impreſſed on the mind of Lewis; and though his vaſt armaments, and the reſources of his allies, preſented the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs in the enſuing campaign, they were ſtill inſufficient to perſuade him to continue the war, when the grand object of it was already obtained, and when peace could be procured on terms honourable to himſelf, and advantageous to his kingdom.

Induced by theſe conſiderations, he liſtened to the proffered and powerful mediation of the two firſt potentates in Europe, the emperor of Germany, and the empreſs of Ruſſia; and the count de Vergennes, who ſtill preſided over the department of foreign affairs, was appointed to treat with Mr. Fitzherbert, the Engliſh miniſter at Bruſſels, but who had lately proceeded to Paris, to conduct this important negociation. The way was already ſmoothed for the reſtoration of public tranquillity by proviſional articles, ſigned, at the concluſion of the laſt year, between Great Britain and the States of America, and which were to conſtitute a treaty of peace finally to be concluded, when that between France and Great Britain took place.

By theſe articles the freedom, ſovereignty, and independence of the Thirteen United States were, individually, by name, and in the fulleſt and moſt expreſs terms, acknowledged, and all claims to their government and territorial rights were for ever relinquiſhed by the crown of Great Britain. Several lines were drawn for the purpoſe of preventing all future diſputes about boundaries; and, on the ſea coaſts—as the Britiſh forces were to be withdrawn from all the territories of the United States—New York, Long Iſland, Staten Iſland, and Charles Town, with all their dependencies, were given

up, and an unlimitted right of fiſhery, on the banks of Newfoundland, in the Gulph of Saint Lawrence, and in all other places where both nations had been hitherto accuſtomed to fiſh, was granted to the Americans.

France thus enjoyed the ſterile ſatisfaction of deſpoiling Great Britain of thoſe colonies, on which her enemies vainly imagined her commercial, if not her political importance, eſſentially depended; and of ſecuring to herſelf, by the erection of a new power acroſs the Atlantic, a grateful and potent ally. This primary object was, therefore, no ſooner attained, than the count de Vergennes quickened the negociations of his own court: on the twentieth of January, the preliminary articles of peace were ſigned at Paris; and, on the third of September, the definitive treaty was concluded, on the part of their reſpective ſovereigns, by that miniſter and the duke of Mancheſter. The conditions of this treaty are comprized in the following articles:

1. There ſhall be a chriſtian, univerſal, and perpetual peace, as well by ſea as by land, and a ſincere and conſtant friendſhip ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed, between their Britannic and Moſt Chriſtian majeſties, and between their heirs and ſucceſſors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces, counties, ſubjects and vaſſals, of whatſoever quality or condition they be, without exception either of places or perſons; ſo that the high contracting parties ſhall give the greateſt attention to the maintaining between themſelves, and their ſaid dominions and ſubjects, this reciprocal friendſhip and intercourſe, without permitting, on either part, any kind of hoſtilities to be committed, either by ſea or by land, for any cauſe, or under any pretence whatſoever: and they ſhall carefully avoid, for the future, every thing which might prejudice the union happily re-eſtabliſhed, endeavouring, on the contrary, to procure reciprocally for each other, on every occaſion, whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, intereſts, and advantage, without giving any aſſiſtance or protection, directly or indirectly, to thoſe who would do any injury to the high contracting parties. There ſhall be a general oblivion and amneſty of every thing which may have been done or committed, before or ſince the commencement of the war which is juſt ended.

2. The treaties of Weſtphalia of 1648; the treaties of peace of Nimeguen of 1678 and 1679: of Ryſwick of 1697; thoſe of peace and of commerce of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; that of the triple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the Quadruple alliance of London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1738; the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748; and that of Paris, of 1763, ſerve as a baſis and foundation to the peace, and to the preſent treaty; and for this purpoſe they are all renewed and confirmed in the beſt form, as well as all the treaties in general which ſubſiſted between the high contracting parties before the war, as if they were herein inſerted word for word; and ſo they are to be exactly obſerved for the future in their full tenor,

tenor, and religiouſly executed by both parties, in all the points which ſhall not be derogated from by the preſent treaty of peace.

3. All the priſoners taken on either ſide, as well by land as by ſea, and the hoſtages carried away or given during the war, and to this day, ſhall be reſtored, without ranſom, in ſix weeks at fartheſt, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty; each crown reſpectively diſcharging the advances which ſhall have been made for the ſubſiſtance and maintenance of their priſoners, by the ſovereign of the country where they ſhall have been detained, according to the receipts and atteſted accounts, and other authentic vouchers which ſhall be furniſhed on each ſide: and ſureties ſhall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the priſoners may have contracted in the countries where they may have been detained, until their entire releaſe. And all ſhips, as well men of war as merchant ſhips, which may have been taken ſince the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the ceſſation of hoſtilities by ſea, ſhall likewiſe be reſtored *bonâ fide*, with all their crews and cargoes. And the execution of this article ſhall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

4. His majeſty the king of Great Britain is maintained in his right to the iſland of Newfoundland, and to the adjacent iſlands, as the whole were aſſured to him by the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht; excepting the iſlands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon, which are ceded, in full right, by the preſent treaty, to his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty.

5. His majeſty, the Moſt Chriſtian king, in order to prevent the quarrels which have hitherto ariſen between the two nations of England and France, conſents to renounce the right of fiſhing, which belongs to him in virtue of the aforeſaid article of the treaty of Utrecht, from Cape Bonaviſta to Cape Saint John, ſituated on the eaſtern coaſt of Newfoundland, in fifty degrees north latitude; and his majeſty the king of Great Britain conſents, on his part, that the fiſhery aſſigned to the ſubjects of his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, beginning at the ſaid Cape Saint John, paſſing to the north, and deſcending by the weſtern coaſt of the iſland of Newfoundland, ſhall extend to the place called Cape Raye, ſituated in forty-ſeven degrees, fifty minutes latitude. The French fiſhermen ſhall enjoy the fiſhery which is aſſigned to them by the preſent article, as they had the right to enjoy that which was aſſigned to them by the treaty of Utrecht.

6. With regard to the fiſhery in the gulph of Saint Laurence, the French ſhall continue to exerciſe it conformably to the fifth article of the treaty of Paris.

7. The king of Great Britain reſtores to France the iſland of Saint Lucia in the condition it was in when conquered by the Britiſh arms: and his Britannick majeſty cedes

and guarantees to his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty the iſland of Tobaga. The Proteſtant inhabitants of the ſaid iſland, as well as thoſe of the ſame religion, who ſhall have ſettled at Saint Lucia, whilſt that iſland was occupied by the Britiſh, ſhall not be moleſted in the exerciſe of their worſhip: and the Britiſh inhabitants, or others who may have been ſubjects to the king of Great Britain, in the aforeſaid iſlands, ſhall retain their poſſeſſions upon the ſame titles and conditions by which they have acquired them; or elſe they may retire, in full ſecurity and liberty, where they ſhall think fit, and ſhall have the power of ſelling their eſtates, provided it be to ſubjects of his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, and of removing their effects, as well as their perſons, without being reſtrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatſoever, except on account of debt, or of criminal proſecutions. The term limited for this emigration is fixed to the ſpace of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty. And for the better ſecuring the poſſeſſions of the inhabitants of the aforeſaid iſland of Tobago, the Moſt Chriſtian king ſhall iſſue letters-patent, containing an abolition of the Droit d'Aubaine in the ſaid iſland.

8. The Moſt Chriſtian king reſtores to Great Britain the iſlands of Grenada and the Grenadines, Saint Vincent's, Dominica, Saint Chriſtopher's, Nevis, and Montſerrat; and the fortreſſes of theſe iſlands ſhall be delivered up in the condition they were at the time of their reduction. The ſame ſtipulations inſerted in the preceding articles ſhall take place in favour of the French ſubjects, with reſpect to the iſlands enumerated in the preſent article.

9, The king of Great Britain cedes, in full right, and guarantees to his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, the river Senegal, and its dependencies, with the forts of Saint Louis, Podor, Galam, Argum, and Portendic; and his Britannic majeſty reſtores to France the iſland of Goree, which ſhall be delivered up in the condition it was in when the conqueſt of it was made.

10. The Moſt Chriſtian king, on his part, guarantees to the king of Great Britain the poſſeſſion of fort James, and of the river Gambia.

11. For preventing all diſcuſſion in that part of the world, the two high contracting parties ſhall, within three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, name commiſſaries, who ſhall be charged with the ſettling and fixing the boundaries of the reſpective poſſeſſions. As to the gum trade, the Engliſh ſhall have the liberty of carrying it on, from the mouth of the river Saint John, to the bay and fort of Portendic incluſively; provided, however, that they ſhall not form any permanent ſettlement, of what nature ſoever, in the ſaid river Saint John, upon the coaſt, or in the bay, of Portendic.

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12. As to the reſt of the African coaſt, the Engliſh and French ſubjects ſhall continue to reſort thereto, according to the uſage which has hitherto obtained.

13. The king of Great Britain reſtores to his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty all the ſettlements which belonged to him, at the beginning of the preſent war, upon the coaſt of Orixa, and in Bengal, with liberty to ſurround Chandernagore with a ditch for carrying off the waters; and his Britannic majeſty engages to take ſuch meaſures as ſhall be in his power for ſecuring to the ſubjects of France, in that part of India, as well as on the coaſts of Orixa, Coromandel, and Malabar, a ſafe, free, and independent trade, ſuch as was carried on by the French Eaſt-India company, whether they exerciſe it individually, or as a company.

14. Pondicherry ſhall be, in like manner, delivered up and guaranteed to France, as alſo Karikal: and his Britannic majeſty ſhall ſecure, for an additional dependency to Pondicherry, the two diſtricts of Velanour, and Bahour; and to Karikal, the four Magans bordering thereupon.

15. France ſhall re-enter into poſſeſſion of Mahé, as well as of its factory at Surat; and the French ſhall carry on their trade, in this part of India, conformably to the principles eſtabliſhed in the thirteenth article of this treaty.

16. Orders having been ſent to India by the high contracting parties, in purſuance to the ſixteenth article of the preliminaries, it is further agreed, that if, within the term of four months, the reſpective allies of their Britannic and Moſt Chriſtian majeſties ſhall not have acceded to the preſent pacification, or concluded a ſeparate accommodation, their ſaid majeſties ſhall not give them any aſſiſtance, directly or indirectly, againſt the Britiſh or French poſſeſſions, or againſt the ancient poſſeſſions of their reſpective allies, ſuch as they were in the year 1776.

17. The king of Great Britain, being deſirous to give his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, a ſincere proof of reconciliation and friendſhip, and to contribute to render ſolid the peace re-eſtabliſhed between their ſaid majeſties, conſents to the abrogation and ſuppreſſion of all the articles relative to Dunkirk, from the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht in 1713, incluſive, to this day.

18. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, the two high contracting parties ſhall name commiſſaries to treat concerning new arrangements of commerce between the two nations, on the baſis of reciprocity and mutual convenience; which arrangements ſhall be ſettled and concluded within the ſpace of two years, to be computed from the firſt of January, in the year 1784.

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19. All the countries and territories which may have been, or which may be conquered, in any part of the world whatſoever, by the arms of his Britannic majeſty, as well as by thoſe of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, which are not included in the preſent treaty, neither under the head of ceſſions, nor under the head of reſtitutions, ſhall be reſtored without difficulty, and without requiring any compenſation.

20. As it is neceſſary to appoint a certain period for the reſtitutions and evacuations to be made by each of the high contracting parties, it is agreed, that the king of Great Britain ſhall cauſe to be evacuated the iſlands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon, three months after the ratification of the preſent treaty, or ſooner, if it can be done; Saint Lucia (one of the Caribbee Iſlands) and Goree in Africa, three months after the ratification of the preſent treaty, or ſooner, if it can be done. The king of Great Britain ſhall, in like manner, at the end of three months after the ratification of the preſent treaty, or ſooner, if it can be done, enter again into the poſſeſſion of the iſlands of Grenada, the Grenadines, Saint Vincent's, Dominica, Saint Chriſtopher's, Nevis, and Montſerrat. France ſhall be put in poſſeſſion of the towns and factories which are reſtored to her in the Eaſt Indies, and of the territories which are procured for her, as additional dependencies to Pondicherry, and to Karikal, ſix months after the ratification of the preſent treaty, or ſooner, if it can be done. France ſhall deliver up, at the end of the like term of ſix months, the towns and territories which her arms may have taken from the Engliſh, or their allies, in the Eaſt-Indies. In conſequence whereof, the neceſſary orders ſhall be ſent, by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal paſſports for the ſhips which ſhall carry them, immediately after the ratification of the preſent treaty.

21. The deciſion of the prizes and ſeizures made prior to the hoſtilities ſhall be referred to the reſpective courts of juſtice; ſo that the legality of the ſaid prizes and ſeizures ſhall be decided according to the law of nations, and to treaties, in the courts of juſtice of the nation which ſhall have made the capture or ordered the ſeizure.

22. For preventing the revival of the law-ſuits which have been decided in the iſlands conquered by either of the high contracting parties, it is agreed that the judgments pronounced in the laſt reſort, and which have acquired the force of matters determined, ſhall be confirmed and executed according to their form and tenor.

23. Their Britannic and Moſt Chriſtian majeſties promiſe to obſerve ſincerely, and *bonâ fide*, all the articles contained and eſtabliſhed in the preſent treaty; and they will not ſuffer the ſame to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their reſpective ſubjects; and the ſaid high contracting parties guarantee to each other, generally and reciprocally, all the ſtipulations of the preſent treaty.

24. The

24. The ſolemn ratifications of the preſent treaty, prepared in good and due form, ſhall be exchanged in this city of Verſailles, between the high contracting parties, in the ſpace of a month, or ſooner if poſſible, to be computed from the day of the ſignature of the preſent treaty.

This treaty was followed by a declaration, on the part of the king of England, and a counter-declaration, on the part of Lewis the Sixteenth. The former ſet forth, that the terms of the definitive treaty having been finally concluded with his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, the king of Great Britain would ſeek every means not only to enſure the execution thereof, with his accuſtomed good faith and punctuality, but would beſides give, on his part, all poſſible efficacy to thoſe principles which were calculated to prevent even the ſmalleſt foundation of future diſputes.

To that end, and in order that the fiſhermen of the two nations might not give cauſe for daily quarrels, his Britannic majeſty expreſſed his determination to adopt the moſt poſitive meaſures for preventing his ſubjects from interrupting, in any manner, by their competition, the fiſhery of the French, during the temporary exerciſe thereof which was granted to them, upon the coaſts of the iſland of Newfoundland; and for that purpoſe, he would cauſe the fixed ſettlements which might be formed there to be removed. His Britannic majeſty would alſo give orders that the French fiſhermen ſhould not be incommoded, in cutting the wood neceſſary for the repair of their ſtages, huts, and fiſhing veſſels.

The thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, and that method of carrying on the fiſhery, which had, at all times, been acknowledged, was declared to be the plan upon which the fiſhery ſhould be carried on in thoſe parts—a plan not to be deviated from by either party; the French fiſhermen building only their ſtages, confining themſelves to the repair of their fiſhing-veſſels, and not *wintering* there; the ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty, on their part, not moleſting, in any manner, the French fiſhermen, during their fiſhing, nor injuring their ſtages, during their abſence.

The king of Great Britain obſerved, that, in ceding the iſlands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon to France, he regarded them as ceded for the purpoſe of ſerving as a real ſhelter to the French fiſhermen, and in full confidence that theſe poſſeſſions would not become an object of jealouſy between the two nations; and that the fiſhery between the ſaid iſlands and that of Newfoundland, ſhould be limited to the middle of the channel.

With regard to India, Great Britain having granted to France every thing which could aſcertain and confirm the trade which the latter deſired to carry on there, his majeſty relied with confidence on the repeated aſſurances of the court of Verſailles, that the power

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of ſurrounding Chandernagore with a ditch for carrying off the waters, ſhould not be exerciſed in ſuch a manner as to render it an object of umbrage.

The new ſtate in which commerce might, perhaps, be found, in all parts of the world, would demand reviſions and explanations of the ſubſiſting treaties; but an entire abrogation of thoſe treaties, at whatever period it might take place, would, it was properly ſuggeſted, throw commerce into ſuch confuſion as muſt be infinitely prejudicial to it.

In ſome of the treaties of this deſcription there were not only articles which related merely to commerce, but many others which enſured, reciprocally, to the reſpective ſubjects, privileges, facilities for conducting their affairs, perſonal protections, and other advantages, which were not, and which ſhould not be of a changeable nature;—ſuch as the regulations relating to the value of goods and merchandize, variable from circumſtances of every kind.

It was ſuggeſted, therefore, that when the ſtate of the trade between the two nations ſhould be treated upon, it was requiſite to be underſtood, that the alteration which might be made in the ſubſiſting treaties were to extend only to arrangements merely commercial; and that the privileges and advantages, mutual and particular, ſhould be not only preſerved, on each ſide, but even augmented, if that could be done.—In that view his Britannic majeſty had conſented to the appointment of commiſſaries, on each ſide, who were to treat ſolely upon that object.

In reply to this declaration, Lewis declared, that the principles by which he had been guided, in the whole courſe of the negotiation which preceded the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, muſt have convinced the king of Great Britain, that he had had no other deſign than to render it ſolid and durable, by preventing, as much as poſſible, in the four quarters of the world, every ſubject of diſcuſſion, and every ground of diſpute. The king of Great Britain undoubtedly placed too much confidence in the rectitude of his majeſty's intentions, not to rely on his conſtant attention to prevent the iſlands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon from becoming an object of jealouſy between the two nations.

As to the fiſhery on the coaſts of Newfoundland, which had been the object of the new arrangements ſettled by the two ſovereigns upon that matter, Lewis obſerved, it was ſufficiently aſcertained by the fifth article of the definitive treaty, and likewiſe by the ſubſequent declaration of his Britannic majeſty; on that head he declared himſelf to be fully ſatisfied.

He accepted the regulations with regard to the fiſhery between the iſland of Newfoundland and thoſe of Saint Pierre and Miquelon; and would give the moſt poſitive orders,

orders, that the French fiſhermen ſhould not exceed the bounds preſcribed; being firmly perſuaded that the king of Great Britain would give ſimilar orders to the Engliſh fiſhermen.

The king's deſire to maintain the peace, extended to India as well as to the other parts of the world; his Britannic majeſty might, therefore, be aſſured, that he would never permit an object ſo inoffenſive and ſo harmleſs, as the ditch, with which Chandernagore was to be ſurrounded, to give any umbrage to the court of London.

In propoſing new commercial arrangements, the king had no other deſign than to remedy, by the rules of reciprocity and mutual convenience, whatever might be defective in the treaty of commerce, ſigned at Utrecht, in 1713. The king of Great Britain might judge from thence, that his majeſty's intention was not, in any wiſe, to cancel all the ſtipulations in that treaty; he declared, on the contrary, that he was, thenceforth, diſpoſed to maintain all the privileges, facilities, and advantages, expreſſed in the ſaid treaty, as far as they ſhould be reciprocal, or compenſated by equivalent advantages. It was to attain this end, ſo deſirable to both parties, that commiſſaries were to be appointed to treat on the ſtate of the trade between the two nations, and that a conſiderable ſpace of time was to be allowed for the completion of their work. His majeſty hoped that that object would be purſued with the ſame good faith, and the ſame ſpirit of conciliation, which marked the diſcuſſion of all the other points compriſed in the definitive treaty; and he expreſſed his firm conviction, that the reſpective commiſſaries would employ the utmoſt diligence in the accompliſhment of that important work.

This open and candid explanation was admirably calculated for the prevention of future diſputes; and the king enjoyed the ſatisfaction—much greater than any which a mind like his could poſſibly derive from the humiliation of a rival—of having reſtored peace to his ſubjects, and tranquillity to Europe. Nor were the intereſts of his ally, the king of Spain, neglected upon this occaſion; that country, which had ſo long been accuſtomed to witneſs the gradual reſtriction of her boundaries, now taſted the ſweets of acquiſition. Though inceſſantly baffled in her attempts to reduce the fortreſs of Gibraltar, her pride was, in ſome degree, ſoothed by the ceſſion of the iſland of Minorca, in the Mediterranean; and to the extenſive poſſeſſions which ſhe already enjoyed in South America, were now added the fertile provinces of Eaſt and Weſt Florida, on the northern continent. The only retribution which ſhe made, was the reſtoration of the Bahama iſlands to Great Britain.

But Holland had engaged too late in the war, and had been evidently influenced by motives of too ſelfiſh a nature, to merit much ſupport from the court of Verſailles; the States-general were therefore left to combat the difficulties in which they had involved the republic; and to afford an example as well to individuals as to mercantile powers,

that where ſelf-intereſt leads to a violation of plighted faith, it generally defeats its own object, and meets with the puniſhment it deſerves. That cloſe connection which had once ſubſiſted between the Engliſh and Dutch, was now diſſolved; and the latter diſcovered, that they had loſt an old ally, without acquiring a new one.

Though tranquillity was thus reſtored to Europe, Africa, and America, Aſia, diſtant from the ſcene of negociation, continued ſtill expoſed to the ravages of war. Tippoo Saib, who, on the death of his father, had lately ſucceeded to the government of his extenſive dominions, had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſucceſſive victories over colonel Baillie in the Carnatic, and colonel Braithwaite on the banks of the Coleroon; and his enemies were ſoon convinced that his acceſſion to royalty had not damped his military ardour. General Matthews, a Britiſh officer, had penetrated with a ſelect detachment to Bednure, the capital of the wealthy kingdom of Canore, where his conduct had excited ſuch diſguſt in the minds of his brother officers, as to induce many of them to quit the ſervice. But before he had time to ſecure himſelf in his new conqueſt, he was alarmed by the approach of Tippoo Saib, who, with an hoſt of cavalry, and the ſmall corps of French under the command of monſieur Lally, preſſed forward to chaſtiſe his temerity. The Engliſh commander marched out to meet the enemy; but neither his ſtrength nor his ſkill ſeemed proportioned to his preſumption; his ranks were inſtantly broken by the rapid charge of the French; with the loſs of five hundred men he retired within the walls of Bednure, and ſoon after ſigned a capitulation, which, on a promiſe of their lives and liberties, delivered himſelf and his troops into the power of Tippoo Saib. The capitulation, however, was ſoon violated by the treacherous and unprincipled victor: the garriſon were detained as priſoners; the general himſelf is reported to have periſhed by poiſon; ſeveral of the principal officers were barbarouſly murdered; and the few that were releaſed at the concluſion of the peace, had experienced ſufferings that rendered the fate of their ſlaughtered companions enviable.

The hoſtile ſquadrons of France and England had, in order to avoid the deſtructive fury of the monſoons, retired to their reſpective harbours; but, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, monſieur de Suffrein had proceeded from Trincamale to Cuddalore; he was there reinforced by twelve hundred European troops, which he diſperſed among his ſhips, and was lying at anchor in the road of Pondicherry, when he diſcovered the approach of the Engliſh fleet under admiral Hughes.

The Britiſh ſquadron had been joined by five ſhips of the line from Europe, and was now ſuperior in number to the French by two ſhips of the line. But, undiſmayed by this diſparity, however, monſieur de Suffrein reſolved to encounter his rival, and to ſupport the honour of the French flag; the action began about four in the afternoon, and a heavy cannonade was continued until ſeven; at that hour the conflict ceaſed, without any deciſive conſequences; each ſquadron had to lament the unavailing ſlaughter of a number

ber of gallant men; and, with this ſevere trial of his ſtrength, concluded the naval warfare in India. Admiral Hughes ſoon after retired to Madras, and Monſieur de Suffrein, who, throughout the whole war, had maintained the character of a bold and ſkilful commander, proceeded to Cuddalore to return the land forces with which he had been reinforced, and to which he added two thouſand four hundred men from his own fleet.

This ſuccour, though important, was not more than neceſſary to the immediate defence of the place. The marquis de Buſſy, who had lately arrived in India with a conſiderable body of European troops, found his ſituation far from enviable; general Coote, whoſe ſkill, experience, and enterpriſing genius had been confirmed and diſplayed in the courſe of long ſervice, was indeed no more; and by his death the command of the Britiſh forces had devolved on general Stuart. But the marquis de Buſſy ſoon perceived, that though he had loſt one formidable competitor, he had found another equally ſpirited and enterpriſing; and he was ſcarce arrived at Cuddalore before he beheld himſelf inveſted by the Britiſh troops, conducted by their new general, who had eagerly ſeized the favourable opportunity afforded him by the motions of Tippoo Saib, by whom the Carnatic had been evacuated for the recovery of Bednure.

The fortifications of Cuddalore had been conſiderably ſtrengthened by the ſkill and labour of the French; and the marquis de Buſſy was ſtill employed in the conſtruction of new works, when his progreſs was interrupted by the approach of the Engliſh, who rapidly advanced to aſſault the lines before they could be completed. The attack and defence were both maintained with a degree of reſolution that had ſeldom been equalled in that quarter of the globe, and perhaps never exceeded in Europe: the aſſailants, though frequently repulſed, as conſtantly returned to the charge; but the French were at length overwhelmed by numbers, and were compelled to abandon their out-poſts, with the loſs, in killed and wounded, of near ſix hundred of their beſt troops.

The arrival of the fleet, under monſieur de Suffrein, and the reinforcement which he landed from the ſhips, determined the marquis de Buſſy to hazard a vigorous ſally, in hopes of recovering the poſts that he had loſt, and of making ſome impreſſion on the works of the beſiegers. The conduct of this enterprize was entruſted to the chevalier de Damas, a knight of Malta, and colonel of the regiment of Aquitaine, and the hour fixed for the execution of it was three o'clock in the morning. But though ſome advantage was, at firſt, gained, under cover of the darkneſs, the Engliſh were ſoon alarmed; and as day approached, the light that enabled them to diſcover the number of their foes, facilitated the means of repelling them; the French were puſhed on every ſide; a complete rout enſued; the chevalier de Damas, with about one hundred and fifty ſoldiers, was taken priſoner; and near two hundred fell in the conflict.

It was at this critical juncture that the Medea frigate arrived from Madras at Cuddalore, and brought information of the concluſion of peace between the two nations; a mutual ceſſation of hoſtilities, and exchange of priſoners, immediately took place; and that tranquillity which the French already enjoyed in the other parts of the globe was now extended to their tottering ſettlements in the Eaſt.

The ſucceſſes of France during the late war had been dearly purchaſed by the inconveniencies it had produced. The retreat of monſieur Neckar from the management of the finances, had, as we have before had occaſion to obſerve, diminiſhed the public confidence; three different perſons who, ſince his reſignation, had tranſiently occupied the poſt of comptroller-general, encreaſed the jealouſies of the people; and the failure of the celebrated *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte*, completed the univerſal conſternation.

That bank had been eſtabliſhed, by a royal edict, on the twenty-ſecond of September, 1776. The plan was originally formed by a company of private adventurers, and its capital was fixed at five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. Its profeſſed deſign was—as its title implied—to diſcount bills of exchange, payable at two or three months after date, at the rate of four *per cent. per annum*. But this intereſt, from which it was neceſſary to deduct a conſiderable expence and ſome loſſes, could never conſtitute an equivalent for the capital ſunk by the proprietors. An additional power was, therefore, granted them, of iſſuing notes to the amount of their capital, which, as they were capable, at any time, of being converted into ſpecie, might be often voluntarily taken by their cuſtomers from mere convenience. And as the managers of this concern chiefly conſiſted of the moſt opulent bankers, together with ſome receivers-general of the revenues, they were able, by a private agreement among themſelves, to take theſe notes in lieu of caſh, to give them a certain degree of circulation and currency. By means of the notes thus iſſued, their original capital was doubled, and the proprietors were enabled to make an annual dividend of ſix *per cent.*

The excellent outline of this ſyſtem ſeemed to inſure its ſucceſs. There was always in the bank the ſum of five hundred thouſand pounds, either in caſh, or in bills of a ſhort date, equivalent to the notes in circulation. There was beſide this the original capital advanced by the proprietors, and never withdrawn, and a part of the dividend was alſo left in the bank for the purpoſe of accumulation. Theſe circumſtances had given the bank the higheſt degree of reputation, and occaſioned its ſtock to ſell greatly above par. But notwithſtanding theſe flattering appearances, to the aſtoniſhment of the nation, on the ſecond day of October, it ſuddenly ſtopped payment. The cauſe aſſigned was an uncommon ſcarcity of ſpecie; but the public imagined that the failure originated in a loan ſecretly made to government; and what confirmed the ſuſpicion was, that government, about the ſame time, ſtopped payment of the bills drawn upon them by the Americans.

The protection of the king was extended to the falling company, and the publication of four royal edicts tended to relieve the diſtreſs under which it laboured. By the firſt of theſe edicts, dated the twenty-ſeventh of September, the bank was authorized to pay its notes in bills of exchange, with beneficial diſcount; the currency of the notes was limited to the Pariſian banks; and all proſecution was forbidden, of the Caiſſe d'Eſcompte, for payment in ſpecie, and of individuals for debts, the payment of which had been tendered in notes of that bank. By the ſecond—publiſhed three days after—the ordinances againſt the exportation of ſpecie were renewed; the tranſport of ſpecie from province to province was ſubjected to inſpection and a fee; the bills with which the bank was permitted to pay its notes were ſpecified to be bills payable in three months; and the bank was allowed the option of paying its notes in ſpecie. By the third—iſſued on the fourth of October—an eſtimate was declared to have been taken by the king's command, which confirmed the declaration of the firſt edict, with regard to the property of the bank: the bank was allowed an option of diſcounting bills as before, whenever they judged convenient; and, as a farther encouragement, a lottery, with a ſtock of one million ſterling, redeemable in eight years, being eſtabliſhed, the tickets were made purchaſeable in notes of the Caiſſe d'Eſcompte. In each of the edicts, much repetition is found; and the fourth contains no original matter.

By theſe expedients, aptly timed, and judiciouſly adminiſtered, the confidence which the public had formerly repoſed in the Caiſſe d'Eſcompte was revived; its buſineſs encreaſed; and its ſtock, in a ſhort time, roſe to more than double the original ſubſcription; the bills from America were at the ſame time put in a train of payment; and public credit was happily reſtored throughout the kingdom.

A treaty concluded with the United States of America afforded ſome trifling compenſation for the expences that had been incurred during the late war. The ſtates engaged to reimburſe France the ſum of eighteen millions of livres, which had been advanced in the hour of their diſtreſs; and Lewis agreed to conſult their convenience, by allowing the ſpace of twelve years for the payment of the money, which was to be received in twelve equal annual inſtalments.

A. D. 1784, 1785.] But though tranquillity was reſtored, the ſituation of the neighbouring powers prevented the nation from exonerating herſelf from the heavy burdens occaſioned by the extent of her military eſtabliſhment, all deficiencies in which were now filled up with the utmoſt diligence and vigour. While the four great maritime powers of Europe were exhauſting their ſtrength in the proſecution of that war which had occaſioned ſuch deſolation both in the Old and the New World, Joſeph the Second, who now occupied the Imperial throne of Germany, was more happily employed in cultivating the arts of peace, in the improvement of his extenſive dominions, and in eſtabliſhing,

liſhing, upon ſure and permanent foundations, the power, and, conſequently, the ſecurity, of his empire.

In the laudable purſuit of theſe objects, he was not contented with a ſtrict adherence to the beaten tract marked out by others, nor yet with waiting the diſtant effect of ſlow and progreſſive ſchemes of improvement. His plans, unmarked by that caution which the removal of rooted prejudices almoſt invariably requires, were no ſooner conceived than executed; and, as if he envied poſterity the excluſive poſſeſſion of national advantages, he reſolved to participate himſelf in the benefits he intended for his country. Impreſſed with theſe ideas, he was inceſſantly occupied in the conception, adoption, examination, or execution of numberleſs projects of regulation and improvement, of leſs or greater importance, but including ſome of ſuch magnitude, as to have for their object the eſſential reform of the firſt departments of the ſtate and government, whether eccleſiaſtical, civil, or military. This taſk, in itſelf ſufficiently arduous, was rendered ſtill more difficult by the nature of his dominions, compoſed of ſeparate kingdoms, and a number of diſtinct provinces, obtained by different means, and at different periods, ſubject to their own peculiar forms of government, and ſtill retaining many of their original rights and inſtitutions. But though much diſſatisfaction and complaint were excited by theſe ſchemes, which militated with popular opinions and national practices, and tended to the ſubverſion of eſtabliſhments rendered venerable by their antiquity, and conſidered as ſacred in their inſtitution, this prince, nevertheleſs, proceeded to enforce his new regulations, with unexampled facility and ſucceſs.

Soon after his acceſſion to undivided power, by the death of his mother, the empreſs queen, it became apparent, that the reduction of the exorbitant power of the clergy within his own dominions, and their emancipation from dependence on the court of Rome, with the ſuppreſſion of the religious orders, and the appropriation of their property, were among the great and determined objects of the emperor's policy.

Though many of his projects were too haſtily adopted, without the neceſſary attention to conſequences, reſulting from local circumſtances, and the progreſs of mental improvement, the moſt inveterate enemies of Joſeph muſt acknowledge that ſome of his plans were well calculated to promote the happineſs of his ſubjects, and the conſequent welfare of the ſtate. His regulations, with regard to religious toleration and the liberal extenſion of the liberty of the preſs, muſt ever command the applauſe of an enlightened ſtateſman, and extort commendation from the advocate for rational freedom. His ſchemes of ambition appear in a very different light, and will, of courſe, excite very different ſentiments.

The ruinous and unfortunate war, into which the prevalence of the French and republican faction in Holland had precipitated that country with its old and natural ally, England

England, among its other irreparable ill conſequences, was the means of expoſing the nakedneſs of the republic, and, to the aſtoniſhment of all Europe, preſented ſuch a view of diſorder and imbecility in the government, and of radical weakneſs in the ſtate, as had not before been ſuſpected, even by ſuch of its neighbours as were moſt celebrated for their acuteneſs and penetration. The impreſſions made by this diſcovery were continually increaſing, as almoſt every day of the war was marked with ſome new circumſtance of misfortune or diſgrace. While they were thus expoſed to danger from without, the ſtate and the public were convulſed and rent by inteſtine diſſentions, the ſeeds of which were ſo numerous and ſo deeply laid as ſcarcely to admit the hope of an effective remedy. The differences between the prince Stadtholder and the States were multiplying ſo faſt, and encreaſing ſo much in degree and virulence, as to indicate a ſpeedy and alarming criſis; while the violence and animoſity of the French and Orange factions, which included, between them, the whole body of the people, and all the departments of government, whether civil or military, by ſea or by land, ſeemed deſtined to ſubvert the very foundations of the republic. Upon the whole, it appeared clear to all obſervers, that the reſtoration of the republic, in any degree, to its former power and ſplendour, was a circumſtance which would not admit of a moment's ſpeculation; and that ſome conſiderable revolution was neceſſary to preſerve the union of its parts.

It could not be expected, upon any foundation of political knowledge and experience, that the unexpected diſcloſure of ſuch a ſcene, with the magnitude of the objects which it exhibited, and the proſpects of advantage it held out, ſhould not attract the views, and excite the ambition, of a powerful, active, and neighbouring ſovereign, whoſe enterpriſing diſpoſition, though hitherto ſubject to conſiderable reſtraint, had been, in other inſtances, rendered ſufficiently manifeſt.

The reſumption of the Dutch *barrier* was one of the firſt advantages which the emperor propoſed to draw from the preſent forlorn ſtate of their affairs. The principal fortreſſes of the Auſtrian Netherlands, including ſeveral of their moſt conſiderable cities, had, ever ſince the concluſion of the ſucceſſion war, been depoſited in the hands of the Dutch, for the mutual ſecurity of the court of Vienna and themſelves; for, at the ſame time that they formed a powerful barrier to cover the territories of the States, they were to be garriſoned and defended by them; and thus ſerved to obviate the dangers apprehended by both from the power and ambition of France.

During the long ſucceeding depreſſion of the houſe of Auſtria, the advantages of this arrangement were repeatedly and fully experienced; and occaſions offered, which made it evident, that nothing leſs could have prevented the Netherlands from being long ſince wreſted out of their hands. But in the extraordinary degree of power and greatneſs to which that houſe has, within the memory of man, riſen, and, in the uſual viciſſitude of things, what had before been underſtood and felt as a ſubſtantial benefit, came at length

to

to be conſidered as a ſtigma and a grievance. The preſent emperor felt his own power to be fully competent to the protection and defence of his dominions. With the great armies he poſſeſſed, he could not conceive that he wanted the cover of fortreſſes to prevent the progreſs of an enemy. He conſidered, that it was exceedingly expenſive to keep them in repair; that being, accordingly, neglected in ſeaſons of peace and ſecurity, they generally fell, with little trouble, into the hands of an invader, at the commencement of hoſtilities; when, beſides the loſs of their garriſons, and the great preſent advantages which they afforded to the enemy, their recovery was frequently attended with more difficulty than any other undertaking of the war.

He, beſides, thought it derogatory to his own honour, as well as to the dignity and power of the empire, that a number of his principal cities and fortreſſes ſhould be garriſoned, and at his own expence too, by foreigners. He conſidered it as no leſs than paying a ſhameful and ignominious tribute for protection and defence; and that it would be, in the laſt degree, perſonally ſhameful and degrading to himſelf, if now, when the occaſion ſo opportunely offered, he ſhould ſuffer ſuch a ſtanding monument of paſt weakneſs, dependence, or even obligation, any longer to continue.

Nor were ſeveral ſpecious arguments wanting, to juſtify to the Dutch, and to the world at large, the intended meaſure of taking the barrier into his own hands, and of diſmantling the fortreſſes. It was ſtated, that the revenues drawn from theſe cities and their diſtricts were miſapplied; that the fortifications were falling to decay, and the garriſons defective; and that the ſhameful manner in which they were loſt to the Dutch, in the war of 1741, was a ſufficient evidence of their incapacity to maintain and defend the barrier. But that, independent of all complaints with reſpect to the diſcharge of their truſt, the circumſtances of things, and the ſtate of affairs on all ſides, were now ſo entirely altered, that none of the cauſes or motives, which originally operated to the eſtabliſhment of the barrier, were any longer in exiſtence. That France, inſtead of being the common enemy, as then, was now the common friend of both parties; that her ambition was no longer dangerous, and, if it were, was directed to other objects; that the emperor and ſhe were mutually bound, by the ſtricteſt ties of friendſhip, alliance, and blood; and, even admitting the poſſibility of a change in this ſtate of connections, his territories would, at all times, form an effectual barrier to Holland, and would afford much greater ſecurity to the Dutch by being in his hands, than in their own.

Arguments of great weight, however, were adduced on the other ſide. The immenſe expence, in blood and in treaſure, which Holland, through a long courſe of ſucceſſive wars, had endured, for the attainment, the eſtabliſhment, and the preſervation of this very barrier, was a matter of general notoriety. Nor was it to be forgotten, that to the extraordinary exertions of Great Britain and Holland was it owing that the emperor, at this time, held any territory or poſſeſſion whatever in the Low Countries: that thoſe powers had

had the principal ſhare in wreſting from the houſe of Bourbon theſe provinces, guarded, as they then were, by the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in the world, and defended by thoſe numerous and veteran armies which had ſo long been the terror of Europe; that as they were the great leaders in the war, ſo they compelled France and Spain, by the peace, to ſubmit to the transfer of the Netherlands to the German line of the houſe of Auſtria, and had ſince been the means of ſecuring and preſerving them to that family; that the ſettlement of the barrier was the only return to Holland for all theſe ſervices, and for the immenſe expences ſhe had ſuſtained, not only in that part of the war, but in her arduous endeavours to place the anceſtor of Joſeph upon the throne of Spain. It was farther urged, that the propoſed meaſure, beſides being a direct breach of treaty, and violation of faith, would be a ſhameful dereliction of every ſenſe of paſt ſervice and obligation; and that the ſeaſon choſen for its accompliſhment, under the preſent embarraſſed and depreſſed ſtate of the republic, would render it ſtill more diſgraceful.

Much more might have been ſaid: but ſtrength of argument can avail but little againſt the weight of power; and experience has, unhappily, ſhewn that treaties are conſidered but as weak obligations, when intereſt or convenience calls for their violation. Great Britain, the guardian of the barrier, was now an enemy to Holland.

As an opening to this deſign, the emperor had, in the beginning of the year 1781, peremptorily demanded from the States-General preciſe accounts of the revenues which they had drawn from the barrier, and of the ſums which they had expended in the repair or improvement of the fortreſſes. This ſudden and captious demand, of coming to a ſettlement upon ſuch old, intricate, and long-neglected accounts, and preferred at a ſeaſon ſo critical and peculiar, ſeemed to betray very different diſpoſitions from thoſe of friendſhip or good-will to the ſtates; and inſpired them with other apprehenſions beſides thoſe which related to the barrier, Circumſtanced, indeed, as they were, it may well be ſuppoſed, that this demand contributed not a little to facilitate their ſubſequent compliance with the ceſſion of an object, ſo long holden dear by them, and which involved in it the immediate ſecurity of their country. Be that as it may, the buſineſs was ſoon decided, nor could many obſtructions have been raiſed to its concluſion, for the negociation had ſcarcely been heard of, when, towards the cloſe of the year, the Dutch garriſons and artillery were almoſt ſilently withdrawn from the barrier, and the emperor's order for diſmantling the fortreſſes, and ſelling the materials, ſeems to have been the firſt public communication of the event.

Never was a meaſure of ſo much importance, and on which ſo much depended, carried into effect more ſmoothly; but, notwithſtanding this facility, it was eaſily ſeen, that the ſtates were fully aware of its dangerous tendency, although the unfortunate ſituation in which they were involved compelled them to ſubmit, without a ſtruggle, to a power they were unable to reſiſt. In fact, a general alarm was ſpread through the United Pro-

vinces; and the great number of hands that were directly employed, and the correſponding meaſures adopted, for putting their own fortreſſes on the frontier, particularly thoſe along the Schelde, in an immediate ſtate of defence, ſufficiently ſhewed, that government was no leſs affected than the public upon this occaſion. Thus was Holland ſtripped of its dearly-purchaſed barrier, and, by the revolution of politics, expoſed to the views of a not leſs ambitious, and more dangerous, becauſe a nearer, neighbour than France.

But though the court of Verſailles had tacitly acquieſced in a claim, which it probably conſidered as pregnant with beneficial conſequences to the French, it did not regard with equal indifference pretenſions which the emperor, ſoon after, preferred, to the free navigation of the Schelde, and to certain territorial poſſeſſions, on the frontiers of Holland, which the Dutch had peaceably enjoyed for centuries paſt. Claims of this nature could not poſſibly have been made on the republic at a time when ſhe was leſs able to reſiſt them; for the peace had neither reſtored vigour nor unanimity at home, nor reputation or importance abroad. On the contrary, the civil diſſentions of the Dutch were daily encreaſing in magnitude and virulence, ſo as to ſanction the belief that no remedy could be adopted, that would not at leaſt prove as dangerous as the diſeaſe. The protection and *apparent* ſervices which they had received from France during the war had thrown into the hands of that power an evident preponderancy in all the affairs of the republic; and that influence being unceaſingly, though covertly, exerted, in ſupport of the old Loveſtein, or republican, faction, of which the French intereſt in Holland, for the moſt part, and at moſt times, conſiſted, and whoſe members were the hereditary enemies of the Stadtholderian ſyſtem of government, as well as of the Orange family, it was now become ſo ſtrong, that no ſufficient counterpoiſe remained in the ſtate, to reſtrain the exceſs and violence incident to the predominance of political parties.

Thus rent by domeſtic diſſentions, and convulſed in all its members, the circumſtances and condition of the Republic could ſcarcely have failed to attract the views, and excite the enterprize of powerful and ambitious neighbours. A dangerous refuge, however, remained, which, in this ſituation, was eagerly graſped at. France having, through the violence of parties, and the colliſion of jarring views and intereſts, accompanied by a ſeries of unexpected and ſingular events, but all tending to the ſame concluſion, obtained an unbounded influence in the affairs of the republic, it identified their intereſts ſo much, that ſhe was bound, by every principle of policy, to counteract the deſigns of others, and to afford her protection, at whatever riſque or expence. This tended to gratify the utmoſt wiſhes of the ariſtocratical party; ſince the ſtate would be protected from danger without, while they were at leiſure to new model the internal government.

This peculiar ſituation of affairs between France and Holland did not ſeem, in any degree, to operate upon the conduct of the emperor, who placed a greater dependence upon

upon the friendſhip and cloſeneſs of alliance between him and France, than more experienced politicians would have been inclined to do upon the faith of any national connection, when that faith was to be put to the teſt by ſuperior intereſts and temptation. That prince repeatedly preſſed his demands, in a haughty and imperious tone; and, notwithſtanding the conciliatory diſpoſition evinced by the ſtates, proceeded to the commiſſion of an act of open violence and hoſtility. Towards the latter end of the month of April (1784), without previous declaration or notice, a ſmall detachment of Auſtrian foot, with four field-pieces, entered the territories of the Republic, and took poſſeſſion of the fort of Old Lillo. Some few days after, when the negociations were actually commenced, and the Dutch miniſters appeared evidently diſpoſed to give all reaſonable ſatisfaction with reſpect to the emperor's claims, a detachment of Auſtrain dragoons advanced to Hartog-Eyk, near Heerle, where they demoliſhed the barriers, pulled down the Dutch flag from the cuſtom-houſe, and charged the receiver of that department, in the name of his Imperial majeſty, not to obey nor execute any orders from the regency of Heerle, who were his legal and natural maſters, nor to receive from any perſon whatever any money upon account or pretence of toll or duty; threatening, in caſe of diſobedience, to ſend him in fetters to the next Auſtrian garriſon.

Theſe hoſtile tranſactions occaſioned an univerſal alarm in Holland, where the troops were immediately put in motion, and every preparation made for repelling ſuch an unprovoked attack. But even in this moment of danger and diſmay, when the public ſafety might have depended ſo much upon the celerity of movement and promptneſs of deſign and action, the meaſures of defence were obſtructed by the diſputes between the States and the prince Stadtholder, relative to the rights or limits of the executive power. So deaf and obtuſe is the citizen frequently rendered to the moſt imminent dangers that threaten the ſtate, by the prevalence of civil diſcord, and the continuance of inteſtine commotions!!

Lewis the Sixteenth, who was now their only refuge, had been previouſly ſolicited by the States, for his friendly interpoſition with his kinſman, the emperor, in ſoftening his diſpoſition towards the Republic, and to accept the office of mediator, in finally arranging and ſettling the diſputed limits and frontiers, as well as the other matters of diſpute between them. He accordingly inſtructed his ambaſſador, the duke de Vauguion, to communicate the pleaſing intelligence, that he had frankly and readily accepted the deſired office of mediation.

But this circumſtance did not deter the emperor from preſſing, nor even from encreaſing his demands; in addition to his former claims he now aſſerted his right to the abſolute and independent ſovereignty of the Schelde from Antwerp to Saffingen, and inſiſted that the Dutch guard-ſhip which had been uſually ſtationed at Fort Lillo ſhould be with-

drawn, as he could not think of permitting the exercise of any foreign authority whatever within any part of his sovereignty on that river.

In consequence of a communication made to the court of Versailles by the States-General of the memorial which they had drawn, in answer to the claims and demands made by the emperor, and containing likewise a number of counter-claims set up by the Dutch, the French king took that opportunity, along with many commendations of their past and present moderation, and the desire which they had manifested of preserving the public tranquillity, strongly to recommend a continuation of the same prudent and equitable conduct, particularly cautioning them to abstain from all measures which might, in any degree, be considered as derogatory to the dignity of the emperor. He, likewise, recommended, that, in order to give the greater efficacy to his own conciliatory endeavours, and the better to enable him to enforce all the means which his connections with that sovereign might admit of, they should furnish and support him with such specific propositions as they were willing to make for laying the foundation of an equitable and lasting accommodation.

This was accordingly done; but the time was not yet arrived when the interposition of France was to produce any favourable effect on the conduct of the emperor. Early in the autumn of 1784 every thing seemed rapidly approaching to the most decisive and alarming crisis; three new and extraordinary demands were added to the emperor's former *ultimatum*. The first was, "The entire and free navigation of the Schelde from "Antwerp to the sea," which was to be laid down as a *sine quâ non*; and was accompanied with a declaration, "That in the intermediate time, until matters were finally "settled, the emperor's subjects should occasionally exercise their undoubted right of "navigating that river; and that two ships were then in actual preparation for the pur-"pose." This was farther enforced by the Imperial minister at Brussels, who declared, that the first shot fired upon the Schelde would be considered by his master as a declaration of war, and resented accordingly.

The second article insisted on the demolition of the forts which had been erected by the Dutch for the maintenance of their monopoly in the navigation of the Schelde.

The third demand was still more extraordinary; being no less than a free navigation and uninterrupted commerce to and in both the East and West Indies. This was in fact claiming a moiety of all the benefits which the Dutch derived from their colonies in the New World, and their conquests and settlements in the East; a requisition which, taken in its full extent, would have reached to their monopoly of the Spice Islands, and even to their trade in Japan, if that fierce and haughty people had not rendered all speculation and adventure upon their forbidden coasts impracticable.

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The ſtates of Holland inſiſted, that ſeveral of the emperor's demands were in direct contravention of the moſt ſolemn treaties. That by the treaty of Munſter, concluded on the thirteenth of January, in the year 1648, with his predeceſſor, Philip the Fourth of Spain, duke of Burgundy and Brabant, and earl of Flanders, that prince, beſides acknowledging, in the fulleſt manner, the independence of the United States, not only confirmed to them all ſuch poſſeſſions as they already held, and ſuch barrier towns and forts as were then aſſigned, but renounced, for himſelf and his ſucceſſors for ever, all claim and title to any ſuch as they might hereafter, without infraction of that treaty, acquire, by conqueſt or otherwiſe: that by the ſame treaty, he not only irrevocably confirmed the charters and rights of the Dutch Eaſt and Weſt India companies, but rendered himſelf and his ſucceſſors the perpetual guarantees of their commerce in both parts of the world: that, by the ſixth article of the ſame treaty, it was farther provided, that the ſaid king's own ſubjects ſhould be reſtricted to continue their na[illegible] East Indies, in the ſame manner in which they had hitherto exerciſed it, a[illegible] no account whatever, be permitted to extend it beyond thoſe limits:—that, [illegible] teenth article of the ſaid treaty, it was expreſsly ſtipulated, that the We[illegible] Schelde, the canal of Sas, the Swin, and other mouths of the ſea bordering up[illegible] ſhould be *kept* cloſed on the ſide belonging to the States.

They maintained, that the treaty of Munſter had been recognized and confirmed the rights of the States fortified and enlarged, by a number of ſubſequent treaties. [illegible] by the barrier treaty, concluded in 1715, between the emperor, the king of Great [illegible] tain, and the Republic, the former ceded certain territories therein ſpecified to the la[illegible] in full and complete ſovereignty, for the ſecurity and better exerciſe of their ſovereig[illegible] and rights on the Lower Schelde, and for facilitating their communications between Br[illegible] bant and Dutch Flanders:—That the ſaid ceſſion was formally repeated and confirme[illegible] and a ſmall farther addition of territory ceded, for the ſame expreſs purpoſe, in the co[illegible] vention which was concluded between the ſame three powers, in the year 1718.

That, with reſpect to their commercial rights, the ſame emperor, Charles the Sixt, having, in derogation of the treaty of Munſter, adopted the well-known project of [illegible] tabliſhing a company to trade from Oſtend to India, that prince, notwithſtanding, fou[illegible] it neceſſary, after it had been carried on for ſome years, to relinquiſh the deſign, an[illegible] diſſolve the company. For, by the treaty of Vienna, concluded in 1731, between emperor and his Britannic majeſty, and to which the States-General became [illegible] an act of concurrence, the former was bound to aboliſh the ſaid commerce and con[illegible] for ever. And, with reſpect to the Weſt Indies, the ſaid act of concurrence ſtates, [illegible] part of the Dutch, "That they will conform with good faith to the regulations [illegible] "liſhed by the treaty of Munſter, in every thing that is therein ſtipulated with re[illegible] "to the commerce and navigation of the Weſt Indies."

It was ſtrongly urged, that the rights of the Republic, and particularly her excluſive ſovereignty of the Schelde, had been confirmed and guaranteed to her by all the treaties which ſecure the political exiſtence of Europe: that it was now near one hundred and forty years ſince the concluſion of the treaty of Munſter, during all which long period ſhe had holden, unclaimed and unqueſtioned, the excluſive navigation of that river: but that it was no new claim nor novel exerciſe of ſovereignty or right, even at that very time, for that the river had been equally ſhut up, ever ſince the reduction of Antwerp, by the duke of Parma, in the year 1585: that, therefore, ſuppoſing the treaty of Munſter had contained no ſpecific article whatever upon that ſubject, yet the very omiſſion, in a matter of ſuch vaſt importance, and the acquieſcence in a meaſure ſo long and ſo notoriouſly eſtabliſhed, muſt have been conſidered by all mankind as a full acknowledgment and confirmation of the right. Nor did this excluſive right and benefit, already poſſeſſed, and thus legalized and confirmed, want the ſanction of a fair and full compenſation in its purchaſe; for it was a part of the price paid by Spain for the preſervation of thoſe very Netherlands, which are now holden by the emperor, the claims on which would never otherwiſe have been relinquiſhed by the States of Holland; claims, to the eſtabliſhment of which they were, both then and after, fully competent.

They farther inſiſted, that the buſineſs of the Schelde was far from being merely a matter of commerce, as it was pretended: the queſtion of opening that river was much more of a political than of a commercial nature. Things had undergone ſuch changes, and the circumſtances of commerce were ſo totally altered, that Antwerp was not now capable of becoming an object of jealouſy or envy: but the opening of the Schelde would be opening the gates of a broad and great road, into the very heart of their dominions; it would be laying the inmoſt receſſes, and the vital ſources of the ſtate, open and expoſed; and would at once include, not only the immediate ſecurity, but the independence and the very exiſtence of the Republic.

On the other ſide, it was anſwered, on the part of the emperor, that the States had been guilty of ſo many infractions of the treaty of Munſter, in all thoſe parts of it which ſecured the rights, or were in any degree advantageous to the Auſtrian Netherlands, that they had thereby forfeited all claim to the performance of thoſe ſtipulations which were in their own favour. That he found himſelf, therefore, both in reaſon and equity, perfectly abſolved from paying any regard to thoſe proviſions on which they now wiſhed ſo much to inſiſt. That they, however, ſtrained the meaning (as they did in all ſimilar caſes) to their own advantage, of that article in the treaty of Munſter which related to the Schelde, and which by no means conveyed that ſovereignty and excluſive right that they pretended. But if every thing they advanced upon that or any other ground of treaty had been even admitted, ſtill the ſhameful yoke which had been impoſed upon the Netherlands was too unnatural and too degrading to be laſting; nor could

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it, from theſe circumſtances, be any longer poſſibly endured, than while abſolute neceſſity, ariſing from the unfortunate ſituation of public affairs, rendered a ſubmiſſion to it inevitable.

All Europe was much intereſted in this ſubject, and the ſentiments and opinions of mankind have ſeldom been ſo much divided upon a queſtion of a nature ſo ſimple and confined as the navigation of a river. The grounds of argument in ſupport of the emperor's claim were very ſpecious, and capable of being dreſſed in ſo plauſive a guiſe, and of putting on appearances ſo intereſting and engaging, that they were admirably calculated for ſeducing the opinions of the generality of mankind; who, taking only a tranſient view of the ſubject, were influenced more by ſentiment than by any attention to queſtions of ſtate or policy in their deciſions.

The bare relation of the act, that an ancient and reſpectable people, who had been long renowned for their induſtry, and celebrated for their ſpirit and commercial enterprize, had been reduced to ruin and beggary, by the deprivation of their natural right to the navigation and benefits of a river which runs through their territories, ſeemed at once ſufficient to decide the queſtion in the minds of the hearers, and to unite them in a general reprobation of ſo flagrant an injuſtice. Upon the ſame principle, the deliverance of a people from ſo cruel a mark of bondage, and the reſtitution of their natural rights and former happineſs, ſeemed an atchievement ſo glorious, as to be worthy and characteriſtic of a hero. The former greatneſs, ſplendour, and opulence of Antwerp, were artfully dwelt upon, by way of appeal to the paſſions; and, with more effect than either truth or juſtice, its decline was attributed entirely to this odious meaſure, to which the Dutch were ſaid to be prompted by their jealouſy and avarice, in order to monopolize all commerce, and that Amſterdam in particular might riſe to greatneſs upon her ruins. With an equal view to the paſſions, and with ſtill leſs truth or juſtice, the Schelde was magnificently repreſented as the fineſt river in Europe, as if its beauty could poſſibly affect the queſtions of right, or of political neceſſity. It may eaſily be ſuppoſed, that the general and eſtabliſhed character of avidity attributed to the Dutch, with the harſh, arbitrary, and monopolizing ſpirit which they had ever diſplayed in commercial concerns, could not but operate greatly to their diſadvantage upon the opinions and prejudices of mankind.

The States, however, had many ſtrong arguments to urge, and many authenticated facts to oppoſe to repreſentations plauſive and artful, or to opinions reſulting from prejudice, and haſtily adopted. It was ſaid—and *juſtly* ſaid—to be abſurd, in the preſent ſtate of things and of the world, to recur to what was called *natural rights*, in order to overthrow thoſe ſpecial compacts between men, and thoſe political conventions between ſtates, which form the baſis and conſtitute the ſecurity of all property, whether public or private.

private. What a picture would Europe exhibit, if all its powers were now obliged to recur to original principles, and to the laws of nature, and to relinquiſh all thoſe poſſeſſions which fraud or force, war or treaty, through the revolution of a long ſeries of ages, had enabled them to acquire! Such a meaſure would effect a total diſſolution of all the bands by which mankind are united; throwing them back again into a ſtate of ſavage nature, and rendering the world a dreadful ſcene of endleſs confuſion—a wild chaos of univerſal diſorder!

But it was denied that the mere paſſing of a river, in its inland courſe, through ſome part of a prince's territory, conſtituted any ſuch natural right, when its opening to the ſea was in poſſeſſion of another power. At once, however, to contravert all the pathetic declamation employed upon this ſubject, it was ſtrenuouſly inſiſted, that the whole courſe of the two branches of the Schelde, which paſſed within the dominions of Holland, was entirely artificial; that it was formed by, and owed its exiſtence to, the hands of Dutchmen; that its banks were the produce of ages of unintermitted labour; and that they were ſtill maintained by great and continual labour and expence. That if it had not been for thoſe ſtanding monuments of Dutch enterprize, thoſe admirable dykes which excite the aſtoniſhment of mankind, the waters of the Schelde, ſtagnating in ſhallow lakes and immenſe marſhes, had never reached the ſea in any diſtinct or ſufficient portion for the purpoſes of navigation. That the Lower Schelde being thus originally made and ſtill preſerved by Dutchmen, as they had before created and ſtill preſerved the two provinces of Holland and Frieſland, ſo it was equally their own property. That as it could not even be imagined, that theſe immenſe labours were intended for the uſe of others, ſo their benefits, as well as the ſtupendous works themſelves, muſt be conſidered, upon every principle of natural right, of law, and of juſtice, as their own excluſive property, independent of all treaties whatever.

In anſwer to the tragical repreſentations, by which the degradation and fall of Antwerp from its ancient ſplendour and greatneſs were aſcribed to the avarice and deſpotiſm of the Dutch, particularly in the meaſure of ſhutting up the Schelde, it was obſerved, that the departure of foreign commerce from that city had originated in various well-known cauſes, many of them antecedent to, and all of them differing widely from the only one which was now aſſigned. Antwerp had experienced a rapid decline for more than a century before the commencement of the troubles and wars in the Netherlands. Commerce had branched out into other channels; and Amſterdam, though long before conſiderable, had, within that period, from its ſuperior advantages, and other concurring cauſes, riſen to be the firſt commercial city in Europe. Antwerp, however, continued great and opulent, and, notwithſtanding the loſſes it ſuſtained by its memorable ſiege, would have been ſtill conſiderable, if its ruin had not been effected by the ſame cauſes and means which ſpread deſolation throughout Bruges, and other great cities of the Netherlands.

Netherlands. The merchants and manufacturers were compelled, by the deſpotiſm, cruelty, and religious perſecution of the Spaniards, to abandon them all, and to carry their commerce and their arts into other countries. It was obſerved, as a curious circumſtance, with reſpect to this ſubject, that Spain, the ſovereign of Antwerp, had been no leſs intereſted than Holland, in the meaſure of ſhutting up the Schelde; for that, as the celebrated ſtateſman John de Witt ſays in his Memoirs, the greatneſs and opulence of that city were incompatible with the views of Spaniſh deſpotiſm.

The real cauſe, however, of their alarm, at the demand of opening the Schelde, was ſtudiouſly and wiſely concealed by the States. The different branches of that river interſected their dominions in ſuch a manner, and eſtabliſhed ſuch an open communication with their other numerous waters, that their harbours, docks, naval arſenals, many of their principal cities, and, in a great meaſure, the whole interior of their country, would be open and expoſed to the poſſeſſor of the Schelde; ſo that their very exiſtence ever after muſt be at the mercy of ſuch an inmate; and they muſt ſooner or later expect to fall, and conſtantly live under the dreadful apprehenſion, a ſacrifice to ambition, revenge, or even caprice.

The teſt of war or peace, announced by the emperor, without waiting the reſult of the negociations which had been opened at Bruſſels, or regarding the mediation of France, was now to be put to the iſſue; although the ſtates, as a proof of their moderation and conciliatory diſpoſition, had removed the obnoxious guardſhip at Lillo, and had even rejected the propoſal of repairing the fortifications of Maeſtricht—a fortreſs to which the emperor had preferred a claim—leſt its adoption at ſuch a ſeaſon ſhould give umbrage to that prince. The emperor had, however, previouſly offered to remit the greater part, if not the whole, of his other pretenſions, upon the condition of opening the Schelde, in the manner which he had preſcribed, ſo as that the navigation might be entirely free and unlimited as in the open ſeas, and no claim nor exerciſe of ſovereignty pretended. On the other hand; the ſtates relaxed ſo far in this matter, as to offer a limited navigation on it, ſubject to certain reſtrictions, and confined to his ſubjects in the Netherlands.

Alike deaf to the arguments and to the propoſals of the States, the emperor directed a brig to proceed down the Schelde from Antwerp to the ſea, and, at the ſame time, confirmed the threat of his miniſter, by declaring, that he would conſider the firſt inſult offered to his flag, on this occaſion, as an act of formal hoſtility, and a declaration of war, on the part of the republic; the brig was however ſtopped by the Dutch naval officer; on the Auſtrian commander reſuming his courſe, ſome ſhot, though without any fatal conſequence to the crew, compelled him to deſiſt; and he was detained for ſome days by the Dutch admiral at the mouth of the Schelde.

Every thing now tended to an immediate rupture; the Imperial ambaſſador was recalled from the Hague; the negociations at Bruſſels were broken up; the troops in the Netherlands were ordered to be encreaſed to ſeventy-ſix thouſand men, and immenſe trains of artillery, and all the other apparatus of war were put in motion. The republic alarmed at theſe threatening appearances, redoubled their ſolicitations to the court of Verſailles; the duke of Brunſwick having been diſmiſſed through the efforts of the faction hoſtile to the ſtadtholder, the States were reduced to the neceſſity of applying to France for a general, whoſe abilities and experience might enable him to conduct their arms with effect in the war they expected; and Lewis deputed to this ſervice the count de Maillebois, an officer of approved talents, who had ſerved with diſtinction in the late reign, but whoſe jealouſy of mareſchal d'Etrées, in the laſt German war, had hurried him into intrigues, which had drawn upon him a ſevere cenſure from the tribunal of the mareſchals of France.

In the mean time, nothing was left untried, either by the States or the court of Verſailles, in their endeavours to divert the approaching ſtorm. The former renewed their pacific propoſals; and the latter began to uſe the ſerious language of exhortation with the emperor. It was obſerved in a memorial, preſented on this occaſion, that the ſincere friendſhip which attached the king to the emperor, combined with his wiſhes for the maintenance of the public tranquillity, rendered it a duty in him to come to an explanation with reſpect to the preſent diſputes: that while, at the ſolicitation of both parties, he had employed his good offices for the purpoſe of effecting a reconciliation, he had carefully abſtained from giving any opinion on the foundation of the emperor's firſt pretenſions; a ſilence, the obſervance of which he ſtill preſcribed to himſelf; but his concern for the glory of the emperor authorized him to obſerve, that his firſt pretenſions, and the demand for opening the Schelde, could not be conſidered under the ſame point of view:—that the Dutch, in refuſing a compliance with that demand, only ſupported a right which was ſecured to them by ſolemn treaty, and which they looked upon as the baſis of their proſperity, and even exiſtence. It ſeemed to be inferred from this reaſoning, without an abſolute deciſion in terms, that the affair on the Schelde by no means warranted the breaking off the negociations, any more than the ſubſequent proceedings; and if the claim itſelf were not abſolutely condemned, it was conſidered as having nothing to do with the buſineſs at Bruſſels; from all which a renewal of the negociations was ſtrongly recommended, and even preſſed.

The memorial then ſtated, that by purſuing an oppoſite conduct, it was to be apprehended that the emperor would excite a general uneaſineſs, and that other powers would think themſelves obliged to adopt ſuch precautions, and enforce ſuch meaſures as circumſtances and events might require: that the king himſelf muſt, in that caſe, be under the neceſſity of aſſembling troops on his frontiers: that he could not by any means be indifferent

ferent to the fate of the United Provinces, nor ſee them attacked by open force in their rights and poſſeſſions: more eſpecially at the preſent time, when he was on the point of concluding an alliance with the republic, the fundamental articles of which had been ſettled before theſe differences commenced:—that if, moved by conſiderations of ſuch great importance, the emperor could be induced to ſuſpend all marks of hoſtility, and liſten to the voice of moderation and humanity, the king renewed the offer of his mediation to procure an equitable and ſuitable accommodation, which he would the more zealouſly endeavour to obtain, as in ſo doing he ſhould obey the dictates of his perſonal ſentiments with regard to the emperor, and would thereby have the ſatisfaction to concur in extinguiſhing, in its firſt ſeeds, a war, the conſequences of which no human ſagacity could calculate.

But the expoſtulations and remonſtrances of France were incapable of ſubduing the inflexibility of the emperor, on the ſubject of the Schelde. He expreſſed, indeed, his willingneſs to accept the mediation of that power upon all other points of difference, and accordingly to conſent to the renewal of the negociations limited to thoſe objects, but the free navigation of that river he conſidered as a right ſo incontrovertible, that it was not even to become the ſubject of diſcuſſion. Lewis, therefore, was compelled to have recourſe to other means for extricating his ally from the difficulty in which ſhe was involved.

France, independent of her new connections with Holland, could not, without violating thoſe principles of policy of which intereſt dictated the ſtricteſt obſervance, behold the ruin of one neighbour, not ſufficiently powerful to excite her apprehenſions, and the conſequent aggrandizement of another, already too formidable. Theſe conſiderations ſeem to have weighed with the court as well as with the nation; although the ties of affinity between the two monarchs induced the former to uſe the moſt conciliatory meaſures, and to endeavour, as far it could be done conſiſtently with reaſon and policy, to avoid proceeding to extremities; but ſhewing a full determination as to the part which they would take, if the emperor's obſtinacy ſhould render that iſſue unavoidable. The meaſures purſued were accordingly in exact conformity to this mode of thinking, and intention of acting. More than half the ſtanding forces of France had been early put into quarters upon the borders of Alſace, Lorraine, and the Netherlands; and as things ſeemed to ripen to an iſſue, and appearances became more hoſtile on the other ſide, orders were given, and meaſures taken, to prepare for forming, in the enſuing ſummer, two camps in Flanders; one of them of eighty thouſand men, in the celebrated plains of Lens, which had been rendered memorable by one of the ſplendid victories of the Great Condé.

The nation, in general, evinced an earneſt deſire to engage in a war, not ſo much from their reſtleſs temper or military diſpoſition, as from the great and tempting national

object of annexing the Auſtrian Low Countries to their monarchy; an acquiſition which, in the event of hoſtilities, they conſidered as certain. France had already ſuch a foretaſte of the ſweets which were to be derived from thoſe rich and fertile provinces, as was ſufficient not only to provoke her appetite, but to excite a conſtant deſire for their permanent poſſeſſion. During the time that ſhe had holden the Netherlands, in the war of 1744, ſhe had drawn, by taxes and contributions, from theſe provinces, above two millions ſterling a year. It cannot, then, excite wonder, that ſhe ſhould caſt a wiſhful eye at ſo fair and tempting an object, which was juſt within her graſp; and which nature, ſituation, and, at this particular time, a train of concurrent circumſtances, as extraordinary as they were unexpected, ſeemed to deſtine to her poſſeſſion.

It is ſingular that while the emperor was engaged in a ſcheme of ſuch importance as to ſanction the ſuppoſition that it muſt neceſſarily engroſs the whole of his attention, his mind ſhould have been bent, at the ſame time, on the accompliſhment of other objects of almoſt equal magnitude; nor is it leſs ſingular that, at a period when it was of the utmoſt conſequence to his views to conciliate the affections of his ſubjects, and to court the friendſhip of the neighbouring powers, he ſhould embark in projects calculated to alienate the eſteem of the one, and to provoke the reſentment of the other. With a degree of levity that materially affected his reputation as a politician, he opened a new ſource of jealouſy and diſcord in Germany, by meditating to exchange for the duchy of Bavaria the Auſtrian Netherlands; thoſe very Netherlands, upon whoſe account he ſeemed on the point of encountering all the hazards of a war, the conſequences of which, as had been ſtrongly urged by the court of Verſailles, could not even be calculated. By a ſyſtem of conduct equally impolitic, and ſtill more unjuſt; by continual innovations in all the eſtabliſhed forms of internal government; by injudicious and arbitrary infringements on the civil and religious inſtitutions of Hungary, he excited the diſcontent of the fierce, but loyal, inhabitants of that valuable part of his dominions; and forced into actual rebellion thoſe brave Hungarians who had ſignalized their zeal, their patriotiſm, and their loyalty, by ſtanding forth, in the hour of peril, as the protectors of his infancy, and the guardians of his mother's rights.

While the ſtorm of war was thus unexpectedly turned from the Schelde, the republic of Holland had leiſure to recover from its firſt ſurprize, and ſedulouſly ſeized the unhoped for opportunity of providing effectually at home for the worſt that might happen, and of endeavouring, at the ſame time, to ward off the evil and danger by an accommodation. France was, however, her ſhield of defence; and, through the ability and firmneſs of the count de Vergennes, the republic could not have had a more effectual ſecurity.

It was impoſſible that the queen of France ſhould not be deeply affected by a conteſt, which ſo cloſely involved her neareſt and deareſt connections, and threatened ſo immediate and

and perhaps irreparable a breach of the harmony and friendſhip ſubſiſting between them. It was ſaid, that on the morning of a day upon which a grand council was to be holden, the reſult of which, it was ſuppoſed, would be concluſive, with reſpect to the part that France ſhould take, if the emperor perſevered in puſhing his deſigns againſt Holland to the laſt extremity, that princeſs took an opportunity of meeting M. de Vergennes on his way to the council, and, with a countenance deeply expreſſive of her anxiety and diſmay, ſaid, ſhe hoped he would not on that day forget that the emperor was her brother! to which the miniſter replied that he certainly ſhould not; but that he was bound likewiſe to remember, that the king of France was her huſband, and the dauphin her ſon.

The interpoſition and mediation of France was undoubtedly much facilitated in its effect, by the ſtate of affairs in Germany, and by the reſolute conduct of the Pruſſian monarch, who ſtrenuouſly co-operated with the court of Verſailles in reſiſting the pretenſions of the emperor. The inflexibility of Joſeph, however, was not eaſily ſubdued; and ſo many difficulties were thrown in the way of an accommodation, that, through a great part of the year 1785, it yet ſeemed very doubtful what turn affairs might finally take. But, at length, he aſſumed the language of moderation, and, having granted an audience to the Dutch deputies, told them, he ſhould order his ambaſſador at Paris to reſume the negociations, under the mediation of his brother, the king of France; and he did not doubt but a ſpeedy concluſion would prevent the unhappy occurrences which muſt be the unavoidable conſequence of a farther delay.

The addreſs and abilities of the count de Vergennes contributed to remove every obſtruction, and, under his auſpices, the preliminary articles of peace were ſigned at Paris, on the twentieth of September. In leſs than two months after the definitive treaty was finally concluded, and ſigned at Fontainebleau by all the parties, under the guarantee, as well as mediation, of his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty.

The treaty of Munſter was laid down as the baſis of the preſent, and its ſtipulations were to be in all caſes binding, where they were not expreſsly excepted by the new clauſes. The principal articles were—That the ſtates acknowledged the emperor's abſolute and independent ſovereignty over every part of the Schelde, from Antwerp to the limits of the county of Saffingen, conformably to a line drawn in 1664; they, of courſe, renouncing the right of levying any tax or impoſt on that part of the river, and binding themſelves not to interrupt, in any manner, the commerce or navigation of his ſubjects thereon: that the reſt of the river, beyond thoſe limits to the ſea, together with the canals of the Sas, the Swin, and the other neighbouring mouths of the ſea, were to continue under the ſovereignty of the States-General, conformably to the treaty of Munſter. That the States ſhould evacuate and demoliſh the forts of Kruiſchans and

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Frederic Henry, and cede the territories to his Imperial majeſty. That, to give a new proof to the emperor of their deſire to eſtabliſh the moſt perfect intelligence between the two countries, the States conſented to evacuate, and to ſubmit to his diſcretion, the forts of Lillo and of Lietkenſhock, with the fortifications, in their preſent condition; only reſerving to themſelves the right of withdrawing the artillery and ammunition.

The States alſo ſtipulated to pay his Imperial majeſty the ſum of nine millions and a half of florins, in the current money of Holland, in lieu of all his rights and pretenſions on Maeſtricht and its adjacent territories; and half a million more as an indemnification to his ſubjects for the damages they had ſuſtained from the inundations when the dyke near Lillo had been broken down by the Dutch. The other articles went to ſeveral renunciations of claims or rights on both ſides; to mutual ceſſions of villages or diſtricts; to the adjuſtment of limits; and to various local or internal regulations. It was ſettled that no forts nor batteries ſhould in future be raiſed within cannon-ſhot of the limits on either ſide; and that thoſe already conſtructed ſhould be demoliſhed. All pecuniary claims or debts between the reſpective ſtates were annulled; and the contracting parties were bound to renounce, without any reſervation, all farther pretenſions that either might have againſt the other.

While the count de Vergennes acquired the glory of having brought this delicate and important affair to a ſucceſsful termination, he was equally attentive to the more immediate intereſts of his own court. Two days after the treaty of peace between the emperor and Holland had been ſigned, a new treaty of alliance between France and that Republic was likewiſe concluded, and, on Chriſtmas-day (1785) was finally ratified; the ſtipulations were ſuch as might be expected from the gratitude of the States, and the addreſs of the court of Verſailles. It included all the principles which can ſerve to bind and cement, in the cloſeſt and moſt indiſſoluble union of which they are capable, diſtinct nations under diſtinct governments; whereby they might mutually participate, in peace or in war, of good or of evil; and in all caſes adminiſter the moſt perfect aid, counſel, and ſuccour to each other.

Beſides the general ſtipulations, that the parties ſhould contribute every thing in their power for mutual ſecurity, and for their reſpective preſervation in tranquillity, peace, and neutrality, they guaranteed each other in the actual poſſeſſion of all their eſtates, domains, franchiſes, and liberties; and mutually bound themſelves to protect each other from all hoſtile attacks in every part of the world. If their united good offices and exertions for the preſervation of peace, with reſpect to either, ſhould prove ineffectual, they were to aſſiſt each other, by ſea and land, in the following proportions; viz.—France agreed to furniſh Holland with ten thouſand effective infantry, and two thouſand cavalry, with twelve ſhips of the line, and ſix frigates; and their High Mightineſſes, in caſe of a marine war, or that France ſhould

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be attacked by ſea, conſented to furniſh ſix ſhips of the line and three frigates; and, in the event of an invaſion of the French territory, the States-General were allowed the option of furniſhing their land contingent, either in money or troops, at the eſtimate of five thouſand infantry and one thouſand cavalry. The power which furniſhed the ſuccours, whether in ſhips or men, was to pay and ſupport them, wherever they might be employed, or for whatever time, by the ally; and they were to be entirely at the diſpoſal of the latter, being immediately ſubject to their own chief, but in all operations under the commander of the requiring party, and while the auxiliaries remained in the ports or country of the requiring party, they were to be ſupplied with proviſions and neceſſaries upon the ſame terms with his own ſhips and troops. The contracting parties, as ſoon as either of them ſhould have furniſhed the ſtipulated ſupply, were bound to keep an equal number of ſhips and frigates armed and in conſtant readineſs, to replace ſuch as might be loſt by the accidents of war or ſea. If the ſtipulated ſuccours ſhould prove inſufficient for the defence of the requiring party, or for the purpoſe of procuring a proper peace, they were to be augmented as neceſſity might require; it was even ſtipulated that they ſhould aſſiſt each other with all their forces, if neceſſary; it being, however, agreed, that the contingent of troops to be furniſhed by the ſtates-general ſhould not exceed twenty thouſand infantry, and four thouſand cavalry, and that they were, in all caſes, to preſerve the option of furniſhing money in the place of land-forces.

It was agreed, that, in the caſe of a naval war, in which neither of the parties ſhould be directly concerned, they ſhould mutually guarantee to each other the liberty of the ſeas &c: that if either party were engaged in a war, in which the other ſhould be obliged to take a direct part, they ſhould concert together the moſt effectual means of annoying the enemy, and of obliging him to make peace; *and neither of them ſhould have power to diſarm, to make or receive propoſals of peace or truce, without the conſent of the other*; and that if a negociation ſhould be opened, it ſhould not be begun and followed by either of the parties, without the participation of the other; and they ſhould make each other acquainted with every thing that paſſed in the ſaid negociation. They were mutually bound to keep their forces, at all times, in good condition, and either party had a right to require and obtain from the other whatever ſatisfaction it might think neceſſary reſpecting the ſtate of its military force, and means of defence. Both parties were faithfully to communicate to each other thoſe engagements which ſubſiſted between them and other powers of Europe, which were to remain *in ſtatu quo*; *and they promiſed not to contract any future alliance or engagement whatever, which ſhould be directly or indirectly contrary to the preſent treaty*.

With a view to cement the union of the two powers ſtill more ſtrongly, a treaty of commerce was ſtipulated, by which the ſubjects on either ſide were to be treated and conſidered by the other as the moſt favoured nation. And by one of the ſeparate articles

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of the preſent treaty, it was ſtipulated that both parties ſhould, as much as poſſible, promote their mutual proſperity and advantage, by *rendering each other every aſſiſtance, both in counſel and ſuccour, upon all occaſions, and not agree to any treaties or negociations which might be detrimental to each other, but ſhould give notice of any ſuch negociations &c. as ſoon as they were propoſed.* As the parties were at liberty to invoke ſuch other powers as they thought neceſſary to join in this treaty, it was evident, that Holland might be conſidered as eventually bound to become a party to the Bourbon family-compact, in its full extent.

Thus, by the ſucceſsful exertions of gallic policy, was Holland, after ſuffering, for a long ſeries of years, all that the ravages of war, and the deſtructive hand of deſolation, guided by the inſatiate ambition of the houſe of Bourbon, could inflict, now converted into the firm ally of that very power, in oppoſition to whoſe daring encroachments ſhe had formerly rouzed the moſt formidable kingdoms of Europe to arms: and thus, were thoſe ſyſtems of policy, which for two centuries had been preſerved by the maritime powers, and all the conſequent treaties, and ties of union, founded on principles that ſeemed peculiarly calculated to enſure their duration, and formed for the preſervation of the balance of power, ſo eſſential to the political welfare of Europe, at once abrogated and diſſolved; while France, having aſſerted the independence of America againſt Great Britain; having reſcued the ſtates-general from the unjuſt attempts of the houſe of Auſtria, and having changed an ancient and formidable foe into an uſeful friend, appeared to have attained that influence over the nations of the earth, to which, of late years, ſhe had been but little accuſtomed.

But this influence was more than counterbalanced by the difficulties and embaraſſments ſhe had incurred by her efforts to procure it—efforts diſproportioned to her power, and pregnant with conſequences fatal to her proſperity. Monſieur de Fleury, the ſucceſſor of Neckar had retired from the management of the finances, in the year eighty-three, and the ſubſequent adminiſtration of monſieur D'Ormeſſon had expired before the completion of the year that gave birth to it. On his retreat monſieur de Calonne, who had ſucceſſively filled, with acknowledged reputation, the office of intendant of Metz, and, afterwards, of the provinces of Flanders and Artois, where the urbanity of his manners and his ſtrict attention to an impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, had rendered him an object of univerſal eſteem, was nominated to the vacant poſt of comptroller-general. But his numerous accompliſhments and good qualities, though they procured him the favour of his ſovereign, proved inadequate to ſecure in his new ſtation, that popularity which had invariably accompanied him in all the offices he had hitherto holden; and was neceſſary to prevent thoſe murmurs, which a repetition of loans was calculated to excite.

The firſt operations of this miniſter had, however, extorted the general approbation; and the caiſſe d'Ecompte, which had ſtopped payment ſome few weeks before he was called to

to the head of the finances, was indebted to his bold and judicious exertions for the reſtoration of its credit. He ſtill merited a higher degree of applauſe for the eſtabliſhment of the Caiſſe d'Amortiſſement, or ſinking fund, which was formed on a ſimple and judicious plan; it was to pay annually, by government, into the hands of a board ſet apart for that purpoſe, the entire intereſt of the national debts, whether in ſtock or annuities, together with an additional ſum of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds. The annuities that would be extinguiſhed every year were eſtimated at fifty thouſand pounds; and, in that proportion, the ſum ſet apart for the redemption of the national debt, would annually encreaſe. The operation of this new fund was limited to the term of twenty-five years, and, during that term, the annual receipt of the Caiſſe d'Amortiſſement was declared unalterable, and incapable of being diverted to any other object.

From the diſcuſſion of theſe new regulations of finance, the public attention was directed to the conduct of thoſe officers who, during the courſe of the war, had been entruſted with the naval forces of France. A council of war, which had been commiſſioned to try the count de Graſſe, and other captains of the fleet defeated by admiral Rodney, honourably acquitted the commander, with the majority of the officers, and ſlightly cenſured a few, among whom was monſieur Bougainville, the celebrated navigator.

On the more ſucceſsful courage and conduct of monſieur de Suffrein the moſt flattering applauſe was beſtowed. All ranks and orders of men vied with each other in marks of gratitude and attachment to the man who had ſo nobly ſuſtained the glory of the French flag, and who had raiſed the reputation of his countrymen on an element which had ſo repeatedly witneſſed their defeat and diſgrace. The queen diſplayed at once the ſenſibility of her character and the elegance of her taſte, by the delicate compliment ſhe paid to this diſtinguiſhed commander: introducing him to the dauphin, then in his fourth year, ſhe added, "This is monſieur de Suffrein, to whom we are under the greateſt obligations; obſerve him well, and remember his name, it is one of the firſt you muſt learn to repeat, in order that you may never forget it."

The principal meaſure which marked the adminiſtration of monſieur de Calonne, during the year 1785, was the eſtabliſhment of an Eaſt-India company, in lieu of that which had been aboliſhed in the year 1773. This event occaſioned great murmurs among the people, who, from the encreaſed annual importation from India, ſince that trade had been thrown open, had adopted the idea that ſuch an eſtabliſhment would prove prejudicial to their intereſts. The privilege of the new company was limited to ſeven years, but with the ſpecial proviſo, that any years of war which might occur in the interim ſhould be excluded from the computation.

In the preamble of the act, by which the ſcheme was adopted, it was aſſerted, "That "the commodities of Europe not having been regulated by any common ſtandard, nor "proportioned to the demands of India, had on the one hand ſold at a low price, while on "the other the competition of the ſubjects of France had raiſed the price of the objects of "importation; that, upon their return home, a want of ſyſtem and aſſortment had been "univerſally complained of, the market being glutted with one ſpecies of goods, and total-"ly deſtitute of another; that theſe defects muſt neceſſarily continue as long as the trade "remained in private hands; and that, on theſe accounts, as well as of the capital re-"quired, the eſtabliſhment of a new company was abſolutely neceſſary."

In anſwer to theſe reaſons, which were far from ſatisfactory to the mercantile world, it was obſerved, that the arguments of the preamble were no more applicable to the trade of India than to any other trade; and that, if they were admitted in their full force and extent, they were calculated to annihilate the freedom of commerce. A proviſion in the act, directing that the prices of Eaſt India goods in the iſlands of Mauritius and Bourbon ſhould be regulated by a tariff to be fixed by the court of Verſailles, excited ſtill louder exclamations of diſcontent: in this inſtance it was ſaid that the firſt principles of commerce were violated in a manner the moſt wanton and abſurd; inſtead of ſuffering it to find its own level, by the mutual colliſion of the wants of one party, and the labour of another, it was arbitrarily to be faſhioned by a power, whoſe extreme diſtance muſt naturally render its deciſions ill-timed and inapplicable: the very mode of introducing the monopoly was conſidered as a juſt ſubject of complaint; it was determined by a reſolution of the king in council, inſtead of aſſuming the form of an edict, by which means it was exempted from thoſe comments which it would probably have experienced from the parliament, at the moment of regiſtration. This was conſidered, by the diſcontented, as a clandeſtine and ſurreptitious proceeding, excluding the parties to be affected by the meaſure from the privilege of being heard in oppoſition to it.

Theſe murmurs, and the diſcuſſions which they occaſioned, were far from favourable to monſieur de Calonne, who, in order to make up the deficit in the revenue, was obliged, at the cloſe of each year, to open a loan; a meaſure, the neceſſity of which was fully demonſtrated by the extraordinary expences that had been incurred, as well during the war, as ſince the concluſion of the peace. It had been deemed expedient to raiſe an artificial harbour at Cherbourg, by works of great magnitude, the accompliſhment of which taſk required the expenditure of immenſe ſums; the augmentation of the army, in conſequence of the diſpute between the emperor and the States of Holland, had been another conſiderable ſource of expence; and the ſtrenuous exertions of the marine miniſter, the marquis de Caſtries, for maintaining a formidable naval force, had ſwelled, in no ſmall degree, the ample catalogue of national diſburſements.

A. D.

A. D. 1786.] It was a grand misfortune which attended the adminiſtration of monſieur de Calonne, that all the meaſures which he adopted, with a view to promote the commercial intereſts of his country, were conſidered by thoſe perſons who might be ſuppoſed, from their ſituation in life, to be moſt converſant in mercantile matters, as highly detrimental to that trade which they were evidently intended to enlarge and extend. Under this deſcription muſt be placed the famous commercial treaty concluded with England, which was ſigned at Verſailles, on the twenty-ſixth of September, 1786.

The preamble of this treaty ſtates, that his Britannic majeſty and his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, being equally animated with the deſire not only of conſolidating the good harmony which actually ſubſiſts between them, but alſo of extending the happy effects thereof to their reſpective ſubjects, have thought, that the moſt efficacious means for attaining theſe objects, conformably to the eighteenth article of the treaty of peace ſigned on the ſixth of September, 1783, would be to adopt a ſyſtem of commerce on the baſis of reciprocity and mutual convenience, which, by diſcontinuing the prohibitions and prohibitory duties which have exiſted for almoſt a century between the two nations, might ſecure the moſt ſolid advantages, on both ſides, to the national productions of induſtry, and put an end to contraband trade, no leſs injurious to the public revenue, than to that lawful commerce which is alone entitled to protection.

The treaty conſiſts of fifty-ſeven articles; by the firſt of which it was agreed, that there ſhould be a reciprocal and entirely perfect liberty of navigation and commerce between the ſubjects of the contracting parties, in all and every the kingdoms, ſtates, provinces, and territories, ſubject to the kings of England and France in Europe, for all and ſingular kinds of goods, in thoſe places, upon the conditions ſettled and adjuſted in the ſubſequent articles of the treaty.

The ſecond article ſets forth, that for the future ſecurity of commerce and friendſhip between the ſubjects of their ſaid majeſties, and to the end that this good correſpondence may be preſerved from all interruption and diſturbance, it is concluded and agreed, that if, at any time, there ſhould ariſe any miſunderſtanding, breach of friendſhip, or rupture between the crowns of their majeſties—*which God forbid!*—(which rupture ſhall not be deemed to exiſt until the recalling or ſending home of the reſpective ambaſſadors and miniſters) the ſubjects of each of the two parties, reſiding in the dominions of the other, ſhall have the privilege of remaining and continuing their trade therein, without any manner of diſturbance, ſo long as they behave peaceably, and commit no offence againſt the laws and ordinances: and in caſe their conduct ſhould render them ſuſpected, and the reſpective governments ſhould be obliged to order them to remove, the term of twelve months ſhall be allowed them for that purpoſe, in order that they may remove, with their effects and property, whether entruſted to individuals, or to the ſtate. At the

ſame time it is to be underſtood, that this favour is not to be extended to thoſe who ſhall act contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws.

The ſalutary regulations enforced by this article, which tended to alleviate the evils of war, and to ſoften, in ſome degree, the calamities experienced by individuals from national diſputes, are deſerving of applauſe, and worthy of imitation. The third article is founded on a ſimilar principle. By that it is agreed, that the ſubjects and inhabitants of the kingdoms, provinces, and dominions of their majeſties, ſhall exerciſe no acts of hoſtility or violence againſt each other, either by ſea or by land, or in rivers, ſtreams, ports, or havens, under any colour or pretence whatſoever; ſo that the ſubjects of either party ſhall receive no patent, commiſſion, or inſtruction for arming and acting at ſea as privateers, nor letters of repriſal as they are called, from any princes or ſtates, enemies to the other party; nor, by virtue or under colour of ſuch patents, commiſſions, or repriſals, ſhall they diſturb, infeſt, or any way prejudice or damage the aforeſaid ſubjects and inhabitants of the king of Great Britain, or of the Moſt Chriſtian king; neither ſhall they arm ſhips in ſuch manner as is aboveſaid, or go out to ſea therewith. To which end, as often as it is required by either party, ſtrict and expreſs prohibitions ſhall be renewed and publiſhed in all the territories, countries, and dominions of each party whereſoever; that no one ſhall in any wiſe uſe ſuch commiſſions, or letters of repriſal, under the ſevereſt puniſhment that can be inflicted on the tranſgreſſors, beſides being liable to make full reſtitution and ſatisfaction to thoſe to whom they have done any damage; neither ſhall any letters of repriſal be hereafter granted by either of the ſaid high contracting parties, to the prejudice or detriment of the ſubjects of the other, except only in ſuch caſe wherein juſtice is denied or delayed: which denial or delay of juſtice ſhall not be regarded as verified, unleſs the petitions of the perſon, who deſires the ſaid letters of repriſal, be communicated to the miniſter reſiding there on the part of the prince againſt whoſe ſubjects they are not to be granted, that, within the ſpace of four months, or ſooner, if it be poſſible, he may manifeſt the contrary, or procure the ſatisfaction which may be juſtly due.

By the fourth article, it is ſpecified, that the ſubjects and inhabitants of the reſpective dominions of the two ſovereigns ſhall have liberty, freely and ſecurely, *without licence or paſſport*, general or ſpecial, by land or by ſea, or any other way, to enter into the kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, iſlands, cities, villages, towns, walled or unwalled, fortified or unfortified, ports or territories whatſoever, of either ſovereign, ſituated in Europe, and to return from thence, to remain there, or to paſs through the ſame, and therein to buy or purchaſe, as they pleaſe, all things neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence and uſe; and they ſhall mutually be treated with all kindneſs and favour. Provided, however, that in all theſe matters they behave and conduct themſelves conformably to the laws and ſtatutes, and live with each other in a friendly and peaceable manner, and promote reciprocal concord by maintaining a mutual and good underſtanding.

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The fifth article is calculated to facilitate the commercial intercourſe between the two countries, by authorizing the ſubjects of either to eſtabliſh magazines and warehouſes, and to purchaſe and vend merchandize, in the dominions of the other, without moleſtation or interruption. It terminates thus:—In matters of religion, the ſubjects of the two crowns ſhall enjoy perfect liberty: they ſhall not be compelled to attend divine ſervice, whether in churches or elſewhere; but, on the contrary, they ſhall be permitted, without any moleſtation, to perform the exerciſes of their religion privately in their own houſes, and in their own way. Liberty ſhall not be refuſed to bury the ſubjects of either kingdom, who die in the territories of the other, in convenient places to be appropriated for that purpoſe; nor ſhall the funerals or ſepulchres of the deceaſed be in any wiſe diſturbed.—Thus was the faint dawn of religious toleration, ſo friendly to the generation of liberal ſentiments, ſo hoſtile to the diffuſion of noxious prejudices, and ſo pregnant with benefits of great national importance, opened on that country, which had long, too long, been ſwayed by the monopolizing ſpirit of ſuperſtition!

In order to aſcertain the duties on the different objects of importation, in either country, the following tariff was fixed:

1. The wines of France, imported directly from France into Great Britain, ſhall, in no caſe, pay any higher duties than thoſe which the wines of Portugal now pay.

2. The vinegars of France, inſtead of ſixty-ſeven pounds, five ſhillings and three-pence, and twelve-twentieths of a penny ſterling, which they now pay, ſhall not, for the future, pay in Great Britain any higher duties than thirty-two pounds eighteen ſhillings and ten-pence, and ſixteen-twentieths of a penny ſterling, per ton.

3. The brandies of France, inſtead of nine ſhillings and ſix-pence, and twelve-twentieths of a penny ſterling, ſhall, for the future, pay in Great Britain only ſeven ſhillings ſterling per gallon, making four quarts, Engliſh meaſure.

5. Oil of olives, coming directly from France, ſhall, for the future, pay no higher duties than are now paid for the ſame from the moſt favoured nations.

5. Beer ſhall pay, reciprocally, a duty of thirty *per cent. ad valorem*.

6. The duties on hardware, cutlery, cabinet ware, and turnery, and alſo all works, both heavy and light, of iron, ſteel, copper, and braſs, ſhall be claſſed; and the higheſt duty ſhall not exceed ten *per cent. ad valorem*.

7. All ſorts of cottons manufactured in the dominions of the two ſovereigns in Europe, and alſo woollens, whether knit or wove, including hoſiery, ſhall pay, in both countries,

countries, an import duty of twelve *per cent. ad valorem:* all manufactures of cotton or wool, mixed with ſilk, excepted, which ſhall remain prohibited on both ſides.

8. Cambricks and lawns ſhall pay, in both countries, an import duty of five ſhillings, or ſix livres Tournois, per demi-piece of ſeven yards and three-quarters, Engliſh meaſure; and linens, made of flax or hemp, manufactured in the dominions of the two foreigns in Europe, ſhall pay no higher duties, either in Great Britain or in France, than linens manufactured in Holland or in Flanders, imported into Great Britain, now pay. And linen made of flax or hemp, manufactured in Ireland or France, ſhall reciprocally pay no higher duties than linens manufactured in Holland, imported into Ireland, now pay.

9. Sadlery ſhall reciprocally pay an import duty of fifteen *per cent. ad valorem.*

10. Gauzes of all ſorts ſhall reciprocally pay ten *per cent. ad valorem.*

11. Millinery, made up of muſlin, lawn, cambrick, or gauze of any kind, or of any other article admitted under the preſent tariff, ſhall pay, reciprocally, a duty of twelve *per cent. ad valorem:* and if any articles ſhall be uſed therein which are not ſpecified in the tariff, they ſhall pay no higher duties than thoſe paid for the ſame articles by the moſt favoured nations.

12. Porcelain, earthen-ware, and pottery, ſhall pay, reciprocally, twelve *per cent. ad valorem.*

13. Plate-glaſs, and glaſs-ware in general, ſhall be admitted, on each ſide, paying a duty of twelve *per cent. ad valorem.*

His Britannic majeſty reſerves the right of countervailing, by additional duties on the under-mentioned merchandizes, the internal duties actually impoſed upon the manufactures, or the import duties which are charged on the raw materials; namely, on all linens or cottons, ſtained or printed; on beer, glaſs-ware, plate-glaſs, and iron.

And his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty reſerves the right of doing the ſame, with regard to the following merchandizes; namely, cottons, iron, and beer.

And for the better ſecuring the due collection of the duties payable *ad valorem*, which are ſpecified in the above tariff, the ſaid contracting parties will concert with each other as well the form of the declarations to be made, as alſo the proper means of preventing fraud with reſpect to the real value of the ſaid goods and merchandizes.

But

But if it ſhall hereafter appear, that any miſtakes have inadvertently been made in the above tariff, contrary to the principles on which it is founded, the two ſovereigns will concert, with good faith, the means of rectifying them.

The ſeventh article declares, that the duties above ſpecified are not to be altered but by mutual conſent; and the merchandizes not above ſpecified ſhall pay, in the dominions of the two ſovereigns, the import and export duties payable in each of the ſaid dominions by the moſt favoured European nations, at the time the preſent treaty bears date: and the ſhips belonging to the ſubjects of the ſaid dominions ſhall alſo reſpectively enjoy therein all the privileges and advantages which are granted to thoſe of the moſt favoured European nations.

And it being the intention of the two high contracting parties, that their reſpective ſubjects ſhould be in the dominions of each other upon a footing as advantageous as thoſe of other European nations, they agree, that in caſe they ſhall hereafter grant any additional advantages in navigation or trade to any other European nations, they will reciprocally allow their ſaid ſubjects to participate therein; without prejudice, however, to the advantages which they reſerve, viz. France in favour of Spain, in conſequence of the twenty-fourth article of the Family Compact, ſigned the tenth of May, 1761; and England, according to what ſhe has practiſed in conformity to, and in conſequence of, the convention of 1703, between England and Portugal.

By the eleventh article, it is ſtipulated, that in caſe either of the two high-contracting parties ſhall think proper to eſtabliſh prohibitions, or to augment the import duties upon any goods or merchandize of the growth or manufacture of the other, which are not ſpecified in the tariff, ſuch prohibitions or augmentations ſhall be general, and ſhall comprehend the like goods or merchandize of the other moſt favoured European nations, as well as thoſe of either ſtate; and in caſe either of the two contracting parties ſhall revoke the prohibition, or diminiſh the duties, in favour of any other European nation, upon any goods or merchandize of its growth or manufacture, whether on importation or exportation, ſuch revocations or diminutions ſhall be extended to the ſubjects of the other party, on condition that the latter ſhall grant to the ſubjects of the former the importation and exportation of the like goods and merchandizes under the ſame duties; the caſes reſerved in the ſeventh article of the preſent treaty always excepted.

The twelfth article provides for the revocation of an ancient cuſtom, unauthorized by law, by which a kind of poll tax was levied upon the ſubjects of either nation in the other, called, in England, *head-money*; in France, *argent du chef*.

By the thirteenth article, it is agreed, that if either of the contracting parties has granted, or ſhall grant, any bounties for encouraging the exportation of any articles, being

being of the growth, produce, or manufacture of his dominions, the other party ſhall be allowed to add to the duties already impoſed, by virtue of the preſent treaty, on the ſaid goods and merchandizes, imported into his dominions, ſuch an import duty as ſhall be equivalent to the ſaid bounty. This ſtipulation, however, was not to extend to drawbacks on exported goods.

The ſixteenth article ſupplied a remedy for a grievance that had long called for correction—It ſtipulates that it ſhall not be lawful for any foreign privateers, not being ſubjects of either crown, who have commiſſions from any other prince or ſtate in enmity with either nation, to arm their ſhips in the ports of either of the ſaid two kingdoms, to ſell what they have taken, or in any manner whatever to exchange the ſame; neither ſhall they be allowed even to purchaſe victuals, except ſuch as ſhall be neceſſary for their going to the neareſt port of that prince from whom they have obtained commiſſions.

The twentieth article ſtates, that it ſhall be lawful for all the ſubjects of the king of Great Britain, and of the Moſt Chriſtian king, to ſail with their ſhips, with perfect ſecurity and liberty, no diſtinction being made who are the proprietors of the merchandize laden therein, from any port whatever, to the countries which are now, or ſhall be hereafter, at war with the king of Great Britain, or the Moſt Chriſtian king. It ſhall likewiſe be lawful for the aforeſaid ſubjects to ſail and traffic with their ſhips and merchandizes, with the ſame liberty and ſecurity, from the countries, ports, and places, of thoſe who are enemies of both, or of either party, without any oppoſition or diſturbance whatſoever, and to paſs directly not only from the places of the enemy aforc-mentioned to neutral places, but alſo from one place belonging to an enemy to another place belonging to an enemy, whether they be under the juriſdiction of the ſame, or of ſeveral princes. And as it has been ſtipulated, concerning ſhips and goods, that every thing ſhall be deemed free, which ſhall be found on board the ſhips belonging to the ſubjects of the reſpective kingdoms, although the whole lading, or part thereof, ſhould belong to the enemies of their majeſties; contraband goods being always excepted; it is likewiſe agreed, that the ſame liberty be extended to perſons who are on board a free ſhip, to the end that, although they be enemies to both, or to either party, they may not be taken out of ſuch free ſhips, unleſs they are ſoldiers, actually in the ſervice of the enemies, and on their voyage for the purpoſe of being employed, in a military capacity, in their fleets or armies.

The contraband goods alluded to in this article are afterwards ſpecified, and, under that denomination are comprehended arms, cannon, harquebuſſes, mortars, petards, bombs, grenades, ſauciſſes, carcaſſes, carriages for cannon, muſket-reſts, bandoleers, gunpowder, matches, ſaltpetre, ball, pikes, ſwords, head-pieces, helmets, cutlaſſes, halberds, javelins, holſters,

holſters, belts, horſes and harneſs, and other like kind of arms, and warlike implements fit for the uſe of troops.

The following merchandizes are exempted from the exception attached to contraband goods; viz —All ſorts of cloth, and all other manufactures of wool, flax, ſilk, cotton, or any other materials; all kinds of wearing apparel, together with the articles of which they are uſually made, gold, ſilver, coined or uncoined, tin, iron, lead, copper, braſs, coals, as alſo wheat and barley, and any other kind of corn and pulſe, tobacco, and all kinds of ſpices; ſalted and ſmoaked fleſh, ſalted fiſh, cheeſe and butter, beer, oil, wines, ſugar, all ſorts of ſalt, and of proviſions which ſerve for ſuſtenance and food to mankind; alſo all kinds of cotton, cordage, cables, ſails, ſail-cloth, hemp, tallow, pitch, tar and roſin, anchors, and any parts of anchors, ſhipmaſts, planks, timber of all kinds of trees, and all other things proper for building or repairing ſhips. Nor ſhall any other goods whatever—according to the twenty-third article—which have not been worked into the form of any inſtrument or furniture for warlike uſe, by land or by ſea, be reputed contraband, much leſs ſuch as have been already wrought and made up for any other purpoſe: all which things ſhall be deemed goods not contraband, as likewiſe all others which are not comprehended and particularly deſcribed in the preceding article; ſo that they may be freely carried by the ſubjects of both kingdoms, even to places belonging to an enemy, excepting only ſuch places as are beſieged, blocked up, or inveſted.

With a view to the prevention of diſputes, on the ſubject of contraband goods, it is, by the twenty-fourth article, agreed, that in caſe either of their majeſties ſhould be engaged in a war, the ſhips and veſſels belonging to the ſubjects of the other ſhall be furniſhed with ſea-letters or paſſports, expreſſing the name, property, and bulk of the ſhip, as alſo the name and place of abode of the maſter or commander of the ſaid ſhip, that it may appear thereby that the ſhip really and truly belongs to the ſubjects of one of the princes; which paſſports ſhall be made out and granted, according to the form annexed to the preſent treaty; they ſhall likewiſe be renewed every year, if the ſhip happen to return home within the ſpace of a year: it is alſo agreed, that ſuch ſhips when laden are to be provided not only with paſſports as above-mentioned, but alſo with certificates, containing the ſeveral particulars of the cargo, the place from whence the ſhip ſailed, and whither ſhe is bound, ſo that it may be known whether ſhe carries any of the prohibited or contraband goods above ſpecified.

The conduct of ſhips of war to merchantmen, in time of war, is regulated by the twenty-ſixth article, which ſtates, that in caſe the ſhips belonging to the ſubjects and inhabitants of the reſpective dominions of their moſt ſerene majeſties, either on the coaſt, or on the high ſeas, ſhall meet with any men of war, belonging to their majeſties, or with privateers, the ſaid ſhips of war and privateers, for preventing any inconveniencies, are to remain out of cannon-ſhot, and to ſend their boats to the merchant-ſhip which

may be met with, and ſhall enter her to the number of two or three men only, to whom the maſter or commander of ſuch ſhip or veſſel ſhall ſhew his paſſport, containing the proof of the property of the ſhip, made out according to the form preſcribed by the preſent treaty; and the ſhip which ſhall have exhibited the ſame ſhall have liberty to continue her voyage; and it ſhall be wholly unlawful any way to moleſt or ſearch her, or to chaſe or compel her to alter her courſe.

Some farther regulations, with regard to ſhips carrying contraband goods, are enforced by the two ſubſequent articles; by the firſt it is ſtipulated, that the merchant-ſhips belonging to the ſubjects of the two high-contracting parties, which intend to go to a port at enmity with the other ſovereign, concerning whoſe voyage, and the ſort of goods on board, there may be juſt cauſe of ſuſpicion, ſhall be obliged to exhibit, as well on the high ſeas, as in the ports and havens, not only her paſſports, but alſo her certificates, expreſſing that the goods are not of the kind which are contraband, as ſpecified in a former article of this treaty.

By the ſecond, it is agreed, that if, on exhibiting the above-mentioned certificate, containing a liſt of the cargo, the other party ſhould diſcover any goods of that kind which are declared contraband, or prohibited by the twenty-ſecond article of this treaty, and which are deſigned for a port ſubject to his enemies, it ſhall be unlawful to break up or open the hatches, cheſts, caſks, bales, or other packages found on board ſuch ſhips, or to remove even the ſmalleſt parcel of the goods, whether the ſaid ſhip belong to the ſubjects of the king of Great Britain, or of the moſt Chriſtian king, unleſs the lading be brought on ſhore, in the preſence of the officers of the court of admiralty, and an inventory made by them of the ſaid goods: nor ſhall it be lawful to ſell, exchange, or alienate the ſame in any manner, unleſs after due and lawful proceſs ſhall have been had againſt ſuch prohibited goods, and the judges of the admiralty reſpectively ſhall, by ſentence pronounced, have confiſcated the ſame; ſaving always, as well the ſhip itſelf, as the other goods found therein, which by this treaty are to be accounted free; neither may they be detained on pretence of their being mixed with prohibited goods, much leſs ſhall they be confiſcated as lawful prize: and if, when only part of the cargo ſhall conſiſt of contraband goods, the maſter of the ſhip ſhall agree, conſent, and offer to deliver them to the captor who has diſcovered them, in ſuch caſe the captor, having received thoſe goods as lawful prize, ſhall forthwith releaſe the ſhip, and not hinder her, by any means, from proſecuting her voyage to the place of her deſtination.

By the twenty-ninth article, it is agreed, that whatever ſhall be found to be laden, by the ſubjects and inhabitants of either party, in any ſhip belonging to the enemies of the other, although it be not contraband goods, ſhall be confiſcated in the ſame manner as if it belonged to the enemy himſelf, except thoſe goods and merchandizes which were put on board ſuch ſhips before the declaration of war, or the general order for repriſals.

With

With a view to prevent depredations on the property of the ſubjects of either party, by the privateers of the other, it is, very properly, ſtipulated, by the thirty-firſt article, that all commanders of privateers, before they receive their patents, or ſpecial commiſſions, ſhall hereafter be obliged to give, before a competent judge, ſufficient ſecurity, by good bail, who are reſponſible men, and have no intereſt in the ſaid ſhip, each of whom ſhall be bound in the whole for the ſum of thirty-ſix thouſand livres Tournois, or fifteen hundred pounds ſterling; or, if ſuch ſhip be provided with above one hundred and fifty ſeamen and ſoldiers, for the ſum of ſeventy-two thouſand livres Tournois, or three thouſand pounds ſterling, that they will make entire ſatisfaction for all damages and injuries whatſoever, which they, or their officers, or others in their ſervice, may commit during their cruize, contrary to the tenor of this preſent treaty; or the edicts made in conſequence thereof by their moſt ſerene majeſties, under penalty, likewiſe, of having their patents and ſpecial commiſſions revoked and annulled.

By the thirty-fourth article, it is farther provided and agreed, that the ſhips of either of the two nations, retaken by the privateers of the other, ſhall be reſtored to the former owner, if they have not been in the power of the enemy for the ſpace of four-and-twenty hours, ſubject to the payment, by the ſaid owner, of one third of the value of the ſhip retaken, and of its cargo, guns, and apparel, which third part ſhall be amicably adjuſted by the parties concerned; but if not, and in caſe they ſhould diſagree, they ſhall make application to the officers of the admiralty of the place where the privateer which retook the captured veſſel ſhall have carried her.

If the ſhip retaken has been in the power of the enemy above four-and-twenty hours, ſhe ſhall wholly belong to the privateer which retook her.

In caſe of a ſhip being retaken by any man of war belonging to his Britannic majeſty, or to his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, it ſhall be reſtored to the former owner, on payment of the thirtieth part of the value of ſuch ſhip, and of its cargo, guns, and apparel, if it was retaken within the four-and-twenty hours; and the tenth part, if retaken after the four-and-twenty hours: which ſums ſhall be diſtributed, as a reward, amongſt the crews of the ſhips which ſhall have retaken ſuch prize. The valuation of the thirtieth and tenth parts above-mentioned ſhall be ſettled conformably to the regulations above preſcribed.

The thirty-ninth article ſtates, that for the greater ſecurity and liberty of commerce and navigation, it is farther agreed, that both the king of Great Britain, and the Moſt Chriſtian king, ſhall not only refuſe to receive any pirates or ſea-rovers whatſoever into any of their havens, ports, cities, or towns, or permit any of their ſubjects, citizens, or inhabitants, on either part, to receive or protect them in their ports, to harbour them in their houſes, or to aſſiſt them in any manner whatſoever; but farther, they ſhall cauſe all ſuch pirates and ſea-rovers, and all perſons who ſhall receive, conceal, or aſſiſt them, to be brought to condign puniſhment, for a terror and example to others. And all their

ſhips, with the goods or merchandizes taken by them, and brought into the ports of either kingdom, ſhall be ſeized, as far as they can be diſcovered, and ſhall be reſtored to the owners, or their factors, duly authorized or deputed by them in writing, proper evidence being firſt given in the court of admiralty, for proving the property; even in caſe ſuch effects ſhould have paſſed into other hands by ſale, if it be proved that the buyers knew, or might have known, that they had been piratically taken. And generally all ſhips and merchandizes, of what nature ſoever, which may be taken on the high ſeas, ſhall be brought into ſome port of either kingdom, and delivered into the cuſtody of the officers of that port, that they may be reſtored entire to the proprietor, as ſoon as due and ſufficient proof ſhall have been made concerning the property thereof.

By the forty-firſt article, it is ſtipulated, that neither of their majeſties ſhall permit the ſhips or goods belonging to the ſubjects of the other to be taken within cannon-ſhot of the coaſt, or in the ports or rivers of their dominions, by ſhips of war, or others, having commiſſion from any prince, republic, or city whatſoever: but in caſe it ſhould ſo happen, both parties ſhall employ their united force to obtain reparation of the damage thereby occaſioned.

The forty-fourth ſets forth, that in whatever relates to the lading or unlading of ſhips, the ſafety of merchandize, goods, and effects, the ſucceſſion to perſonal eſtates, as well as the protection of individuals, and their perſonal liberty, as alſo the adminiſtration of juſtice, the ſubjects of the two high-contracting parties ſhall enjoy, in their reſpective dominions, the ſame privileges, liberties, and rights, as the moſt favoured nation.

The next article ſtates, that if hereafter it ſhall happen, through inadvertency or otherwiſe, that any infractions or contraventions of the preſent treaty ſhall be committed on either ſide, the friendſhip and good underſtanding ſhall not immediately thereupon be interrupted; but this treaty ſhall ſubſiſt in all its force, and proper remedies ſhall be procured for removing the inconveniencies, and likewiſe for the reparation of the contraventions: and if the ſubjects of either kingdom ſhall be found guilty thereof, they only ſhall be puniſhed and ſeverely chaſtiſed.

By the concluding article the contracting parties reſerve the right of reviſing and re-examining the ſeveral ſtipulations of this treaty, after the term of twelve years, to be computed from the day of paſſing laws for its execution in Great Britain and Ireland, reſpectively, to propoſe and make ſuch alterations as the times and circumſtances may have rendered neceſſary for the commercial intereſts of their reſpective ſubjects; and this reviſion is to be completed in the ſpace of twelve months; after which term the preſent treaty ſhall be of no effect; but, in that event, the good harmony and friendly correſpondence between the two nations ſhall not ſuffer the leaſt diminution.

It was a ſingular circumſtance attending this important treaty, that, far from affording general ſatisfaction, it was much cenſured by many of the ſubjects of either power; each nation appeared to think that it had granted too much to the other, or had even been over-reached by it in ſome parts of the compact, and, particularly, in the rating and adjuſtment of the equivalents. But this very circumſtance muſt be conſidered, by impartial obſervers, as affording a ſtrong indication that the treaty was founded on liberal and equitable principles, particularly when they take into the eſtimate the deep-rooted prejudices which it had, on both ſides, to encounter.

It cannot, however, excite our aſtoniſhment, that a difference of opinion ſhould be created on the ſubject, when we reflect on the multiplicity of objects which it embraces; of intereſts which it might affect; on its relation to the general ſyſtem of navigation and trade eſtabliſhed in Europe; its interference with the letter or ſpirit of treaties already exiſting between the parties and other powers; and the uncertainty of its future operations in many of theſe reſpects. But it was natural to ſuppoſe that the motives upon which it was founded, and the political effects it was calculated to produce, by the eſtabliſhment of an amicable intercourſe between the rival nations, would extort general commendation. It is certainly evident that a ſtrong deſire to bury ancient animoſities, to cure national prejudices, and to remove the partialities incident to jarring intereſts, pervades the whole, and appears to have been the leading objects of the parties. Reciprocity is the grand principle of the treaty, and it ſeems to have been intended on both ſides, that no conceſſion ſhould be made on either, which was not balanced by a ſuppoſed equivalent on the other. But it exhibits an object far more intereſting to humanity, than mere commercial regulations, which have, invariably, intereſt for their baſis; it ſhews the powerful kingdom of France freely ſacrificing, upon this occaſion, her ancient prejudices, civil and religious, which had hitherto ſeemed ſo cloſely interwoven in her nature and conſtitution, as to appear almoſt inſeparable.

But while France was thus endeavouring to ſecure the future friendſhip of her ancient foe, and adopting ſchemes for the extenſion of her commerce, both foreign and domeſtic, ſhe was not ſo far neglectful of her own ſecurity as to overlook thoſe circumſtances, which might tend to augment her ſtrength, in the event of a war. She ſtudiouſly laboured to encreaſe the number of her naval arſenals and ports on the ocean—in which ſhe is by nature ſo defective—for the reception of ſhips of the line, and the ſtation of warlike fleets.

The port of Cherbourg, on the coaſt of Normandy, from its vicinity to England, and its direct oppoſite poſition to the coaſt of Hampſhire, ſeemed immediately calculated for this purpoſe; and, undoubtedly, could its natural defects be remedied by art, it would prove a moſt advantageous ſtation to the French fleets in a war with England, and could not

not fail to become highly detrimental to that power: the ſcheme was, accordingly, adopted with great ſpirit, and carried on at an immenſe expence. For the road, being about a league and a half in length from eaſt to weſt, notwithſtanding the partial cover of a low iſland, which conſiderably ſerves to break the violence of the waves, is ſtill much expoſed to the north and north-weſt winds; to remedy which it was propoſed to cover the road entirely by a ſucceſſion of moles on that ſide, leaving only two ſufficient openings, one for the paſſage of ſhips of the largeſt ſize, and the other for trading veſſels. One of theſe moles was to be carried through the iſland (which was moſtly overflown in ſpring-tides) and the others were to have their foundations laid, and their ſuperſtructure raiſed, in a deep and boiſterous ſea. The labour was vaſt, but the object was highly inviting; for, if the fences could be completed, large fleets, compoſed of the moſt capital ſhips, might ride ſecurely at anchor within them in all weather. Forts, with batteries of the heavieſt cannon, were to be erected on the different moles, in ſuch ſituations as to be themſelves impregnable, and to render the approach of an enemy utterly impracticable. A capacious baſon, with docks, and all the other appendages to a great naval arſenal, were to be conſtructed in and adjoining to the harbour and town. The number of hands employed in this vaſt deſign was ſuited to its magnitude and importance; and the removal and placing, by any number, of thoſe immenſe maſſes of ſolid rock, which, in ſo rough a ſea, could alone lay the foundations of ſuch ſtupendous piles of building, would have appeared impoſſible to any who had not before ſeen or heard of ſimilar exertions of human labour and art.

This Herculean labour was deemed of ſuch national importance, that the king, who had never before travelled to any conſiderable diſtance from the metropolis, took a journey on purpoſe to behold its progreſs. Even now, as it might be ſaid, in its infant ſtate, he could not behold without ſurprize the ſtupendous parts of that mighty work which were already viſible. The ſupporters of the moles were in the form of cones, and of ſo prodigious a bulk, that the timber caſſoons in which they were encloſed were ſixty French fathoms in diameter at the bottom. One of theſe was ſucceſsfully launched—on the twenty-ſecond of June—in the king's preſence, an event which ſcarcely afforded greater joy to the architect, than ſatisfaction to the monarch, who did not attempt to conceal his aſtoniſhment at this incredible exertion of human power.

The proof, afforded by ſome of the ſtipulations of the Commercial Treaty with England, of the decreaſe of religious prejudices in France, was happily confirmed by the ſubſequent tranſactions of the preſent year. Inſtead of thoſe perſecuting edicts which the crown had formerly iſſued againſt its own ſubjects, on matters of religion, this propitious period was ſignalized by an arrêt, inviting ſtrangers of all Chriſtian nations and religious perſuaſions whatever to ſettle in the country, enabling them to purchaſe lands, and to enjoy all the common rights of citizens.

It afforded a ſingular object of moral and political conſideration, to behold fourteen veſſels from North America arrive together in the harbour of Dunkirk, freighted with the families, goods, and property of a colony of Quakers and Baptiſts (the moſt rigid, perhaps, in their religious principles of any among the reformed) who came to ſettle at that place, in a Roman Catholic country, and under the government of the French monarch; two circumſtances, the moſt directly oppoſite to their ancient ſentiments, whether political or religious. Theſe people amounted to about a hundred families, and were deſtined to the proſecution of the whale and other fiſheries, in which they had long been diſtinguiſhed for their eminence at home. M. de Calonne had the honour of forming the ſcheme, of inviting them, and of giving them every encouragement they could deſire; particularly in every poſſible ſecurity for the preſervation of their civil rights and religious freedom. The ruin which befel the American oil trade, and fiſheries through their unhappy ſeparation from England, afforded the opportunity on one ſide, and impoſed the neceſſity on the other.

Another arrêt was iſſued about the ſame time as the former, for the encouragement of artiſts and manufacturers of all nations to ſettle in France, by allowing them the ſame privileges which they enjoyed in their native countries, with exemptions from all duties for a limited time, on any importation of the raw materials uſed in their manufactures, as well as from the payment of taxes, and all perſonal duties to themſelves and their workmen; on theſe conditions they were bound to continue for a given number of years in the kingdom, and for the greater ſecurity were not to form their ſettlements within ſeven leagues of the frontier; but at the expiration of the preſcribed term they were to be at full liberty to depart, when, and in whatever manner was moſt convenient to them, and to remove their property as well as their perſons wherever they ſhould think proper, the king giving up the *droit d'Aubaine* entirely in their favour.

It would have been a ſtrange ſoleciſm in policy to encourage and allure foreign Proteſtants to ſettle in the kingdom, without reſtoring the numerous natives of that perſuaſion, in ſome conſiderable degree, to the rights of citizens. But though the king and government ſtrongly inclined to grant every indulgence to the native Proteſtants, ſtill a variety of circumſtances concurred to prevent a complete reſtitution of the rights which they formerly poſſeſſed. In caſes of this nature, it will ever be found extremely difficult to draw ſo ſtrait and equal a line between the public religious eſtabliſhment of the country, and that which is only tolerated, as can afford full ſatisfaction to both parties. The one will, invariably, regard whatever is granted either as an encroachment on, or as endangering its own rights, while the impatience of the other is apt to encreaſe with every advantage or favour, and paſt conceſſions only operate as a ſtimulus to future exertions—as a provocative to fruition more perfect and complete.

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Something, however, was done in favour of the French Proteſtants, though, probably, not ſo much as was wiſhed, or even intended. The legitimacy of their marriages was admitted, and the rights of inheritance conſequently eſtabliſhed, under the condition of the former being regiſtered in an office appointed for that purpoſe at the Hôtel de Ville. They were likewiſe permitted to inſtitute places of public worſhip, on condition that ſuch places ſhould bear only the outward appearance of private houſes; in thoſe they were entitled to the free exerciſe of their religious rites, ſubject to the ſingle reſtriction of keeping the doors ſhut during the ſervice. Their paſtors were of courſe exonerated from all the penalties preſcribed by former laws. By this means, a conſiderable opening was made towards affording relief to that numerous body of people, who, after all the loſſes they had ſuſtained by wars, emigrations, and puniſhments, and the long and continued oppreſſions they had endured, ſtill amounted to a fifth or ſixth of the whole inhabitants of the kingdom, the loweſt eſtimates rating their number at four millions.

Some indulgencies were alſo extended, at this period, to the peaſantry in France; that moſt valuable order of men, who conſtitute the foundation of ſtrength, wealth, and power, in every community that poſſeſſes them, and who had too long been deſpiſed and oppreſſed, with an equal diſregard of natural juſtice and political wiſdom, not only in France, but in moſt other countries. They were now relieved from that intolerable bondage and continued oppreſſion to which they had ſo long been ſubjected, under the arbitrary domination of inferior mercenary officers—invariably the worſt of tyrants!—with reſpect to the heavy labour to which they were bound in the repair and conſtruction of the roads; theſe petty miniſters of the civil power, either haraſſing them by the moſt ſhameleſs extortion of money, which their poverty could ſo ill ſpare, or compelling them, in an arbitrary manner, to attend with their carts and draught cattle to the duty of the roads, at ſeaſons when the ſtate of their crops more peculiarly called for their care and attention. A new ſyſtem was adopted with reſpect to the roads; the farmers were diſcharged from the duty, and the work was to be performed by labourers hired at the public expence.

An edict was likewiſe paſſed which afforded a ſecurity that was greatly wanting to the community in general, but more particularly to the trading and manufacturing part with reſpect both to their perſons and property. Many cities and corporations poſſeſſed the municipal authority of arreſting the perſons and detaining the property of ſtrangers who came tranſiently within their juriſdiction, for real or pretended charges of debt preferred againſt them by perſons at any diſtance, and ſometimes in the remoteſt provinces. The moſt doubtful documents were received as ſufficient grounds for theſe actions; and the general neceſſary conſequence was, that the defendant, if far from home, and no powerful connection at hand, was totally ruined, at the ſuit, perhaps, of an unknown and unheard-of plaintiff, before he could find means to extricate his perſon or property. The

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enormity was ſo glaring, that its exiſtence for any length of time would appear almoſt incredible, if ſimilar inſtances of the long ſufferance of evil, through the ſupineneſs of rulers, and the defect of ſpirit or power in the injured, had not been obſervable in all countries; it was now, however, aboliſhed, and this crying grievance effectually redreſſed [7].

But though theſe edicts evinced a ſtrong diſpoſition in the government to alleviate the diſtreſs, and promote the proſperity of the ſubject, yet were the people but little inclined to ſubmit to thoſe burthens which the ſituation of the kingdom rendered indiſpenſably neceſſary. When the edict for regiſtering the loan at the concluſion of the preceding year, which amounted to the ſum of three millions, three hundred and thirty thouſand pounds, was preſented to the parliament of Paris, the murmurs of the people and the remonſtrances of that aſſembly, ſeemed to threaten a determined reſiſtance to the meaſure. The king, however, ſignified to the ſelect deputation that were commiſſioned to convey their remonſtrances to the throne, that he expected to be obeyed without farther delay; accordingly the royal mandate was complied with, and the ceremony of the regiſtration took place on the next day; but it was accompanied with a reſolution, importing that public economy was the only genuine ſource of abundant revenue, the only means of providing for the neceſſities of the ſtate, and reſtoring that credit which was almoſt annihilated by frequent borrowing.

As ſoon as this proceeding was known, the king required the attendance of the grand deputation of parliament; he eraſed from their records the reſolution that had been adopted; and obſerved, that, though it was his pleaſure that the parliament ſhould communicate, by its reſpectful repreſentations, whatever might intereſt the good of the public, yet he never would conſent that they ſhould ſo far abuſe his confidence and clemency as to erect themſelves into the cenſors of his adminiſtration; he expected in future that they ſhould confine their expreſſions within the limits of wiſdom and loyalty; he declared himſelf ſatisfied with the conduct of the comptroller-general, and determined on no account to ſuffer groundleſs apprehenſions to interfere with thoſe plans which had for their excluſive object the good of the ſtate and the eaſe of the nation; and, more ſtrongly to mark his diſpleaſure at their expoſtulations, he directed the diſmiſſion from farther

7 It is worthy of remark, inaſmuch as it exhibits a ſingular and unexampled inſtance of change in the ſentiments of the weſtern world, that the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris this year elected, as one of their foreign correſpondents, a Mr. Liſtel, a free Black, of the Iſle of France, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ſeries of curious and extremely well-calculated meteorological obſervations; thus breaking down, in ſome degree, the ſtrong and long-eſtabliſhed line of diſtinction between colours, and holding out encouragement to future Africans to cultivate philoſophy and the ſciences, by ſhewing them that the way was opened to academical honours, whenever merited, without any regard to the country or natural hue of the ingenious proficient,

ſervice of one of their officers who had appeared moſt active in forwarding the late reſolution.

Though monſieur de Calonne could not fail to be highly flattered by the approbation and ſupport of his ſovereign, yet the oppoſition of the parliament, at a period when their aſſiſtance was peculiarly neceſſary, mortified him moſt ſenſibly. The alarming ſtate of the finances demanded the moſt ſerious attention. The taxes, though numerous, were wholly unequal to the ſupply of the current expences of the ſtate, and to the diſcharge of the intereſt or annuities riſing on the various funds. The expenditure of courſe greatly exceeded the revenue[8]; and, as new funds could not be raiſed, recourſe was had to the deſperate meaſure of withholding the payment of the annuities to the public creditors for a ſum equal to the amount of the deficiency. The diſtreſs and calamity occaſioned thereby to numbers of people, excited great diſcontents; and the murmurs were encreaſed by the undue preference ſuppoſed to be given to thoſe claſſes whoſe payments were not ſtopped.

The crown, with reſpect to all that lay within its own immediate cognizance and power, acted the nobleſt part during this ſtate of public embarraſſment and diſtreſs. Incapable of comprehending the complicated details, and the perplexed ſituation of the national finances, the king endeavoured to alleviate the diſtreſſes of the people, by curtailing the expences of his court, houſhold, and even of his royal perſon. But though theſe reductions were ſo great as to trench deeply upon the long-eſtabliſhed ſplendour of the crown, and though the ſavings were accordingly very conſiderable, yet they failed of anſwering the patriotic and generous intention of the monarch, when plunged into the abyſs of public debts, demands, and neceſſities. The free gifts granted by the clergy, and other public bodies, produced as little permanent effect; and, amidſt the multitude of demands, could ſcarcely afford relief to any pecuniary neceſſity of the court.

Theſe circumſtances, with the alarming clamour and diſcontent which they produced, rendered the adoption of ſome ſpeedy and deciſive meaſure indiſpenſably requiſite. The

[8] It appears, from the ſtatement annexed to M. de Calonne's "Requête au Roi," publiſhed in 1787, that in the year 1783, the expenditure exceeded the revenue, eighty millions of livres; in 1784, eighty-five millions; in 1785, one hundred millions; and in 1786, one hundred and twelve millions, or upwards of four millions, ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix thouſand pounds ſterling; and that in order to cover this deficit, to pay off the navy debt, which alone exceeded nine millions ſterling, and other extraordinary expences incurred by the late war, and ſince the peace, ſix hundred and fifty millions of livres, or upwards of twenty-ſeven millions, eighty-three thouſand pounds ſterling, had been borrowed, within the ſpace of three years. This circumſtance aroſe from the extreme unwillingneſs of the king to impoſe additional burdens on the people, and his conſequent anxiety to protract the evil hour, as long as poſſible;—an injudicious meaſure, though proceeding from the beſt of motives. It is a remarkable fact—but not more ſingular than true—that the humanity of this unfortunate prince, almoſt invariably, proved prejudicial to his own intereſt and happineſs, and not unfrequently detrimental, in its effects, to the welfare of the ſtate.

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crown, wearied out by the repeated failure and diſappointment which it had experienced in the ſchemes and undertakings of miniſters, and finding its difficulties every day encreaſing, and becoming more inſupportable, determined at length to throw itſelf upon the affection and wiſdom of the nation for ſuccour and ſupport. Though this ſalutary meaſure was propoſed by M. de Calonne, it was adopted by the king with ſo good a grace, that it ſeemed to flow ſpontaneouſly from his own good diſpoſition and will; and it would have proved a moſt happy circumſtance for France—had ſhe known how to profit by it—that her preſent monarch neither poſſeſſed the obſtinate, overbearing, arbitrary temper of ſome of his predeceſſors, nor had conſigned his power into the hands of miſtreſſes and favourites, and ſuffered his mind to be corrupted by the vanity and pleaſures of a voluptuous court.

The pecuniary difficulties of the ſtate have, in many countries, rendered it neceſſary for monarchs to apply to the collective reſources and collective councils of the nation. The modification of regal authority, and the admiſſion of the public into a participation of that authority, has generally been attended with conſequences eaſy and happy to both. Few kings, however, have had recourſe to this expedient until they had exhauſted every other means of ſupply; they moſt commonly conſulted their ſubjects after the adoption of irregular or violent meaſures for encreaſing the revenue they already poſſeſſed, and thus loſt the merit of a generous reliance on the approbation and affection of their people, ſeeming rather to be driven to them by neceſſity, than to be turned to them through choice. This was not the caſe with the preſent government of France. Little reſort, in compariſon with the exactions of former reigns, had been had to compulſory loans, arbitrary extenſion of taxes, alteration in the value of the coin, or to any of thoſe modes of violence and chicane which had been ſo frequently adopted by the French monarchs. On the contrary, from the moment Lewis the Sixteenth turned his attention ſeriouſly to the improvement of his revenues, the object had been to eſtabliſh a baſis of public credit. This was begun, as we have before ſhewn, under the adminiſtration of Mr. Neckar, by a general expoſure of the finances. The public were ſolemnly called in to the council of the monarch, and deſired to judge for themſelves in a concern of ſuch great and general importance. A great ſtep, not to the forms but to the ſubſtance of public liberty, and, perhaps, the greateſt advance that ever was made by a king towards the eſtabliſhment of a free conſtitution. With more or leſs regularity, this ſyſtem had been purſued ever ſince, until, by its natural operation, combined with the growing neceſſities of the government, it led to the calling of the aſſembly of the *Notables*, and, from thence, to a more univerſal application to the ſenſe of the nation.

The writs for calling together the aſſembly of the Notables—whoſe object (to uſe the words of M. de Calonne) was to enlighten the nation with regard to the ſtate of the finances, and to impreſs on the minds of the people the neceſſity of a ſtrong and efficacious

remedy for the diſorders that prevailed therein [9]—were dated on the twenty-ninth of December, 1786; they were addreſſed to ſeven princes of the blood, nine dukes and peers of France, eight field-marſhals, twenty-two nobles, eight counſellors of ſtate, four maſters of requeſts, eleven prelates, thirty-ſeven of the heads of the law, twelve deputies of the *Pays d'Etat*, the lieutenant-civil, and twenty-five magiſtrates of the different towns of the kingdom. The number of members was one hundred and forty-four; and the twenty-ninth of January, 1787, was the day appointed for their opening.

A. D. 1787.] The ſickneſs and death of M. de Vergennes, a miniſter whoſe political intrigues and extenſive views, joined to a very intimate knowledge of the reſpective ſtrength or weakneſs of foreign ſtates, and of thoſe inviſible ſprings of action by which they might be ſwayed or divided, rendered his loſs, at this critical period, of the utmoſt conſequence to the ſtate, occaſioned the meeting of the aſſembly to be poſtponed to th twenty-ſecond of February. In the mean time, the marquis de Montmorin, who had bee long initiated in the political principles and deſigns of the count de Vergennes, was, at his own ſpecial recommendation, appointed to be his ſucceſſor as miniſter for foreign affairs.

The king went in the greateſt magnificence, accompanied by the princes of the blood, and attended by all the great officers of the ſtate and houſhold, to dignify the opening of the new aſſembly of the Notables.

In laying before this body the various matters which were to become the ſubjects of their deliberation, it was neceſſary that the miniſter ſhould give a ſatisfactory explanation of thoſe cauſes which opened the way to the preſent ſtate of public embarraſſment and diſtreſs. In doing this, M. de Calonne, with proper addreſs, endeavoured to make a favourable impreſſion on the minds of his audience, by exhibiting the pleaſing and bright ſide of the picture, before he was under the neceſſity of diſplaying the reverſe. With this view, in his introductory ſpeech, he enumerated the various great and glorious, as well as the patriotic and beneficial acts, of the preſent reign: in this ſummary, he particularly aſcribed to the king the creation of a marine which had rendered the French flag univerſally reſpected, and the protection and confirmation of the liberties of a New World, which, in conſequence of its ſeparation from a rival power, was now become a friend and ally; after having terminated an honourable war by a ſolid peace, his majeſty, he averred, had proved himſelf worthy to be conſidered as the moderator of all Europe: he had not then given himſelf up to a barren inaction; he was too ſenſible how much ſtill remained to be done for the happineſs of his ſubjects; and the aſſuring to his people a free and extenſive commerce abroad, the procuring a good adminiſtration at home, with the encouragement and eſtabliſhment of uſeful arts and manufactures, were the objects

[9] Requête au Roi, p. 136.

of

of his invariable purſuit, and ſhould ever continue the point to which his views would be directed. The three new treaties of commerce, concluded with Holland, England, and Ruſſia, were adduced as illuſtrations of theſe poſitions.

After this exordium, which he dwelt on with complacency, the miniſter had to reverſe the ſcene, and exhibit the darkſide of the picture. He, accordingly, entered into long details, to ſhew the deplorable ſtate in which he found the finances, when he was called to the head of that department, at the concluſion of the American war. A vaſt unfunded debt; all annuities and intereſt greatly in arrear; all the coffers empty; the public ſtocks fallen to the loweſt point; circulation interrupted, and all credit and confidence deſtroyed. He then ſhewed the meaſures which he had purſued, and the happy effects they had produced—ſo far as his means could reach—in remedying this complication of evils. Through theſe efforts public credit was re-eſtabliſhed, the ſtocks brought a fair price at market, money was plentiful, and the *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte* had now ſettled its credit upon a firm baſis. Great and expenſive public works, of the utmoſt national importance and utility, had likewiſe been undertaken, and were now far advanced towards completion; it would be needleſs to repeat to that aſſembly what had been done, and was doing, with reſpect to the harbours of Cherburgh, Havre, Rochelle, and Dunkirk.

But with all theſe pleaſant circumſtances and favourable appearances, an evil ſtill remained behind of the moſt alarming and ruinous nature: an evil which muſt every year encreaſe in its magnitude, and, at length, become fatal in its effect, if not timely corrected: this was the great annual deficiency of the public revenue, with reſpect to the ſupply of the current public expence. It was an evil which went far beyond the reach of miniſters, and baffled all ſchemes of induſtry and economy. Eternal borrowing would neceſſarily operate as an eternal aggravation of the evil; additional taxes would oppreſs the people, whom the king moſt anxiouſly wiſhed to relieve; anticipation on the revenue of ſubſequent years had already been carried to a ruinous extent; and with reſpect to economy, and the reform of expences, the king had already, not only in his houſhold, but in other departments, carried theſe points as far as could be done without weakening the ſtate and government. It was then in the reform of abuſes, that the king and his miniſters truſted principally to find reſources for exonerating the crown and the nation from this intolerable grievance and evil. In the abuſes themſelves would be found a great fund which the king had a right to reclaim. This was a ſubject, the importance of which neceſſarily demanded all the collected wiſdom, attention, and ſagacity of the aſſembly, and it was accordingly recommended, in the ſtrongſt terms, to their deliberation.

The four principal objects to which the attention of the aſſembly was invited, and on which the miniſter had placed a great reliance for the redreſs of thoſe evils on which he

he had ſtrongly expatiated, were—The eſtabliſhment of a general and equal land tax, from which no rank or order of men was to be exempted: the poſſeſſions of the clergy, and their exemption from impoſts: the ſtate of internal taxation: and the raiſing of money by mortgaging the demeſne lands of the crown. But the grand and eſſential object of reform, and that which the court had particularly at heart, was an equalization of the public burthens, by rendering the taxes general, which would have made them bearable, and comparatively eaſy, inſtead of their falling upon the lower and moſt uſeful claſſes of the people, to the diſcouragement and ruin of enterprize and induſtry, whether with reſpect to manufacture or agricultures. The ancient nobility and clergy had ever been free from all public aſſeſſments, and, conſidering this as one of their moſt diſtinguiſhed privileges, it was of courſe the moſt difficult to be reſigned. Had the evil, great as it undoubtedly was, gone no farther, it might ſtill, perhaps, have been patiently endured, from the miſchief it produced, being confined within certain fixed and cuſtomary limits; but through the ſhameful cuſtom of ſelling patents of nobility, ſuch crouds of new nobleſſe ſtarted up, that every province in the kingdom was filled with them; for the firſt object with thoſe who had acquired fortunes rapidly, by whatever means, was, next to the purchaſe of an eſtate, that of a patent, which, beſides the gratification of a vanity ſo peculiarly predominant with ſuch people, afforded an exemption to them and their poſterity from a proportionable contribution to the exigencies of the ſtate, or from alleviating the diſtreſſes of the public which many of them had contributed to augment. The magiſtrates, likewiſe, throughout the kingdom, who were exceedingly numerous, enjoyed their ſhare of theſe exemptions; ſo that the great weight of the taxes fell upon thoſe who were the leaſt able to bear them.

That nothing could be more juſt and noble than the project of equalizing the public burthens, was unqueſtionably true; but how the miniſter could hope for ſucceſs in a meaſure which required the ſanction of thoſe very perſons who were immediately intereſted in oppoſing it cannot eaſily be conceived. The event was ſuch as might have been expected; the moſt decided oppoſition appeared in the aſſembly; the very neceſſity for the reforms ſo ſtrenuouſly urged by M. de Calonne was denied by thoſe in whom perſonal intereſt ſuperſeded every other conſideration; and the ſtatement of the finances, which differed, in ſome points, from the *Compte Rendu* of M. Neckar, was oppoſed by monſieur de Brienne, archbiſhop of Toulouſe, (the friend of that financier) whoſe ambition led him to aſpire to the place now occupied by M. de Calonne.

But the enemies of the miniſter, not content with arraigning his underſtanding, impeached his integrity: and the count de Mirabeau, who, in the ſubſequent events of the revolution, is deſtined to appear in a very conſpicuous light, did not ſcruple to rank the comptroller-general among thoſe ſordid wretches, who preferred their fortune to their honour; he added, that all his operations bore the ſtamp of deſpotiſm and perſonal intereſt;

tereſt: and he called upon the Notables, to addreſs their ſovereign in the honeſt language of truth; "Let them tell him," ſaid he; "that a man who was eſtranged from every "principle of good faith, of fidelity in engagements, of reſpect to property, was unfit "to be entruſted with the direction of commerce, of contracts, and of law. Let them "tell him, that pliancy of ſpirit, facility of ſtudy, correctneſs of ſtyle, the elegance of "his preambles, the charms of his elocution, were but ſo many new crimes in a mini-"ſter, who developed, with ſkill, the principles of an honeſt policy, and eluded and in-"ſulted them in his practice." But the petulant invectives of a man whoſe neglect and violations of all ſocial, moral, and religious duties, were proverbial woudl have had little effect on the reputation of de Calonne, had not a combination of concurring events given force to the arguments, and efficacy to the meaſures, of his adverſaries.

The united efforts of the nobility, the clergy, and the magiſtracy, were ſucceſsfully exerted to promote the deſtruction of a man who had conceived the ſalutary project of deſtroying ſuch of their privileges as were hoſtile to the public welfare. The people were brought to believe, that he intended to load them with new taxes; and thus the blind and giddy multitude were rendered inſtrumental to the ruin of the firſt miniſter who had ever attempted to do them any eſſential ſervice. Such has in general, but unfortunately, been the reward of thoſe who—without having eſtabliſhed a previous confidence, which is indeed, not often gained without the aid of ſome ſpecious deception—have attempted to ſerve the public at large. Effectual meaſures, were, at the ſame time, uſed for diminiſhing the king's confidence in the miniſter, which would, probably, have been ſufficiently ſhaken, without ſuch inſidious attempts, by the public clamour.

M. de Calonne, finding it impoſſible to ſtem the torrent, or in any manner to ſcreen himſelf from the obloquy, which was directed againſt him from all quarters, not only found it neceſſary to reſign his office, in the middle of the ſitting of the Notables, but to retire to England for refuge, from this ſtorm of perſecution, which he ſaw gathering with the moſt malignant aſpect. This event took place on the twelfth of April, and, after ſome temporary appointments, the archbiſhop of Toulouſe, was, in the month of May, appointed to the vacant office of comptroller-general of the finances.

While the mind of Lewis was aſſiduouſly occupied by the riſing ſpirit of diſcontent at home, his new ally, the republic of Holland, preſented a ſcene of anarchy and faction, that called for his moſt ſerious attention. The prince of Orange had been ſtripped of all authority, by the adverſe party, who, forgetful of the obligations they owed to his illuſtrious anceſtors, to whom they were indebted for the eſtabliſhment of their independence, and the ſecurity of their freedom, had reduced him to the neceſſity of flying from the Hague, and returning to Nimeguen, where he maintained the ſhadow of a court; yet feeble as his

his influence might appear in the united provinces, he was ſtill formidable from his powerful connections. His brother-in-law, the new king of Pruſſia, for Frederic the Great had cloſed his long and ſplendid career, was indefatigable in his efforts to promote the intereſts of the Stadt-holder, and had offered, in concert with France, to undertake the arduous taſk of compoſing the differences which diſtracted the republic.

The court of Verſailles had, before this period, preſented to the ſtates, by way of precaution, a memorial couched in very equivocal terms, in which, after many profeſſions of friendſhip, regard, and attachment, the king of France declared his wiſhes to ſee thoſe abuſes reformed, which had occaſioned internal diſſenſions in the republic, and obſerved, that he ſhould be happy to ſee tranquillity reſtored upon the true principles of its conſtitution; but that, without pretending to interfere with the internal government of the ſeven provinces, he would, on the contrary, uſe his utmoſt endeavours to prevent their high mightineſſes, from being troubled, from without, as well as within: it was now deemed expedient to adopt a different tone, and the propoſal of the king of Pruſſia being embraced, with apparent cordiality, monſieur de Rayneval, who had already acquired conſiderable credit in negociation, particularly in concluding the late treaty of commerce with England, was appointed to be the repreſentative of Lewis, in the office of mediation.

But fair and flattering as theſe appearances were, it was little hoped by thoſe, who looked cloſely into the ſtate and nature of things, that this negociation ſhould produce the effect ſo ardently wiſhed for by every true friend to the republic. They could not believe that France, who they knew to be not only the nurſe, protectreſs, and encourager of the adverſe faction, but to have been the prime fomenter and inſtigator of all their violences, ſhould now at once undo the effects of all her former craft and labour, by becoming the inſtrument of reſtoring the prince of Orange to any thing near that ſhare of weight and power which he before held in the republic. This would have been to ſacrifice her own immediate intereſts to the gratification of the Pruſſian monarch, to abandon one of the deareſt objects of her policy, to miſs the only opportunity that had ever occurred of her eſtabliſhing a ſupreme and permanent controul in the affairs of the republic, and for ever to loſe, without benefit or effect, all that gold which ſhe had, for ſeveral years, ſo profuſely beſtowed in ſupporting her influence in Holland, and in feeding the contention. This was a ſource of expence, ſo abundantly ſupplied, that a writer, who appears to have poſſeſſed very unuſual ſources of information, and more than a common ſhare of political acumen, has ventured to aſſert, that one half of her money thus expended, if it had been properly applied in the Stadt-holder's court, would have produced an influence there, infinitely more beneficial in advancing and eſtabliſhing her purpoſes, than any thing ſhe derived, or could derive, from the ſervices of the republican leaders, on whom it was beſtowed.[10]

[10] Introduction to the Hiſtory of the Dutch Republic, p. 272.

It

It was contended, that ſuch a coincidence on the part of France with the views of the king of Pruſſia would not merely be a derelection of the cauſe and party which ſhe had ſo long eſpouſed, but a ſcandalous act of treachery. She had urged them to the adoption of violent and indefenſible meaſures, and conſequently involved them in circumſtances of great danger; and now to abandon them in the inſtant of their warmeſt hopes, when the object of their long and mutual purſuit ſeemed nearly within their graſp, would ſhock the feelings of all mankind, and appear alike fooliſh and infamous. The crooked policy which ſhe had too long purſued, by which ſhe became to be conſidered as the common diſturber of the tranquility of Europe, and as ſacrificing all faith and principle to her own advantage, had been the means of involving her in the greateſt difficulties and moſt dangerous ſituations, ſo that her very exiſtence at one time ſeemed little leſs than truſted to the chance of a die. She ſeemed of late, it was ſaid, to adopt a fairer policy, and to be ſtudious of eſtabliſhing a different character; but if ſhe relapſed now, it would have a worſe effect than merely overthrowing what ſhe had hitherto done for that purpoſe.

The event ſoon confirmed the opinion of thoſe who had placed no confidence in the ſucceſs of the preſent negociation. The terms ſought to be impoſed on the Stadtholder by the republican faction were ſuch, as, if granted, muſt have completely ſecured to France that aſcendancy in the councils of Holland which it had been her conſtant object to obtain; but however unequal the prince of Orange might be conſidered to the difficulties that ſurrounded him, every deficiency was ſupplied by the genius, the ſpirit, and the abilities of his royal conſort, who inflexibly adhered to the reſolution ſhe had formed, not to ſacrifice, to the ſeditious efforts of a faction, any of the lawful rights that had been attached to the office of Stadtholder. M. de Rayneval, finding all his inſidious endeavours thus completely fruſtrated, broke off, in an abrupt manner, the correſpondence which had been maintained between the Hague and Nimeguen, and returned to Paris about the middle of January, 1787.

The failure of this treaty produced, between the contending parties, the utmoſt acrimony of recrimination, and the greateſt bitterneſs of reproach. On the ſide of the Stadtholder, it was entirely aſcribed to the precipitate arrogance, the haughty affectation of ſuperiority, and the imperious ſpirit of the French miniſter. It was ſaid, that he would liſten to no terms but thoſe he preſcribed himſelf, or ſuch as were dictated by the adverſe faction; that he appeared rather as the choſen advocate of that party, than in the character of a common friend, or a cool and impartial mediator: that he rather ſeemed to conſider the Stadtholder as a guilty perſon, interceding for favour and forgiveneſs, than as a prince, who was placed by the conſtitution at the head of the republic, claiming his juſt rights, and demanding redreſs for the injuries he had ſuſtained.

On the other ſide, it was inſiſted, with great warmth, that the failure of ſucceſs proceeded entirely from the inflexible obſtinacy of the court of Nimeguen. That, far from paying any deference to the ſtates of Holland, who were his lawful ſovereigns, the Stadtholder had inſiſted, in the moſt peremptory manner, upon every part of his claims, ſhewing no greater diſpoſition to relax in the moſt inconſiderable than in the moſt material articles: that he diſplayed no willingneſs to accommodate himſelf to the unfortunate ſituation in which he was involved, nor to the temper and circumſtances of the times: that he had not ſhewn the ſmalleſt regret for any of the unjuſtifiable meaſures into which he had been precipitated, but, on the contrary, ſeemed diſpoſed pertinaciouſly to ſupport and defend them to the laſt: and, in a word, that a ſingle conceſſion had not even been hinted at from his court; but that all the advances which had been made, and all the inſtances of moderation, at any times given, had been diſplayed by the States of Holland.

It was about this period that the republican party brought forward the propoſal of ſtripping the Stadtholder of thoſe great offices of which he had not been yet deſpoiled in the province of Holland; the queſtion was agitated with the utmoſt warmth and acrimony for two ſucceſſive days; but thoſe who had propoſed it found, to their ſurprize, the oppoſition ſo formidable, and the aſpect of the independent members ſo doubtful, that they did not chooſe to hazard the deciſion of a vote.

It is highly probable, that the abſence of Van Berkel, the firſt penſionary of Amſterdam, greatly contributed to this defeat; he had long been the oracle and ſoul of the republican party, and was well qualified, by his various talents and endowments, to become the leader of a faction: his ambition was boundleſs, but his luſt of wealth even exceeded his love of power, and, ſtimulated by avarice, he had ſacrificed his influence at home to the lucrative appointment of repreſenting the republic as miniſter to the United States of America.

The abſence of this celebrated demagogue tended to embarraſs the counſels of his party, whoſe ſituation now became extremely critical. In all their late meaſures they had been completely foiled. In the ſenate of Amſterdam their influence was loſt; in that of Rotterdam they had been out-voted by a conſiderable majority; the provinces of Zealand, Frieſland, Utrecht, and Guelderland, were decidedly againſt them; and they were now left in a minority in the aſſembly of the States of Holland; ſo that the ſmall provinces of Groningen and Overyſſel alone remained firmly attached to them.

Convinced by the ſituation of their affairs, that their very exiſtence, as a party, depended on the adoption of meaſures the moſt prompt and deciſive, they determined to lay aſide all appearances of moderation, and to bring matters to a criſis. For this purpoſe they had recourſe to the turbulent multitude. Aſſociations were formed, and large ſums of money ſubſcribed; and the burghers, provided with arms, ſoon proceeded to acts of

open violence and outrage. At Rotterdam they ſurrounded the ſenate-houſe, compelled the ſenate to depoſe ſeven of their body, whom they conſidered as moſt adverſe to their deſigns; and, veiling their violence under the form of an election, they filled the vacant places with ſeven of the moſt zealous of their own party; and as the degraded ſenators compriſed the deputies of the city in the aſſembly of the provincial ſtates, the repreſentation of Rotterdam was of courſe totally changed.

On the very ſame day that the ſenate of Rotterdam was purged, in this ſummary manner, by the armed burghers, ſimilar meaſures were purſued by their turbulent brethren at Amſterdam. They ſurrounded the ſenate-houſe betimes in the morning, and the affrighted magiſtrates entered into a negociation with them, which was protracted till the evening; when, finding that they had no alternative, they were obliged to ſubmit to the demand of the burghers, by declaring that nine members of their aſſembly, whom the republican party had proſcribed, had abdicated their offices. Among theſe victims to the revolution, were three deputies to the aſſembly of the provincial ſtates, who had lately voted, on ſome occaſion, on the ſide of the Stadtholder. At the ſame time that they were clearing the ſenate from their adverſaries, the four colonels of the city militia, and conſequently the only legal commanders of the burghers, were deſtined to experience their perſecution, and obliged to ſend in their reſignations.

Hitherto the court of Verſailles had ſolid grounds for exulting in the ſucceſs of their party: the republican faction ſeemed, by the energy of its meaſures, to have recovered its loſt influence; the trembling adherents of the prince of Orange daily expected to be overwhelmed by the torrent; but the turbulent diſpoſition of the people, evidently directed to the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, had at length arouſed from their lethargy the States-General, who had hitherto preſerved the moſt guarded neutrality through the whole courſe of theſe diſſentions. In fact, by the conſtitution of that body, though their powers and authority were great, they were directed rather to general than to particular objects. Their high-mightineſſes were the guardians of the republic as a whole; it was their peculiar province to regulate its tranſactions with foreign nations; to watch the approach of danger from without; to eſtimate its degree; and to make a timely proviſion for the public ſecurity. In war, their powers were extenſive, and their authority, in a great meaſure, concluſive; and, in peace, they were to preſcribe the force to be ſupported by ſea and land, to inſpect the ſtate of the fleets and armies, and to look to every part of the public defence, at home and abroad. But with reſpect to internal affairs, or the differences between particular ſtates, their powers of controul, if not abſolutely limited, are at leaſt unknown, as their exertion appears to be without a precedent. But in caſes of extreme neceſſity, even with reſpect to internal affairs, where the peace or unity of the republic was endangered, the occaſion would doubtleſs ſanctify the application of theſe undefined powers.

The preſumption of the city of Utrecht, in withdrawing its allotted quota of revenue from their diſpoſal, ſeemed an object that merited immediate chaſtiſement; and a body of troops was commanded by the provincial ſtates to beſiege and humble the factious inhabitants of that wealthy capital. A ſkirmiſh took place, on this occaſion, between the detachment of regulars, which was wholly inadequate to the purpoſe it was ſent to effect, and the armed burghers, in which the latter acquired that advantage which a ſuperiority of numbers generally affords. But the triumph of the party was of ſhort duration; almoſt immediately after the ſkirmiſh near Utrecht, the province of Holland was alarmed by the defection of two-thirds of its regular forces, who quitted their poſts, and declared in favour of the prince of Orange. To ſupply this deficiency, the volunteers and armed burghers were ſummoned to the defence of their country, and were appointed to guard the frontiers.

While things were in this ſituation, an event took place which introduced new and more important actors on the ſtage, and abſorbed, in its magnitude, every other conſideration. The princeſs of Orange, whether from a confidence founded in a ſenſe of her abilities, or on the influence which ſhe expected might be derived from her ſex, dignity, and family, adopted the reſolution of proceeding, unaccompanied by the prince her huſband, from Nimeguen, whither ſhe had been driven by the violence of the adverſe party, to the Hague, with the intention, as ſhe declared, of communicating with the States-General, and bringing forward ſuch conciliatory propoſitions, in the name of the prince, as might, if poſſible, avert the evils and horrors of a civil war.

But the adverſe party, viewing this meaſure with a jealous eye, determined to impede her journey; and, accordingly, the princeſs had ſcarce paſſed Schoonhoven, on the borders of Holland, before ſhe was ſurrounded by a party of armed burghers, and was conveyed, with every mark of licentious brutality, to a ſmall town at a conſiderable diſtance; ſhe was thence eſcorted by the ſame guards to Schoonhoven, and, hopeleſs of being permitted to purſue her journey to the Hague, ſhe ſet out next day for Nimeguen.

The king of Pruſſia, who had hitherto remained a quiet, though certainly not an indifferent, ſpectator of the commotions in Holland, eagerly ſeized the opportunity of interference afforded him by the inſult offered to his ſiſter. He tranſmitted orders to his ambaſſador to preſent a ſtrong memorial to the ſtates of Holland, inſiſting on ſatisfaction the moſt ſpeedy and ample; and at the ſame time he repreſented the indignity he had ſuffered, in the perſon of the princeſs, to the court of Verſailles. In order to counteract the effects of this repreſentation, the republican party were equally alert in laying before that court their anſwer to the Pruſſian memorial, together with the juſtificatory detail of the tranſactions, included in the reſolutions which they paſſed upon the occaſion. But great was their mortification, on finding that the French king, their boaſted ally,

ally, their great ſupporter and friend, had, in ſtrong terms, condemned the treatment experienced by the princeſs, and juſtified the king of Pruſſia's demand of ſatisfaction [11].

The ſtates of Holland, however, ſtill implicitly relied on the faith of France; and ſubſequent events ſufficiently demonſtrated, that they had ſtrong grounds for their belief that ſhe would finally interfere in their favour. During the whole ſummer of 1787, ſhe was inceſſant in her endeavours ſurreptitiouſly to afford every poſſible aſſiſtance to the republican party. Great numbers of French officers daily arrived in the province of Holland, and either received commiſſions in the ſervice of the ſtates, or acted as volunteers in their army. But this being deemed inſufficient, ſeveral hundreds of veteran ſoldiers, of approved valour, whoſe fidelity and diſcretion could be relied on, were ſelected from different regiments, and, being furniſhed with money for their journey, were diſpatched in ſmall parties to join the troops, and help to diſcipline the volunteers and burghers of Holland. It was a new circumſtance, that a corps of engineers ſhould be ſmuggled, in diſguiſe, from one country to another; and it was rendered ſtill more extraordinary, by the reſpective countries not immediately bordering in any part. Yet this was now done. The private men were ſupplied with cloaths of the common colours, money, and proper anſwers to make to any troubleſome enquiries; and, thus equipped, they were to proceed, in very ſmall parties, to the place of their deſtination; officers being ſtationed in ſome of the principal towns on their way, to afford any farther ſuccour or advice that might become neceſſary.

As ſoon as this influx of French officers and ſoldiers into the territories of the Republic became, from their number, an object of general notice, the States-General loſt no time in endeavouring at leaſt to impede the growing progreſs of this enormity. For this purpoſe, they not only iſſued proclamations ſtrongly forbidding the intruſion, but they made very ſerious complaint on the ſubject, both to the French miniſter at the Hague, and directly to the court of Verſailles, by their own miniſter at Paris. But theſe proceedings had little effect on the republican party, who ſtill rejected all language of ſubmiſſion, and iſſued orders that every preparation ſhould be made for laying the country under water, the moment any foreign troops ſhould enter the territories of the republic.

The court of Berlin, finding all her remonſtrances ineffectual, diſpoſed her troops for immediate action; nine thouſand Pruſſians lined the frontiers of the duchy of Cleves, bordering on the Dutch territory; the governor of Weſel received orders to prepare

[11] The conduct of the French court, in this inſtance, appears rather extraordinary; for the inſult they repreſented as requiring the moſt complete ſatisfaction was ſanctioned by the preſence of a French officer of rank, who attended the ſeizure of the princeſs.—It is probable, however, that this apparent contradiction aroſe from the king's refuſal to juſtify on ſome occaſions, the conduct of his miniſters, to whom the more violent proceedings muſt generally be aſcribed.

accommodations-

accommodations for the reception of an army of ſixty thouſand men; and the celebrated hereditary duke of Brunſwick, who had lately ſucceeded to the dominions of his father, was called from his retreat, to command the forces of his royal kinſman, the king of Pruſſia.

The prince of Orange himſelf had not remained inactive during theſe tranſactions. Having aſſembled a ſmall army, he poſſeſſed himſelf, by a *coup de main*, of the fortified town of Wick, ſometimes called Duerſtede, in the province of Utrecht; a place eminently noted, in the courſe of theſe troubles, for its early rejection of all lawful authority, its adoption of violent republican principles, and its inveterate animoſity to the Stadtholder. This town was, particularly from its ſituation, an acquiſition of great importance to the prince; being eſtabliſhed on the borders of Holland, within twenty-four miles of Amſterdam; commanding the courſe of that part of the Rhine, here called the Lech, on which it ſtands; and poſſeſſing the command of ſeveral ſluices. The Stadtholder ſoon after reduced Harderwicke, a town in Guelderland, erected on the Zuyder-Sea, was acknowledged by the city of Middleburg, and the whole province of Zealand, which declared, without reſerve, in his favour; blocked up the city of Utrecht; and repulſed an attempt that was made by a ſuperior number of the garriſon and inhabitants on one of his out-poſts.

Theſe ſucceſſes probably ſerved to accelerate the motions of the Pruſſians, who, to the amount of eighteen thouſand men, commanded by the duke of Brunſwick, and furniſhed with a train of light artillery, advanced from the duchy of Cleves, and, about the middle of September, entered the province of Guelderland, in three columns: that on the right, which directed its courſe to the northward, was under the command of general Lottum; the centre was entruſted to the conduct of generals Waldeck and Gaudi; and the left, which pointed its march to the ſouth, was led by the duke in perſon.

The ſucceſs of each diviſion was ſuch as might be expected from the dread conceived of the Pruſſian arms; and no ſuperiority of numbers could encourage either the regular or irregular forces of the province to ſuſtain any thing like a conteſt even with the light troops of the enemy. Gorcum, though in a good ſtate of defence, and under the government of the celebrated colonel and chamberlain Capelle, ſo diſtinguiſhed for the violence of his republican principles, ſurrendered after a few ſhots, and the garriſon and governor yielded themſelves priſoners of war to the duke of Brunſwick. Nieuport and Schoonhoven, both capable of a long reſiſtance, were haſtily evacuated; Dort, Leyden, and Haarlem, ſubmitted on the firſt ſummons; and Rotterdam, on the appearance of the Pruſſians, threw open her gates, and received them with the loudeſt acclamations.

Nor was the progreſs of the centre column leſs rapid or ſucceſsful; on its approach the factious city of Utrecht was thrown into the utmoſt diſmay; the deſire of eſcape

and the preſervation of property ſuperſeding every other conſideration, the place was evacuated by all orders of armed men; the artillery, which they had in vain endeavoured to render uſeleſs, was left on the works without centinels or guards, and the prince of Orange, without oppoſition, poſſeſſed himſelf of a city which had long been conſidered as the great bulwark of the province of Holland, and, next to Amſterdam, as the principal ſeat and grand citadel of the republican party.

The column led by general Lottum on the right, met with rather more reſiſtance: Naarden, a ſtrong place, ſituate at the ſouth-end of the Zuyder Sea, within thirteen miles of Amſterdam, rejected the ſummons of the Pruſſian commander, and prepared for a vigorous defence. But general Lottum, whoſe detachment was by no means provided for a ſiege, turned aſide from the walls, and received the ſubmiſſion of Nieuwerſluys, a ſtrong fortreſs, with a garriſon of near eight hundred ſoldiers, who ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war.

But, during theſe military tranſactions, an unexpected revolution had taken place at the Hague, which greatly changed the face of internal affairs in the province of Holland. The inhabitants of that town, the reſidence of the ſtates of Holland, were yet ſtrongly attached to the perſon and intereſts of the prince of Orange; and the governing party, well aware of this diſpoſition, had introduced a ſtrong body of volunteers to keep the ordinary garriſon in ſubjection; but, under the conſternation and diſmay, which the progreſs of the Pruſſians, and the failure of the French ſuccours, excited on the republican ſide, it was eaſily ſeen that the volunteers would not be long able to over-awe ſo populous a place; and ſeveral of the principal perſons of that party accordingly retired for ſafety to Amſterdam.

The event juſtified their precaution. The Swiſs ſoldiers, who formerly compoſed the Stadtholder's ſtate-guard, boldly aſſembled, and carried off the two pieces of cannon that had been aſſigned for the ſupport of the volunteers. Their zeal ſoon communicated to the inhabitants; the republicans on every ſide were diſarmed; the moſt violent members of the States fled to Amſterdam; and the reſt of the aſſembly immediately ſent a deputation to ſolicit the return of the prince of Orange.

An invitation thus flattering and unexpected could not fail to be accepted with tranſport; and the Stadtholder and his conſort having been received at the Hague with every demonſtration of joy, the former was immediately reſtored by the States to all thoſe offices and rights from which he had been ſuſpended, and all proceedings which had been inſtituted againſt him in that province were conſequently annulled. The States alſo diſpatched an expreſs to the court of Verſailles, with information that the diſputes between the province of Holland and the Stadtholder were now happily terminated; and that,

that, as the circumſtances which occaſioned their application to the king no longer exiſted, ſo the ſuccour which they had requeſted from his majeſty would now be unneceſſary. They likewiſe iſſued an edict forbidding all attempts to inundate the country, and ſtrictly commanding the governors of all cities to give free admiſſion to the Pruſſian troops. In conſequence of this, baron Matha, governor of Naarden, opened the gates of that city, on the ſame principle of duty on which he had before kept them cloſed.

All oppoſition was now confined to the city of Amſterdam and its environs, whither the moſt active and obſtinate of the republican faction had fled from all quarters. That proud capital, undiſmayed by the general defection, made every preparation for the moſt deſperate reſiſtance. The ſurrounding country was laid under water; ſtrong batteries were erected on every ſide; all the poſts which commanded the roads leading to the town were entrenched and fortified; and the citizens expreſſed their determination of defending themſelves to the laſt extremity.

The danger was, indeed, already at their gates; the duke of Brunſwick having eſtabliſhed round the city a chain of poſts wherever the nature of the ground and the interſection of the dykes would admit; and though a tranſient negociation had produced a temporary ſuſpenſion of arms, he no ſooner found the ſpirits of the party unſubdued, than he determined to force their boaſted barriers. By a ſeries of judicious manœuvres, wiſely planned, and courageouſly executed, he carried his point; the numerous fortified poſts of the republicans were aſſailed at the ſame point of time; and, notwithſtanding a reſiſtance more vigorous than had yet been experienced, the Pruſſians where completely ſucceſsful.

The proud city of Amſterdam was now, for the firſt time, delivered to the diſcretion of a victor, and, open on every ſide to bombardment, reluctantly deſcended to the language of ſubmiſſion. The magiſtracy declared themſelves obliged by the impending danger to ſubſcribe conditions to which they yielded, leſt others more ſevere might be impoſed. Sixteen perſons, proſcribed by the princeſs of Orange, as the leaders of the republican faction, were deprived of their reſpective offices; the members of the regency, who had been tumultuouſly depoſed for their attachment to the Stadtholder, were immediately reſtored; the burghers and all perſons in the town, except the legal militia, were to be diſarmed; and the Leyden gate was delivered up to the Pruſſians, to facilitate the performance of this laſt ſtipulation.

In order to facilitate the operations of the Pruſſian monarch, Great Britain had fitted out a ſtrong ſquadron at Portſmouth; a circumſtance which rouſed the jealouſy of the French government, who immediately ſent orders to equip ſixteen ſail of the line at Breſt, and recalled a ſmall ſquadron of evolution which was then exerciſing naval manœuvres on the coaſt of Portugal. But in theſe preparations the king of France ſeemed rather

rather to regard his own dignity, than to be actuated by any hope of affording effectual relief to his allies. All oppoſition in Holland might be already conſidered as extinguiſhed; and the official notification to the court of Verſailles, from the States aſſembled at the Hague, appeared to have removed every pretext for interpoſition. The republic had adopted a new ſyſtem of policy, and however great the mortification which France might experience on loſing the fruits of her labour and exertions, it was no longer in her power to undo what was already done in Holland, nor by any means to recover her former influence.

Under theſe circumſtances, and in the diſtracted ſtate of her internal affairs, France could only wiſh to extricate herſelf, with the beſt grace ſhe could, from the difficulty in which ſhe was involved, and to ſoften her warlike aſpect as ſoon as the appearance of a ſimilar diſpoſition on the other ſide ſhould afford a fair opportunity. As there was nothing now remained to excite a quarrel, this opportunity was ſoon offered by the Britiſh miniſters at Paris, who preſented a declaration, in which they obſerved, that as the affairs of the United Provinces no longer left any ſubject of diſcuſſion, and ſtill leſs of conteſt, between the two courts, they were authorized to aſk, whether it was the intention of the king to carry into effect the notification made by his miniſter, which, by announcing that ſuccour would be given in Holland, had occaſioned the naval armaments made by his Britannic majeſty, and which had ſince become reciprocal?—That, if the court of Verſailles were diſpoſed to explain itſelf on this ſubject, and upon the conduct to be obſerved towards the republic, in a manner conformable to the deſire which had been expreſſed on both ſides, of preſerving the good underſtanding between both crowns; and it being likewiſe underſtood that there is no view of hoſtility towards any quarter in conſequence of what has paſſed, their maſter, ever anxious to concur in the friendly ſentiments of his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, would agree with him, that the armaments, and all warlike preparations in general, ſhould be diſcontinued on both ſides, and that the armies of both nations ſhould be again placed upon the footing of the peace eſtabliſhment, as it ſtood on the firſt day of the preſent year.

This produced a counter-declaration, on the ſame day, ſigned by monſieur de Montmorin, the miniſter for foreign affairs, in which the king declared, that he never had any intention of interfering by force in the affairs of the republic; the notification was palliated, and it was acknowledged that the motives by which it had been influenced no longer exiſted; he declares, that he readily agrees to give no effect to it; concurs in the ſentiments of his Britannic majeſty for the preſervation of harmony between the two courts; and accedes with pleaſure to the propoſal, that the armaments, and, in general, all warlike preparations, ſhould be diſcontinued on both ſides, and the navies placed upon the peace eſtabliſhment propoſed. A ſhort inſtrument, being in ſome ſort a ſummary and confirmation of the foregoing documents, was then ſigned by all parties, in the names of

their reſpective ſovereigns; and thus all occaſions of difference for the preſent between the two nations were happily removed.

The facility with which this accommodation was effected may be chiefly aſcribed to the diſtracted ſtate of affairs in France, where the ſeeds of internal diſcord had not only burſt into life, but were haſtily advancing towards maturity. By the diſmiſſal of M. de Calonne, the kingdom was left without a miniſter, and almoſt without a ſyſtem. In the aſſembly of the Notables, much debate, but little agreement, had been produced by the propoſed territorial impoſt, an object which the court was peculiarly anxious to accompliſh. Independent of the particular and individual intereſts by which this ſalutary meaſure was oppoſed, whole provinces objected to it, as a direct infraction of their rights, and a violation of thoſe original capitularies which they had entered into with the crown, for the preſervation of their ancient immunities, and on the faith of which they became members of the kingdom. Upon this ſubject the attorney-general of Provence had the boldneſs to declare, that neither that aſſembly, the parliaments, nor the king himſelf, could aſſeſs any ſuch impoſt in the country which he repreſented, as being directly contrary to the ſpecific and indefeaſible rights of the people.

The impoſſibility of reconciling ſuch a variety of diſcordant intereſts rendered it manifeſt that the preſent convention was unequal to the greater objects for which it had been aſſembled, and that nothing leſs than an aſſemblage of the States-General of the kingdom, aſſiſted by the inſtruction or advice of the reſpective provincial ſtates, particularly in all that related to their own peculiar rights and privileges, could effectually remove the preſent grievances, by ſuch permanent arrangements of the public revenues and expences, as ſhould render the crown for the future eaſy in its pecuniary affairs, and the burthens of the people as light as their nature would admit.

But though the convention of the Notables were unable to complete the grand object of reform, they nevertheleſs propoſed many uſeful and beneficial regulations, which were adopted by the court, both with reſpect to ſeveral of the taxes and Gabelles themſelves, to the mode of levying them, to the perſons employed in the collection, and to the boards or offices which were to regulate and govern the aſſeſſments. But as theſe only extended to parts, and to the removal of the more glaring and obvious grievances, they did but tend more clearly to evince the neceſſity of ſuch an efficient power as would be finally concluſive, and of acting upon a ſyſtem of reform ſo comprehenſive as to embrace the whole aggregate of grievance and evil.

Whatever the future good effects might be to the nation, the crown could not but be grievouſly diſappointed at the failure of the grand object for the accompliſhment of which it had ſummoned the convention, viz.—the obtaining immediate relief for its preſent

preſent moſt urgent neceſſities; it had been intended to raiſe a loan of one hundred and twelve millions of livres upon the expected land tax; but though the miniſters had declared it to be a matter of ſuch indiſpenſable neceſſity, that government could ſcarcely otherwiſe exerciſe its neceſſary functions, the turn which affairs had taken in the aſſembly rendered it impoſſible.

The king, however, bore the diſappointment with ſuch admirable temper, that the convention and he parted with every appearance of the moſt perfect confidence and cordiality on both ſides. In his ſpeech, on diſſolving the aſſembly (on the twenty-fifth of May) he acknowledged, that they had fulfilled his expectations in aſſiſting him with their counſels, and delivering their ſentiments with that freedom and truth which he was ever willing to hear: that he was thoroughly ſatisfied with their indefatigable zeal and attention, in examining the objects he had communicated to them: that they had not only inſtituted proper enquiries into a variety of abuſes, but had ſuggeſted the means for reforming them: that they had done much towards the attainment of the grand object, of reducing the expences of the ſtate to a level with the public revenue, by the accurate enquiry which they made into the deficiencies and their cauſes, by pointing out the different economical ſavings which might properly be effected, and in affording time for the effect to operate, by the temporary proviſional taxes which, for the intermediate time, they had recommended as the moſt proper to be laid upon his ſubjects. He concluded by declaring that it afforded him great conſolation to think, that the form and method of theſe new impoſts would not be ſo burthenſome as thoſe of former times; the only wiſh of his heart being that of rendering his people as contented and as happy as poſſible.

Lewis, being diſappointed of the relief which he had expected to derive from the Notables, and having only received from that aſſembly ſuch aſſiſtance as was wholly inadequate to ſupply the immediate urgent neceſſities of government, was obliged to have recourſe to the uſual mode of raiſing money, by the promulgation of royal edicts. Among the meaſures propoſed for this purpoſe, was the doubling of the poll-tax, the reeſtabliſhment of the third-twentieth, and a ſtamp-duty. The parliament, however, remonſtrated, in ſtrong terms, againſt the whole inſiſting, that, before they granted, or concurred in raiſing any money, a true account of the ſtate of the finances, and of the purpoſes to which ſuch money was to be applied, ſhould be laid before them. The tax upon ſtamps became the immediate object of contention; and the parliament determined not to regiſter the edict, and preſented the following ſpirited remonſtrance to the crown:

" A moſt reſpectful addreſs, Sire, together with the juſt claims of the nation, has
" been humbly laid at the foot of the throne, by your majeſty's moſt dutiful and faith-
" ful ſubjects. The bare propoſal of a duty on paper has alarmed every individual.
" After a glorious peace of five years, and a progreſſive increaſe of at leaſt one hundred
" and thirty millions of livres in thirteen years, it ſeems as if the name of impoſt ſhould

" iſſue from the mouth of a beneficent monarch, except in rendering it leſs onerous, or " diminiſhing the number of theſe already exiſting. What was our ſurprize, then, " Sire, when we were told that new taxes were projecting by the Notables; and that a " new one, of a moſt diſtreſſing kind, was to be offered for the *approbation* of parlia- " ment!

" The firſt reflection that naturally occurs at the very mention of a new duty, is to " enquire into the actual ſtate of the finances. What an adminiſtration muſt the laſt " have been, if the evils that reſult from it require ſuch a deſperate remedy!—Your " majeſty muſt remember how we ſtrove, in 1784 and 1786, to give you a faithful pic- " ture of the real ſituation of the ſtate, which ſeemed then (or your miniſtry endeavour- " ed to make it appear ſo) as if inclined to take a better turn; but the truth was, that " the ſtate was more involved in difficulties than ever. Your parliament then, Sire, did " every thing in their power, but in vain, to ſet truth in its cleareſt light; ſome of your " miniſters were too deeply intereſted in the concealment of it from your majeſty; all " our humble remonſtrances proved uſeleſs; and there were ſome of your council who " went ſo far as to make you ſuſpect the purity of our patriotic intentions: the dread- " ful ſituation of affairs, however, required a ſpeedy and efficacious remedy. The Not- " ables, aſſembled by your majeſty's orders, have withdrawn the veil that covered that " undermining adminiſtration: a dreadful ſpectacle preſented itſelf to the eye of the aſ- " toniſhed nation; an immenſe deficiency was very viſible in the treaſury; and every " body haſtened to propoſe the means of filling it up, and affording a ſpeedy remedy. " How grievous to the paternal heart of your majeſty muſt ſuch a diſcovery have been! " How muſt your aſtoniſhment and ſorrow have encreaſed, when you reflected on the " fatal errors in which your miniſters had long and purpoſely kept you!

" Such is the conſequence, Sire, when the choice of miniſters falls on perſons that are " obnoxious to the nation in general: ſuch is the great, but ſad, example, that teaches " monarchs how far they muſt reſpect the public opinion, ſeldom ſuſceptible of error, " becauſe men united together rarely give or receive an impreſſion contrary to truth. " In point of adminiſtration, Sire, the pureſt hands are ſcarcely pure enough. A firſt " condeſcenſion, or, rather, a firſt wrong ſtep, leads to a ſecond; no bounds can circum- " ſcribe the imprudent miniſter, when once he ſwerves from his duty; ſucceſſive abuſes " produce an utter confuſion, and a fatal diſorder; the deep wounds inflicted on the " conſtitution demand a remedy; and this, even when certain, will operate but a " ſlow cure.

" O! may your majeſty deign to pauſe awhile on one of thoſe ſalutary reflections, " the importance of which has been acknowledged by all good monarchs.—Evil may " happen in a ſingle inſtant, but whole years are ſcarce ſufficient to repair the miſchief

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" it occaſions. The vices of an adminiſtration, or, which is the inevitable effect of " them, the involuntary error of a juſt monarch, will ſorely diſtreſs whole generations.

" It is not the intention of your parliament, Sire, to grieve your majeſty's moſt feeling " heart, by expatiating at preſent on a ſubject ſo afflicting, and recalling a thought ſo " unpleaſant; but they take the liberty of humbly intreating your majeſty to weigh " often theſe important reflections, in ſome of thoſe moments devoted to ſilent medita- " tion on the welfare and happineſs of your ſubjects. It now behoves your parliament " to enter, with a noble freedom, upon a ſubject propoſed by your majeſty yourſelf; we " mean the projected retrenchments and ſchemes of economy. We earneſtly entreat " you, Sire, to be upon your guard againſt the emotions and propenſities of your tender " heart, in order that the economy already begun may continue, and thoſe reforms adopt- " ed and ſettled be of conſtant duration. When a pure and enlightened adminiſtration en- " deavours to eſtabliſh certain principles of economy, it generally meets with ſome an- " cient cuſtoms that ſeem to have been long attached to the conſtitution, and to enjoy " the right of preſcription. If the miniſter acts with firmneſs, he is immediately " blamed for his imprudence; if with precaution, the world will cenſure his weakneſs! " What difficulties will not then, in ſuch a caſe, ſurround the monarch, and be inceſſant- " ly multiplying about him! Courtiers will publickly approve of, nay applaud, the pro- " jected reforms; but, in ſecret, they will try to weaken, and even prevent, their ef- " fect; all means will be employed to deceive him; it is then that art, addreſs, and fi- " neſſe, appear in a thouſand different forms, actuated by the moſt imperious of all " motives, perſonal intereſt: the ſovereign, thus beſet, and attacked on every ſide by " claims, ſuits, and petitions, is forced to liſten to importunate clamours, and, through the " goodneſs of his heart, often grants what could never be obtained through his juſtice.

" The moment the word *economy* is mentioned, it echoes through the room; the " cunning courtier apparently adopts the plan, and wiſhes to be numbered among the " great characters of the nation, whoſe example he affects to imitate; but he calculates " at the ſame time how long the economical reform may ſubſiſt, and how he may render " abortive the retrenchments that diminiſh either his credit or his revenues: all expences " but his own ſeem ſuſceptible of diminution: in a vaſt adminiſtration, the weakeſt pre- " texts are eaſily tinged with the colouring of reaſon; and that economy, which has " been ſo often courted, and always expected, appears and diſappears in an inſtant, leaving " a black cloud over the beautiful countenance of truth, which ſome faint rays had be- " gun to render conſpicuous.

" Theſe reflections, Sire, written in the annals of every nation, are the faithful hiſ- " tory of the human heart: never could the meditation on them be more intereſting to " your majeſty than at preſent, for the application ſuits exactly to the urgent circum- " ſtances of the times. The more vigour and firmneſs your majeſty ſhall ſhew for the

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" intended reforms, and ſalutary reſolutions, the more difficulties and obſtacles will cer-
" tainly impede the way; and experience may, perhaps, have already proved, that the
" perſons intereſted in theſe economical views begin to hint as if the propoſed ſums were
" equivocal and precarious, and the deductions agreed upon incompatible with old cuſ-
" toms, and unlikely to be of long duration.

" It is in your majeſty's power to enforce, with a laudable perſeverance, the order that
" muſt permanently eſtabliſh this eſſential reform. Every thing ſhould undergo the
" ſtricteſt enquiry. Your majeſty's juſtice, which is to us the ſureſt and moſt ſacred pledge,
" emboldens your parliament to lay before you, without danger of incurring your royal
" diſpleaſure, ſome of thoſe remarks and obſervations which muſt naturally have occur-
" red to you. Had you known, Sire, the real ſtate of your finances, you doubtleſs
" would not have undertaken thoſe immenſe edifices that are now building, nor made ſo
" many acquiſitions onerous to the ſtate; you would not have permitted ſo many ex-
" changes of the crown lands, nor granted thoſe exceſſive liberalities which the impor-
" tunate and intriguing ſeldom fail to obtain. The facility of procuring money from
" the treaſury (the fatal bane of all adminiſtrations) would never have been ſuffered to
" encreaſe, for it inceſſantly expoſes the ſovereign to ſome dangerous ſurprize; it ſquan-
" ders ſecretly the public revenue, and can never overbalance, with its pretended utility,
" the great inconveniences that invariably attend it; your majeſty would, certainly,
" never have conſented to have Paris ſurrounded with ſuch a magnificent wall [11]; to ſee
" palaces erected for your exciſe-officers, at an exorbitant expence, in order to coincide
" with the views of the farmers-general, who, in expectation of a precarious and diſtant
" gain, expend annually thoſe ſums that ſhould be appropriated to wants of more real
" neceſſity.

" All theſe objects, Sire, and many others, the enumeration of which would excite
" your aſtoniſhment, are ſuſceptible of correction: ſome require a conſiderable diminu-
" tion; others an entire ſuppreſſion. But it is not the total only of each department
" that ſhould be properly diminiſhed; every part of it ſhould be ſcrupulouſly examined,
" and diveſted of all its ſuperfluous charges; it ſhould be reduced to the ſimple and abſo-
" lutely neceſſary expence: in ſo doing, your majeſty might eaſily double the intend-
" ed reform of forty millions of livres, and this might then prove a real relief to your
" ſuffering ſubjects.

" Theſe are honourable economies, Sire, that, far from diminiſhing the ſplendour of
" a throne, add to its luſtre, and encreaſe its dignity. Majeſty itſelf may ſubmit to pri-

[11] The capital had been recently encloſed with a wall, at the expence of the farmers-general, in order to prevent the evaſion of the heavy duties impoſed upon almoſt every article that entered Paris.

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" vations. The ſovereign is always great when his ſubjects are happy; and the ſight of " happineſs ſpread over a whole people is ſo pompous and brilliant, that it commands " public admiration, and extorts univerſal applauſe.

" Theſe diminutions, ſuppreſſions, reforms, and economies, ſo often ſolicited by your " parliaments, demanded by the Notables, and promiſed by their ſpirited and juſt perſe- " verance, are daily wiſhed for and expected by the unhappy huſbandman, whoſe tears " bedew the very field that contributes to ſo many uſeleſs expences before it has furniſh- " ed the neceſſary ſubſiſtance, for himſelf and family, to the perſon who ſowed it; and " who, deprived of the common neceſſaries, is forced to take from his poverty itſelf " ſomething towards ſupplying the exigencies of the ſtate.

" Theſe unhappy beings, Sire, Frenchmen by birth, and MEN, have a double right to " enjoy their ſacred property, even in the boſom of indigence; but as they cannot claim " it themſelves at your majeſty's feet, let their claims and their rights be ever preſent " before you; let their complaints find their way to the throne, and reach your royal " perſon; let them hear your gracious anſwer, and let them know that your majeſty's " goodneſs and juſtice are the firmeſt ſupporters they can hope to find near the throne.

" *The French never conſult any intereſt inſeparable from the throne; they are always biaſſed* " *by their ſincere attachment to their monarch; in their fervent zeal and enthuſiaſtic ardour* " *for the royal cauſe*, they have been capable of the greateſt ſacrifices; and they may " fancy the ways and means of the nation as unbounded as their affection. Theſe ways " and means, therefore, muſt be properly managed, and uſed at proper times. It ſhould " be likewiſe conſidered, that the contributions proceeding from the impoſts granted to " the monarchs are only intended as ſubſidies to the ſtate, and that the ſovereign is but " the diſtributor of whatever is not employed for the public weal, which naturally be- " longs to thoſe who co-operate in levying the contributions; and, if they are directed " from their chief and primitive intent, their fertile ſource will ſoon become inſuffi- " cient, and, in a ſhort time, exhauſted, particularly if the expences encreaſe in pro- " portion to the receipt.

" All kinds of impoſts ſhould be proportioned to the neceſſary wants of the nation, " and end with them. Each citizen contributes part of his property for the ſake of " maintaining public ſafety and private tranquillity. The people, on ſuch principles, " founded on the rights of mankind, and confirmed by reaſon; ſhould never increaſe their " contributions but when the expences of the ſtate have undergone all the ſavings, al- " terations, and retrenchments, of which they are capable. It is for this reaſon, there- " fore, that your parliament, Sire, look upon the duty on ſtamped paper as entirely op- " poſite to theſe primitive notions. It would affect the private tranquillity, by neceſ-

" ſarily

" farily opening a way to errors, and would thereby prove far more dangerous than the " *Gabelle*, which was liable to open frauds. The moſt cloſe and habitual attention " could hardly be ſufficient to diſtinguiſh the numberleſs ſtamped papers that are to ſerve " for each reſpective act of juſtice or common tranſaction.

" What miſtakes will not the greateſt part of your ſubjects be liable to, by inter- " changing theſe papers, and making uſe of the one for the other! Many writings, by " ſuch involuntary faults, may appear counterfeited in the eye of juſtice; and the un- " wary individual will find himſelf daily expoſed to pay exorbitant fines, or to encounter " diſagreeable and burthenſome ſuits at law.

" Such a duty, Sire, is likewiſe incompatible with public ſafety, as it would deeply " wound that mutual confidence which conſtitutes its ſureſt foundation. Individuals " would be afraid of producing unſtamped bills or notes before a tribunal; and, in this " age, where there are ſuch frequent inſtances of perſons taking all ſorts of advantages, " and commencing or prolonging vexatious and endleſs ſuits, a wiſe legiſlature ſhould be " very careful not to introduce new ſubjects of chicanery. Beſides, our public truſt, " Sire, and our national dignity, abſolutely forbad the introduction of ſuch a dangerous " duty.

" The moment a declaration is iſſued, which is generally vicious in almoſt all its diſ- " poſitions, a ſeducing facility of extending its meaning or duration occurs, and pre- " tences are not wanting for impoſing plauſibly on the public. Experience ſupplies us " with too many examples of this nature. The two ſous and the eight ſous per livre, " for inſtance; the ſecond warrant for the poll-tax, and ſo many other inventions, " which the fertile genius of financiers has imagined, and is never at a loſs to find for " overcharging the ſubjects, are but a continuation and extenſion of a duty, ſimple in " its origin; and ſuch an extenſion, Sire, is often diveſted of any legal authority, and " only collected in virtue of the miniſter's mandate. Without mentioning, Sire, the " multiplicity of marks, precautions, and fines, annexed to and attending the duty on " ſtamped paper, it is certain that it would cauſe a delay in public and private buſineſs, " and obſtruct the common daily tranſactions. All delay is dangerous, and all obſtruc- " tion muſt produce delay. A bill of exchange, improperly ſtamped, would be liable to " a fine; the fine muſt be paid immediately by the poſſeſſor of the bill; he, therefore, " would be obliged to advance the ſum for the time, pay inſtead of receive, and lie out " of his money until the expiration of his unlucky bill. He would be a ſufferer for the " faults of others, and ſuch faults might be renewed ſeveral times in one and the ſame " day, in the very ſame hour; his payments muſt be affected by it, and his credit called " in queſtion. Thence miſtruſt and doubts will neceſſarily ariſe; and you know, Sire, " that there ſubſiſts a kind of chain in the courſe of exchanges, that ſtrongly binds all

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" the commercial part of mankind in the known world. Our trading towns would loſe, " in the eyes of a foreigner, that level or advantage they were wont to enjoy. In ſhort, " were not ſuch a duty extremely onerous in itſelf, its unlimited duration muſt excite a " general alarm. We have often ſeen taxes, limited in time, prolonged even after the " intention of the ſupply had been amply fulfilled; but we did not expect to ſee one " that is to laſt perpetually, at the very time when a certain period was mentioned for " diminiſhing the national debt.

" Lewis the Fourteenth eſtabliſhed the Poll-tax in 1695, and the Tenth in 1710. The " misfortunes that marked the latter end of his reign, the heavy loſſes he then ſuſtained, " and the invaſion of the kingdom induced him to venture on the adoption of a mea- " ſure, the ſucceſs of which he very much doubted in his own mind. That *Great* " monarch, finding himſelf obliged to impoſe ſuch a duty, ſeemed to be doubtful whether " he had a right to impoſe it; and if parliament then thought it their duty to have it " regiſtered, it was becauſe the contribution was to laſt but a ſhort time; it was chiefly " becauſe the exigencies of the ſtate ſeemed to require a ſpeedy redreſs; had it not been " for theſe ſubſtantial reaſons, Sire, Lewis the Fourteenth would have acknowledged, " that it was the nation alone, re-united in the three general ſtates, that could give the " neceſſary conſent for eſtabliſhing a perpetual tax—that parliament were never inveſt- " ed with ſuch a power [12], and that, *charged by the ſovereign to announce his will to the* " *people*, they had never been charged by the people *to repreſent them ſo implicitly.*

" This is what your reſpectful parliament now takes the liberty of mentioning to your " majeſty; and, penetrated with this truth, alarmed at the enormous deficiency, and " ſtricken with the deplorable diſorders that have produced it, and might render it per- " petual, they wiſh very much to ſee the whole nation aſſembled, before they regiſter " any new impoſt. The nation, alone, thus aſſembled, and acquainted with the true " ſtate of the finances, can extirpate the great abuſes which now exiſt, and afford ſuch " efficacious reſources as will prevent their return.

" 'Tis for you, Sire, that the honour was reſerved of renewing thoſe national aſſem- " blies which rendered the reign of Charlemagne ſo great and illuſtrious; aſſemblies

[12] Lewis the Fourteenth, with regard to whom the parliament here adopts the adulatory language of his age, by affixing to his name the appellation of *Great*, would, moſt certainly, not only have denied that the parliament were ever inveſted with the power of eſtabliſhing a perpetual impoſt, but that they had ever poſſeſſed even the negative power of preventing the eſtabliſhment of any tax; he would probably have limited their functions to the adminiſtration of juſtice, and have confined their privileges to thoſe which were immediately annexed to their office as magiſtrates; with reſpect to the regiſtration of fiſcal edicts, he would have conſidered them as only "charged by "the ſovereign to announce his will to the people;"—and as to the power of granting or withholding ſupplies, directly or indirectly, he would have adopted the idea of Voltaire, that there was no more affinity between *les Parlemens de France* and the parliaments of England, than between a commercial conſul at Smyrna, and a conſul of ancient Rome. Had the parliament forgotten this circumſtance—that when a magiſtrate was delivering a long ſpeech in the preſence of Lewis the Fourteenth, in which were theſe words "*The king and the ſtate*"—that monarch interrupted the orator in a manner the moſt abrupt by exclaiming—"*The ſtate! Why, that's me!*"

" that repaired all the diſaſtrous calamities of king John, and concurred with parliament
" to re-eſtabliſh Charles the Seventh on the throne. All the world is now convinced
" of the truth of this maxim—*that myſtery generally accompanies weakneſs and miſtruſt—*
" *that the greater authority is, the more confidence and candour it ſhould inſpire—and that*
" *entruſting the provincial aſſemblies with part of the adminiſtration, inſtead of weakening it,*
" *would enlighten it, and encreaſe its activity.* Your Notables, Sire, ſo wiſely ſelected by
" your majeſty, have aſſiſted the throne with their councils, and unveiled the long-
" hidden countenance of truth, which you was determined to ſee. How happy now are
" the members of this aſſembly in preſenting you, Sire, with the effuſions of that truth
" they ſtrongly feel in their hearts!—*The monarch of France can never be ſo great as when*
" *ſurrounded by his happy ſubjects: he has nothing to fear but the exceſs of their attachment.*
" *he has no other precaution to take but to be upon his guard againſt iſſuing orders that may be*
" *beyond their power to fulfil.* By a perfect union between the ſovereign and the people,
" each party will be a gainer; and a monarch can never err in following the ſteps of the
" hero of the ſecond race, who forced from the unanimous lips of admiring Europe the
" name of Great, which he certainly deſerved by protecting juſtice and his people with
" the ſame arm which ſtruck terror to his enemies; nor thoſe of a Charles the Fifth,
" whom poſterity, the impartial judge of kings, has dignified with the title of Wiſe;
" nor thoſe of Lewis the Twelfth, who, in one of thoſe aſſemblies, had the ſweet ſa-
" tisfaction of hearing himſelf proclaimed the Father of his People; nor thoſe, in ſhort,
" of Henry the Fourth, whoſe name, ſtill ſo dear to the French, is an honour to hu-
" manity, and daily receives from our grateful hearts a copious tribute of tears.

" Your parliament, Sire, waiting with impatience for the happy and long-wiſhed for
" moment, when a juſt monarch will deign to ſpread his benign influence over a faithful
" nation, and grant their requeſts, moſt reſpectfully entreat your majeſty to recall and
" annull the declaration of the ſtamp-duty, as altogether incompatible with the preſent
" ſituation of affairs; a duty that, were it to be enforced, would cauſe univerſal diſcon-
" tent and ſorrow to all the realm; and the bare mention of which has already ſpread a
" general alarm through the kingdom."

This remonſtrance, though it contains much good reaſoning, and many ſalutary admo-
nitions, was by no means concluſive as to the point of parliamentary interpoſition. The
advice to aſſemble the ſtates was indiſputably wholeſome, and demanded the moſt ſerious
attention of the monarch; but the neceſſity of the caſe would not admit of delay, and
Lewis was obliged to apply, as the laſt reſort, to his abſolute authority, by holding a bed
of juſtice, and compelling the parliament to regiſter the diſputed edict [13].

[13] It was upon this occaſion, that the count d'Artois, the king's youngeſt brother, who had before ſtood favour-
ably in the public opinion, completely forfeited his claims to popularity. The firſt preſident of the parliament ha-

On the ſeventh of Auguſt, the day after the regiſtering of the edict, the parliament entered a formal proteſt, endued with a new and extraordinary extent of operation, againſt this conceſſion which had been extorted from them. They declared, that it had been regiſtered againſt their *approbation and conſent*, by the king's expreſs command; that the edict neither ought to, nor *ſhould*, have any force; and that the firſt perſon who ſhould preſume to attempt to enforce its execution, ſhould be *adjudged a traitor, and condemned to the gallies.* This conduct was ſtill more unconſtitutional than the arbitrary exertion of regal authority, ſanctioned, as it was, in this inſtance, by the imperious plea of neceſſity; the aſſumption of *legiſlative* power, by a court of juſtice, was an innovation of the moſt alarming nature,—an innovation not more dangerous than it was preposterous. The parliament ſeem to have loſt their wiſdom with their temper; their proteſt breathes a very different ſpirit from their remonſtrance; and the manner in which they now conducted their oppoſition tended to annihilate even that lawful authority which by the conſtitution was veſted in the crown;—that oppoſition too was rendered ſtill more formidable by its receiving the ſanction of all the other parliaments, who, alas! were little aware that, by this means, they contributed to raiſe a flame which was deſtined to conſume themſelves.

Such was now the ſituation of affairs, that the king was reduced to the abſolute neceſſity of either proceeding to extremities in the ſupport of his authority, or of giving up, for ever, the power of raiſing money upon any occaſion, however immediate or urgent, without the conſent of the parliament. In the mean time, every circumſtance that occurred ſerved to indicate an approaching ſtorm. Paris had, ſince the commencement of the diſputes, been ſo filled with troops, that it rather wore the appearance of a military camp, under military law, than that of a great and peaceable capital, under the government of a civil magiſtracy, and its own municipal laws. All the avenues to the *Palais*, where the different chambers of parliament held their meetings, were occupied by ſoldiers; and the members, in their way to and from the places of their reſidence, were obliged to paſs through rows of bayonets. Indeed, the Pariſians afforded, in ſome degree, a colour for this meaſure, by the unprecedented and unreſtrained licence they aſſumed, in ſpeaking, writing, and acting, upon public and political affairs. So great was the intereſt they now took in thoſe matters, ſuch was the freedom of their ſpeech in diſcuſſing thoſe topics, that a ſtranger, but for the appearance of the troops, might eaſily have fancied himſelf in the capital of a republic. This licence was carried ſo far by the populace, that even a military force proved inadequate to the protection of the count

ing, in a very ſpirited ſpeech, declared the cauſes upon which that body grounded their refuſal of regiſtering the ſtamp-tax, that prince exclaimed, with vehemence, "that if he were king, they ſhould comply;" upon which the preſident, making a low-bow, replied, "If you were king, I ſhould ſay what I have now ſaid; my heart is the people's; my underſtanding is my own; and my head is the king's."

d'Artois from the moſt unequivocal marks of public indignation and hatred; while monſieur (the king's next brother) by purſuing a different line of conduct, was loaded with praiſes and benedictions whenever he appeared.

Some few days after the parliament had entered the proteſt, an officer of the French guards, with a party of ſoldiers, went, at break of day, to the houſe of each individual member, to ſignify to him the king's command, that he ſhould immediately get into his carriage and proceed to Troyes, without writing or ſpeaking to any perſon out of his own houſe before his departure. Theſe orders being ſerved upon all at the ſame inſtant, and carried into immediate execution, all diſorder was thereby ſo effectually prevented, that the parliament was far advanced on its way to the ſcene of baniſhment, before the Pariſians were apprized of the circumſtance.

But the ſtop put to public buſineſs, and the diſorders occaſioned by the baniſhment of the parliament, were ſo ſenſibly felt, and the diſſatisfaction of the people upon that event was ſo great, that the crown could not long perſevere in maintaining that hoſtile mark of its reſentment. The court was alſo in itſelf ſo apparently weak and divided, and ſuch continual changes took place in the different departments of ſtate, that it evidently wanted every thing that could confer dignity on its conduct, or afford ſtability to its meaſures. Some appearance of vigour was, however, aſſumed by the publication of an edict, by which the late reſolutions of the parliament were declared to be illegal and null: but no meaſures being adopted for giving effect to this edict, nor any attempt made to enforce the taxes, it paſſed as nothing. But the turbulence of the Pariſians was effectually curbed by a guard of twelve thouſand men, ſtationed in the capital, and beſides the continual patroles by night and day, ſubaltern officers, with ſmall detachments of ſoldiers, were poſted at the corners of every ſtreet. The king, in the mean time, was employed in the laudable taſk of making continual retrenchments in his houſhold, and other departments.

The chamber of accounts and the court of aids having likewiſe proteſted againſt the new taxes, and petitioned the king to convene an aſſembly of the States-General, as the only means of reſtoring the public confidence and tranquillity; the monarch, in ſome parts of his anſwer, ſeemed to diſdain the lofty language of his predeceſſors, by entering into what appeared like ſome juſtification of his conduct, without a formal aſſumption of that name or character. He began, however, by telling them that it was not the buſineſs of his courts of juſtice to demand a convocation of the States-General; it belonged to him alone to determine whether it was proper; and as he ſaw it was not neceſſary, they ſhould not have renewed their demand; that he had already done more for his people than they now required: that he had granted them provincial aſſemblies, which were the moſt competent to make known the wants and wiſhes of the whole kingdom; that he

ſhould

ſhould never oppoſe whatever the wants of the people might require: that he had transferred his parliament from Paris to Troyes, becauſe that aſſembly had excited a ferment among the people, which their preſence would only ſerve to nouriſh and encreaſe: that he ſhould judge of the time proper for its reſtoration: that his principal object had ever been the diſcovery of the truth: that it was his duty to inſiſt on his full power in having his edicts regiſtered: if there were any inconveniences in the execution of them, his parliament was wrong in not making him acquainted with them: that he ſhould receive with pleaſure the remarks and ſupplications of the two petitioning courts, who might expect every thing from his juſtice, and his regard to his people; but that they ought to conſider the combination of circumſtances, and to obſerve, that he was under a neceſſity of purſuing ſuch meaſures as would beſt enable him faithfully to fulfil his engagements.

While things were in this ſituation, the unexpected arrival, without leave or notice, of the firſt preſident of the parliament from Troyes at Verſailles, while it excited general aſtoniſhment, afforded a gleam of ſatisfaction and hope to the public. The preſident was diſpatched by that body to the king, to repreſent, in ſtrong colours, the ruinous ſituation to which his country would be inevitably reduced by a perſeverance in thoſe meaſures which he had been adviſed to purſue; that all public buſineſs was at a ſtand; and that, though the conſequences of ſuch a ſtate of affairs could not be preciſely aſcertained, yet it was evident that diſorder, confuſion, and perhaps danger to the public tranquillity, were the probable reſults. As the court wiſhed for the occaſion, a negociation immediately commenced, and an accommodation ſoon took place. The king agreed to give up the ſtamp duty, and the territorial impoſt, and to give ſatisfaction to parliament in ſome other reſpects. This was an impolitic meaſure, as it ſanctioned, in a certain degree, the encroachments of parliament, and might be conſtrued into a tacit acknowledgment of their right—a right they had aſſumed in direct violation of the fundamental principles of the French conſtitution—to annul, by withholding their approbation and conſent, the edicts of the crown. A vigorous government would eaſily have cruſhed their oppoſition, for the two edicts in queſtion had been enregiſtered according to the uſual forms in a bed of juſtice, which, from the undiſputed ſanction of ages, conferred on them all the efficacy and force of laws; but the enfeebled ſtate of the court, the want of vigour in its councils, along, probably, with an ill-founded hope, and an *ill-timed* deſire of accommodation, ſerved altogether to induce the king to ſubmit to this dangerous inroad upon his authority, and to relinquiſh theſe decrees, which could alone have enabled him to conduct the buſineſs of government with ſecurity and effect.

The preſident of the parliament, in a ſpeech to the king, conveyed the moſt ample acknowledgments from that body of their grateful ſenſe of his equity and juſtice, and of his affection for his ſubjects in withdrawing the obnoxious edicts, accompanied with aſſurances of their grateful concurrence in all his majeſty's beneficial views for relieving the people,

people, and rendering them happy. The king's anſwer was exceedingly gracious, containing profeſſions of the moſt perfect confidence in the fidelity and loyalty of the parliament, and of the greateſt affection for his ſubjects.

But theſe indications of a conciliatory diſpoſition in the contending parties too ſoon diſappeared, and the flame, that was ſmothered for a while, burſt forth with additional violence. A determined oppoſition to the meaſures of government was diſplayed in the provinces, which ſeemed to vie with each other in the boldneſs and energy of their proceedings. Among various inſtances of this ſpirit of reſiſtance, the parliament of Grenoble paſſed a decree againſt *Lettres de Cachet*, by which it was rendered a capital crime for any perſon, under any authority, to attempt the execution of thoſe letters within their juriſdiction. This decree, though calculated to promote a ſalutary purpoſe, inaſmuch as *Lettres de Cachet* were the moſt dreadful inſtruments of arbitrary power,—inſtruments which the law reprobated, and the conſtitution diſavowed—was highly deſerving of cenſure, ſince it betrayed the moſt unwarrantable aſſumption of legiſlative authority; an authority as repugnant to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, and as liable to abuſe, as the deſpotic power which had been aſſumed by the crown, ſince the days of the fourth Henry.

The neceſſities of the ſtate meanwhile continued, nor could the deficiency in the revenue be ſtopped but by extraordinary reſources, or a long and uninterrupted courſe of frugality. The king, therefore, was reduced to the neceſſity of providing for the immediate exigencies by the eſtabliſhment of a loan. For this purpoſe, in a very full meeting of the parliament, (on the ſeventh of November) attended by all the princes of the blood, great officers of ſtate, and peers of France, he repaired to the *Palais*; and preſented for regiſtration two edicts; one for a new loan of four hundred and fifty millions of livres (about eighteen millions ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling) and the other for the re-eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtants in all their ancient civil rights; a meaſure which had been ſome time in agitation, but the progreſs of which had been impeded by the late diſputes. The monarch introduced his edicts by the following ſpeech:

"Gentlemen, I am come to this aſſembly to recall to my parliament thoſe principles "from which it ought never to deviate, and to hear what you have to ſay upon two "great acts of adminiſtration and legiſlation, which to me have appeared neceſſary. The "principles which I mean to recall to your recollection, conſtitute a part of the eſ"ſence of the monarchy, and I will not ſuffer them to be unknown or changed. I had "no need of ſolicitations to aſſemble the notables of my kingdom. I ſhall never be "afraid of being among my ſubjects. A king of France is never more happy than "when he enjoys their love and fidelity; but it is I only who am to judge of the uſe "and

" and neceſſity of thoſe aſſemblies, and I will not ſuffer myſelf to be indiſcreetly im-
" portuned for that which ought to be expected from my wiſdom, and the love I bear to
" my people, whoſe intereſts are inſeparable from my own. The act of adminiſtration
" which I propoſe to myſelf is an edict, containing a creation of ſucceſſive loans for five
" years. I wiſhed to have no farther recourſe to the aid of loans; but order and econo-
" my muſt have time to make them effectual. Limited and well-calculated loans will
" retard the operations of the former, but they will not prevent them. No new impoſts
" will be eſtabliſhed, and my engagements will be fulfilled. I will ever maintain, by
" the moſt conſtant and undivided protection, the holy religion in which I have the hap-
" pineſs to have been born, and I will not permit it to ſuffer the ſmalleſt diminution in
" my kingdom. But I am of opinion, that this ſame religion commands me not to
" leave a part of my ſubjects deprived of their natural rights, and what the ſtate of ſociety
" promiſes them. My parliament ought to reckon upon my confidence and affection;
" but they ought to merit them, by confining themſelves within the functions confided
" to their execution by the kings my predeceſſors; being careful not to depart from,
" nor refuſe them, and more particularly never to fail in giving to my ſubjects an ex-
" ample of fidelity and ſubmiſſion. My keeper of the ſeals will communicate to you
" my intentions."

This ſpeech, to ſay the leaſt of it, was certainly ill-timed: exertions of vigour, with regard to the unconſtitutional encroachments of the parliament, ſhould have been made at the time ſuch encroachments were committed; the arguments here adduced would then have been well-applied; but after an accommodation had taken place, all retroſpectic remarks ſhould have been avoided, as hoſtile to that conciliatory ſpirit which it was the intereſt of all parties to promote. The cenſure caſt upon the parliament, for their conduct in ſoliciting an aſſembly of the Notables, was highly improper, as in ſo doing they had ſtrictly diſcharged their duty, and only exerted that right of petitioning, which every ſubject in the kingdom indiſputably poſſeſſed.

As ſoon as the king had finiſhed his ſpeech, permiſſion was announced for *every* member of the aſſembly to deliver his ſentiments *without reſtraint*; a licence which produced, as might naturally be ſuppoſed, a very warm debate on the ſubject of the loan, that was ſupported with equal perſeverance by the court-party, and by that which oppoſed the regiſtration. The diſcuſſion had continued till ſix o'clock in the evening, when the king, who had ſat nine hours without taking any refreſhment, being wearied with the length of the arguments, and preſſed by hunger, ſuddenly roſe, and commanded the edict to be regiſtered without farther delay. This ſummary mode of proceeding was, moſt unexpectedly, oppoſed by the duke of Orleans, who, conſidering it as a direct infringement of the rights of parliament, immediately proteſted againſt the whole proceedings of the day, as being thereby rendered null and void. The king aſtoniſhed, however

however repeated his orders, and then quitting the aſſembly, returned to Verſailles without breaking his faſt.

Upon his departure the parliament reſolved, that as the votes had not, according to their ſtanding orders, been regularly counted, and as their deliberations had been interrupted, they could not conſider themſelves as having any ſhare in the buſineſs of that ſitting; thereby confirming the proteſt of the duke of Orleans, and rendering the proceedings totally void. On the evening of the following day, the baron de Breteuil preſented a letter to the duke of Orleans from the king, in which he was conciſely informed, that his majeſty had reaſon to be diſſatisfied with his conduct; that he ordered him to retire to Villars-Cotteret (one of his ſeats, about fifteen leagues from Paris) where he was to receive no company except that of his own family; that he ſhould depart immediately, and ſleep at Reincy, four leagues from Paris, where, for the preſent night, he ſhould ſee none of his family, nor any perſon belonging to his houſe. On the ſame day the Abbé Sabatiere, and monſieur Freteau, both members of the parliament, and who had both diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the late debate, were, notwithſtanding the freedom of ſpeech which was then proclaimed, both taken up and ſent off guarded, under the authority of *Lettres de Cachet*, the firſt to the priſon of Mount Saint Michael—an impregnable and almoſt inacceſſible rock on the coaſt of Normandy,—and the other to a priſon in Picardy.

The parliament did not reſt contented under theſe acts of oppreſſion offered to their members, and the crown had now injudiciouſly afforded them but too juſt grounds of complaint. On the following day they waited on the king at Verſailles, where the firſt preſident, in a ſhort ſpeech, declared their aſtoniſhment and concern at underſtanding that a prince of his own royal blood had been exiled, and two members of their body impriſoned, for having declared in his preſence what their duty and conſciences dictated to them, in a ſitting wherein his majeſty himſelf had announced, that he came to take the ſenſe of the aſſembly by a plurality of ſuffrages: that, loſt in conſternation as they were at this incident, they humbly ſupplicated his majeſty to reſtore to a prince of his blood, and to the two magiſtrates, the liberty which they had thus loſt.

To this the king anſwered, that when he put away from his preſence a prince of his blood, his parliament ought to have believed, that he had very ſtrong reaſons for ſo doing: —that he had puniſhed two magiſtrates with whom he had reaſon to be diſſatisfied.

This laconic rebuff did not prevent the parliament from preſenting a very long, and a very ſpirited addreſs two days after, in which they declared, that the public affliction had preceded their approach to the foot of the throne: that the exile of the firſt prince of his blood, and the impriſonment of two magiſtrates, without any known cauſe, had excited

univerſal conſternation and grief:—Could it have been a crime to ſpeak the truth in the preſence of his majeſty?—to ſpeak it with a reſpectful frankneſs, which might have merited his approbation? His majeſty had come among them to demand their free ſuffrages: to give them on every occaſion was the *right* and the *duty* of parliament, and the intereſt of the king. He had come to the parliament, that he might ſit encircled with the love and with the wiſdom of his ſubjects. It was true the keeper of his ſeals had expreſſed to them his majeſty's ſentiments; but if they allowed that circumſtance to form any diſtinction, they ſhould do injuſtice to the ſimplicity of truth, and the real dictates of his majeſty's heart. If ſuch principles were to be eſtabliſhed, their counſel would, indeed, no longer come within the ſanctuary of juſtice, the aſylum of law; but as truth muſt be heard, it would break forth from the abode of terror and ſilence. If the duke of Orleans was guilty, they were alſo. It was worthy the firſt prince of the blood to repreſent to his majeſty, that he was transforming a meeting of the parliament into a bed of juſtice: his declaration only announced their ſentiments; his feelings had judged of their's; and if, by the effect of that concord, which nothing could deſtroy, between the wiſhes and the duty of the parliament, the duke of Orleans had ſhewn a courage worthy his birth and rank, he had no leſs manifeſted a heart zealous for his ſovereign's glory. "In fact, Sire, ſtrangers cannot conceive, poſterity will not believe, that we could be "expoſed to any danger in telling your majeſty that truth which you have demanded "in perſon. Your preſence is always accompanied with favour: muſt it henceforth "produce fear and affliction? A bed of juſtice would be leſs terrible than a ſitting of "parliament. Our loyalty to your majeſty could not prevent the ſuppreſſion of our "opinions, if our confidence, encouraged by yourſelf, were no other than the ſignal of "our exile or impriſonment."

They repreſented, in colours and terms equally ſtrong and pathetic, the cruel and unworthy treatment which the two ſuffering magiſtrates had received on the occaſion of their impriſonment, from thoſe baſeſt of mankind, the inſtruments of arbitrary power and of the police; as well as the ſtate of their confinement in horrid and loathſome priſons, where life was a continual puniſhment.—"If their exile be the re-"compence of the fidelity of the princes of your blood; if outrages and captivity "threaten the uprightneſs of the firſt magiſtrates of the kingdom, we may aſk our-"ſelves, with terror and grief, what will become of the laws, the public liberty, the na-"tional honour, and the manners of your majeſty's ſubjects; *thoſe manners ſo mild*, ſo "neceſſary to be preſerved for the common intereſt of the throne, and of the people. "Such deſigns, Sire, are foreign from your heart; ſuch examples are not the principles "of your majeſty. They ariſe from another ſource. Your parliament, Sire, moſt "humbly beſeeches your majeſty, as you value your glory, your high renown, to re-"move thoſe afflicting counſels, to conſult and liſten only to your own heart; and then "juſtice with humanity, encouraged by the return of the firſt prince of your blood,

" and by the releaſe of your two magiſtrates, will begin to efface an example, which " would end by the deſtruction of the laws, the degradation of the magiſtracy, univer- " ſal diſcouragement, and the triumph of the enemies to the honour of France."

A deputation, which returned, on the twenty-ſixth of November, received for anſwer that they had already been informed by the keeper of the ſeals, that the more goodneſs his majeſty ſhewed when he followed the inclinations of his heart, the more firmneſs he diſcovered when he thought he perceived any attempts to abuſe that kindneſs. This would be a ſufficient anſwer to their ſupplications: but he would add, that if he did not blame the concern they ſeemed to give themſelves about the detention of the two magiſtrates, he could not but diſapprove of their exaggeration of the circumſtances and conſequences of that meaſure, and of the diſpoſition they betrayed to aſcribe it to motives, which the freedom of opinion he allowed did not permit them to ſuggeſt. He owed no explanations to any body of the motives of his reſolutions; deſired them to endeavour no longer to join the particular cauſe of thoſe whom he had puniſhed, with the intereſts of any other ſubjects, or with that of the laws. All his ſubjects knew that his goodneſs was continually awake to their happineſs, and they felt its effects even in the acts of his juſtice. Every one was intereſted in the preſervation of public order, and it eſſentially belonged to his authority. If thoſe who had been charged with the execution of his orders had behaved in a manner contrary to his intentions, he would puniſh them. If the places where the two magiſtrates were detained was prejudicial to their health, he would order them to be removed. The ſentence of the two magiſtrates was in conſequence changed from impriſonment to exile, M. Freteau being ſent to one of his country ſeats, and the abbé Sabatiere to a convent of Benedictines; but it ſeems that this conceſſion was not obtained until a promiſe, on the part of the parliament, had been made that the edict for eſtabliſhing the loan of four hundred and fifty millions of livres, which had been the oſtenſible cauſe of this unfortunate difference, ſhould be regiſtered:—a promiſe, that was immediately fulfilled.

Still, however, the parliament betrayed a diſpoſition to inſiſt on thoſe points againſt which they originally remonſtrated; at an aſſembly of the great chamber of parliament, attended, as they informed the king, by the princes and peers of the realm, having taken his majeſty's anſwer into conſideration, they were charged to lay before him their repreſentations on the ſubject.

The boldneſs of opinion and energy of language diſplayed in this remonſtrance, which was improperly termed a *petition*, greatly ſurpaſſed any attempt that had yet been made to eſtabliſh an unlimited freedom of diſcuſſion on political topics. The monarch was openly and unequivocally told, that the magiſtracy of his kingdom, as well as every true citizen, were aſtoniſhed at the reproaches contained in his anſwer, and at the principles which

which it manifeſted; though they were far from attributing them to his perſonal ſentiments. The parliament ſupported and confirmed their former charge, relative to the indignities offered to their two members; and ſaid, that public decency had received a ſevere wound in the choice of the perſons who executed his orders on that occaſion. They ſtated, that in devoting themſelves to the public ſervice; in promiſing to releaſe his majeſty from the firſt duty which he owed to the nation, namely, that of juſtice; in bringing up their children to be ſubject to the ſame ſacrifice, they never could have ſuppoſed that they were expoſing themſelves and their children to misfortunes, and ſtill leſs to outrages of ſo heinous a nature. "But we do not come ſo much to claim your compaſſion, "as the protection of the laws. It is not to your humanity alone we addreſs ourſelves; "it is not a favour which your parliament ſolicits; it comes, Sire, to demand *juſtice*.— "That juſtice which is ſubject to regulations, independent of the will of man; even "kings themſelves are ſubſervient to them; that glorious prince, Henry the Fourth, ac- "knowledged that he had two ſovereigns, God, and the laws.

"One of theſe regulations is to condemn no one without a hearing; it is a duty in "all times, and in all places; it is the duty of all men; and your majeſty will allow "us to repreſent to you, that it is as obligatory on you, as on your ſubjects."

They obſerved, that the glorious privilege of ſhewing mercy to criminals belonged to the crown, but the act of condemning them was not one of its functions; the laws had placed that odious office in other hands; that painful and dangerous taſk the king could not exerciſe. And from theſe premiſes they had deduced this inference, that thoſe who adviſed the king to puniſh of his own accord, to puniſh without a trial, to order exiles, arreſts, and impriſonments, were guilty of wounding eternal juſtice, of violating the laws of the realm, and of deſtroying the moſt conſolatory prerogative which his majeſty poſſeſſed.

They concluded by ſaying—"It is, therefore, in the name of thoſe laws which preſerve "empires, in the name of that liberty of which we are the reſpectful interpreters and the "lawful mediators; in the name of your authority, of which we are the firſt and moſt "confidential miniſters, that we dare demand the trial or the liberty of the duke of Or- "leans, and the two exiled magiſtrates, who were impriſoned by a ſudden order, as con- "trary to the ſentiments as to the intereſts of your majeſty."

A. D. 1788.] The anſwer of the king was equally laconic and repulſive: the ſubſtance of it was, "That they ſhould not demand from his juſtice what ſolely depended "upon his will."

The parliament, therefore, perſiſted in their efforts: having appointed a time for taking the anſwer into conſideration, they paſſed ſeveral reſolutions, ſtrongly enforcing and

enlarging the principles advanced in their former remonſtrances. They charged the king with departing from the profeſſions holden out in ſome of his former declarations or anſwers. Their reprobation of *Lettres de Cachet* placed them in every point of view that could render them odious or terrible. They deſcribed them as being the common inſtruments of concealed views and private revenge; and they ſcrupled not to charge the monarchy with degenerating into actual deſpotiſm, through the nefarious abuſe of the king's authority, by miniſters uſing theſe letters, without any form of law or colour of juſtice, for depriving individuals of their liberty. They argued—and no ground of argument could poſſeſs greater ſtrength—that the ſame power which arbitrarily deprived the firſt prince of the blood and the two magiſtrates of their liberty, might, undoubtedly, with greater eaſe, attack that of all other citizens; and if the repeal of ſuch arbitrary orders depended only on the goodneſs and pleaſure of the monarch, it muſt naturally follow, that no Frenchman had any ſecurity for his liberty; that *Lettres de Cachet* were to have the effect of laws, and were to be conſidered as neceſſary and eſſential parts of government.

This principle they totally condemned, as ſubverting the moſt ſacred foundations of the conſtitution. They declared, that they, therefore, could not, and, indeed, that they ought not, to recur to the king's goodneſs, in order to obtain the liberty of the duke and of the two magiſtrates: ſuch a ſtep would be no leſs derogatory from the eſſential principles of the conſtitution, and of public order, than from the generous ſentiments of the ſufferers themſelves: that all his majeſty's ſubjects were equally intereſted in preventing the ſad effects of ſo dangerous a principle; and that they neither could themſelves, nor ever would, make any difference between the cauſe of the prince and the magiſtrates, and that of any other citizen whatever. They ſummed up the whole with repeating their declaration, that parliament, therefore, would never ceaſe to demand the liberty or the impeachment of the prince and the magiſtrates; and that, thinking themſelves equally bound to employ the ſame zeal and the ſame perſeverance for the welfare of all their fellow-citizens, they would not ceaſe to intreat his majeſty to grant and to inſure to every Frenchman that perſonal ſecurity, which was ſolemnly promiſed by the laws, and due to them by the principles of the conſtitution.

On the ſeventeenth of January, the parliament was ſent for to Verſailles, to receive the king's anſwer to this remonſtrance, which afforded as little ſatisfaction to that body as any of the preceding. They were informed, that although he had condeſcended to receive their repreſentations in behalf of the two magiſtrates whom he had puniſhed, he did not think proper to recall them; that, beſides, the manner in which their repreſentations were expreſſed was by no means ſuch as to deſerve his indulgence. On the ſubject of *Lettres de Cachet*, he aſſured them, that the lawful liberty of his ſubjects was as dear to

to him as to themſelves; but he, at the ſame time, declared, that he would not ſuffer his parliament to oppoſe the exerciſe of an authority, which the tranquillity of families ſo much and ſo often required; which magiſtrates themſelves ſo frequently ſolicited and implored; and of which he had the ſatisfaction to know that he had made a more moderate uſe than his predeceſſors. He then informed them, that the expreſſions made uſe of in their late reſolutions were as indiſcreet and improper as thoſe which they had uſed on the twenty-ſeventh of Auguſt in the former year: that he, therefore, ſuppreſſed the reſolutions of both thoſe days, as being contrary to that reſpect and ſubmiſſion which his parliament owed, and was bound to ſet an example of to all his ſubjects. He concluded by forbidding them to purſue ſuch a conduct, or to form any ſuch reſolutions in future.

So little effect did this prohibition produce, that the parliament, on the ſucceeding day, paſſed a new ſet of reſolutions, which, beſides reiterating the principal arguments and poſitions of the former pieces, held out ſuch new matter, as, if it could not add much to their force, was, however, well calculated to operate upon the minds of the people, which were already extremely inflamed in every part of the kingdom.

The conteſt was continued, in this manner, for ſome time longer, the apparent firmneſs on one ſide being met with an equal degree of perſeverance on the other; nor, in the mean time, was it at all clear, whatever conceſſions had been made, or even if all the claims of the parliament had been granted, that the latter had left it in their power to relieve the crown from its diſtreſſes, or conſequently to enable it to carry on the buſineſs of government. This proceeded from their unexpected declaration, that it was neither in their power, nor in that of the crown, nor of both united, to grant or to raiſe any money by the levy of new taxes upon the people; a declaration which was *conſtitutionally* true, but to which the conduct of the parliament had formed one continued contradiction.

Whatever were the particular motives of the party by whoſe influence that body was induced, to make this voluntary ſurrrender of its authority, the new doctrine ſpread, with wonderful rapidity, through the nation. In proportion to the general odium incurred by the taxes, was the joy at this emancipation from all actual authority to raiſe new ones; whilſt the patriotiſm of that body, which had thus teſtified its own incompetence, in order thereby to eſtabliſh the diſqualification of the crown, was little leſs than idolized. Thus circumſtanced, it would not have been eaſy for the parliament, however inclined, to retract its own meaſure, and to reſume a competence which it formally declared it did not poſſeſs; as little could it renew that authority in the crown, which it had juſt endeavoured to cancel.

During theſe tranſactions, an attempt was made by the miniſtry to recover their loſt popularity by the adoption of two meaſures equally calculated to promote the general welfare of the community. The firſt was a general reform in the codes of both civil and

and criminal juſtice, a reform long-wiſhed, and than which nothing could be more wanted; but its difficulty and magnitude had hitherto deterred any miniſter from venturing upon ſo arduous an undertaking. M. de Lamoignon, the keeper of the ſeals, had not only the courage to encounter theſe difficulties, but the happineſs and honour to form—under the encouraging influence of his ſovereign—ſo excellent a plan for compleating the deſign, as to leave but little to be done by thoſe who were deſtined to be his ſucceſſors in carrying it into execution. And, for the relief of thoſe perſons, who might be brought to trial in the interim, before the great work could be perfected, he introduced ſeveral moſt humane and eſſential regulations into the immediate proceedings of the criminal courts; particularly with reſpect to evidence, and the mode of obtaining it, the ſyſtem of which was vicious in the laſt degree; and ſtill more particularly in thoſe caſes where the life of the accuſed was affected.

The ſecond was the edict in favour of the Proteſtants, which was introduced by the king on the memorable nineteenth of November, and was regiſtered by the parliament on the twenty-ninth of January, 1788. This edict contained thirty-ſeven articles, the greater number as well as the moſt eſſential of which were thoſe relating to marriages, births, baptiſms, and burials; ſubjects which had frequently been the cauſe of great trouble, difficulty, and grievance to the Proteſtants, with reſpect to the legitimacy of their iſſue, and the legal deſcent of their inheritances.

While all France was waiting, with the utmoſt attention and ſolicitude, the iſſue of the conteſt between the king and the parliament of Paris, relative to *Lettres de Cachet*, an incident occurred in Languedoc which threw the whole kingdom into a ferment upon that ſubject. M. de Catalan, the preſident of the parliament of Toulouſe, having, in conjunction with that body, refuſed to regiſter the late edict for levying a tax of two twentieths on the nation, the king immediately ordered a *Lettre de Cachet* to be iſſued againſt the preſident, the execution of which was committed to the count de Perigord, governor-general of the province. M. de Catalan was, accordingly, arreſted, and ſent priſoner to an old caſtle at the foot of the Pyrenean mountains.

This, and ſome other circumſtances of a ſimilar nature, brought on an argumentative written diſcuſſion between the parliament of Paris and the king, which afforded not only a more full explanation of the reſpective claims of the parties than had yet appeared, but likewiſe ſome view of their ſeparate opinions with regard to ſundry great queſtions of law, upon which the French conſtitution was either *ſuppoſed* to be founded, or its preſervation appendant.

On the eleventh of April, the parliament preſented a remonſtrance, in which, repreſenting the nineteenth of November as the epoch of a direct attempt to ſubvert the public rights, and to eſtabliſh deſpotiſm, and ſtating all the ſubſequent proceedings as a continuation

tinuation of the ſame ſyſtem, they informed the king that his parliament could never allow, that one act of arbitrary power ſhould deſtroy the eſſential rights by which his ſubjects had been governed for thirteen hundred years paſt. They then enumerated ſeveral looſe indefinite charges againſt government, as the grounds and juſtification of their remonſtrance—that public liberty was attacked in its very principles; that deſpotiſm was ſubſtituted for the law of the land; that the privileges of magiſtracy were violated, and parliament made the mere inſtrument of arbitrary power.

They declared, that their privileges were not their own; that they were the property of the people at large; and that they, as truſtees or conſervators, were bounden to preſerve them from violation: that the will of the king alone did not make a law complete, nor did the ſingle expreſſion of that will conſtitute the formal act of the nation. It was neceſſary, that the king's will, in order to be effective, ſhould be publiſhed under legal authority, and that, in order to make the publication of it legal, it muſt have been firſt freely diſcuſſed: "Such, Sire, are the principles of the French conſtitution!"

In ſupport of this doctrine they referred to the early ſtages of the French monarchy, and endeavoured to ſhew from hiſtory, the ancient as well as the more recent circumſtances which attended the paſſing of laws, and which they repreſented as having been conſidered indiſpenſably neceſſary to give them validity. Under the firſt race of kings, the ſovereign, being ſurrounded by his court, either preſented a new law to the people, or they demanded one. In the firſt inſtance, the acceptance of the people, whoſe ſuffrages were entirely free, eſtabliſhed the law: in the ſecond, the propoſed law was conſidered and debated by the court (which was the royal council) according to whoſe ſuffrages, which were equally and inviolably free as thoſe of the people, it was affirmed by the king's aſſent, or rejected. The ſame order was obſerved under the ſecond race. The court was compoſed of noblemen, biſhops, and ſenators. They were ſtyled the *adjutants, co-operators*, and *adminiſtrators* of the public weal. In all caſes, laws were enacted with the conſent of the people, and the confirmation of the king through his court.

Under the third race of kings, they ſaid, that the form of government did not change, although the court went under different names. It was at different times called the *king's court*, the *court of France*, the *royal court*, the *common council*, and the *parliament*.

But theſe reſearches into the ancient hiſtory of the French monarchy, with all the aſſiſtance that could be derived from the fallacious ſtatements of the parliament, and the falſe deductions they made, did not ſerve to throw any additional light upon the ſubjects of the preſent diſputes. It was a fact not to be controverted that the parliaments were properly courts of juſtice: that they were merely adminiſtrators of the laws, without any power to make, or even, in the ſmalleſt degree, to alter or amend them; though the

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right of remonſtrance, together with thoſe of verifying and regiſtering edicts, had, in a manner, been ſecured to them by preſcription; they were not farther removed from the powers of legiſlation, than from the moſt diſtant pretence of being conſidered, in any degree, as the repreſentatives of the people. Ever ſince the convocation of the ſtates had fallen into diſuſe, the powers of legiſlation had in fact reſided ſolely in the crown.

After their hiſtorical quotations, the parliament plainly told the king, that he could not ſuppoſe himſelf able, in defiance of all theſe teſtimonies, to deſtroy the conſtitution at a ſingle blow, by concentrating parliament in his own perſon. They put the following queſtion: "Since, then, there exiſts reciprocal duties between king and ſubjects, "what would become of this principle in practice, if kings by a ſingle word had the "power of reſtraining ſome, and of extending others, as they pleaſed?"—And they concluded thus—"It remains therefore for us to ſupplicate your majeſty, to pay an at-"tentive regard to the ſtate of your kingdom. We are ignorant how long the enemies "of magiſtracy and the public tranquillity may have the ignominious glory of tri-"umphing over the laws; but we will venture to anſwer to your majeſty for the cou-"rage and fidelity of thoſe who have the execution of them."

The king, in his reply, after obſerving that he had peruſed their remonſtrances with great attention, profeſſed to anſwer them with ſuch preciſion, that they ſhould no longer doubt of his intentions, nor again attempt to oppoſe them. He told them, it was quite unneceſſary to talk to him of the nature or preſcription of enregiſtering, or of the manner which they adopted in giving their ſuffrages. When he went to his parliament upon the ſubject of a new edict, it was in order to benefit by their diſcuſſion of it, and, from the light which he thus received, to determine in his own mind, after hearing their arguments and opinions, upon the propriety of paſſing the law, and of having it accordingly regiſtered[13]. This was exactly what he had done on the nineteenth of November. Every thing had been conducted preciſely according to law, and to the ancient and eſtabliſhed forms, at that ſitting. He had heard all their opinions, and therefore their deliberations were complete; they had done their part; he then decided according to his own judgment, and thereby fulfilled his. Their voices were not collected, becauſe his preſence rendered it unneceſſary; his deciſion did not reſt upon the number of votes: of what avail could it be then to know the exact majority, when their number afforded them no power?

[13] This was certainly one of theſe caſes which the ancient conſtitutional maxim of "*Adveniente principe, ceſſat magiſtratus*" was peculiarly applicable.

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He inſiſted, that the collecting of ſuffrages was only neceſſary in his abſence, as the moſt perfect means of affording him a preciſe knowledge of the ſentiments of his parliament; but his preſence rendered it not only unneceſſary, but idle. He farthe rargued, that if the plurality of voices, in his courts, could forcibly direct his will, the monarchy would be changed to an ariſtocracy of magiſtrates; an event, as contrary to the rights and intereſts of the nation, as to thoſe of the ſovereign power. "That "would be, indeed,"—purſued the king—"a ſtrange conſtitution of government, "which ſhould reduce the will of the monarch to ſubmit to that of his miniſters; and "ſubject the ſovereign power to as many different determinations, as there were deliberations in the various courts of juſtice throughout the kingdom. But it behoves me "to guarantee the nation from ſuch a misfortune." He likewiſe laid it down, as a poſition or rule not to be departed from, that parliament had no authority to paſs any decrees, either upon ſubjects of legiſlation or adminiſtration, which did not come to them from him. He therefore reproved them for ſuch decrees as they had thus paſſed, and prohibited them from a repetition of the practice. He maintained, that to deſtroy and leave no trace of an error, which he was diſpoſed to attribute to a momentary ſurprize or illuſion, was to *purify*, and not to alter, their regiſters.

He then, adverting to their quotations and precedents, aſked, for how many ſalutary laws, which ſtill daily formed the rules for guiding their judgments, was France indebted to the authority of her former monarchs;—who not only ordered them to be regiſtered without any regard to the plurality of ſuffrages, but in direct oppoſition thereto, and in defiance of reluctant or reſiſting parliaments? He concluded thus—"Theſe are the "principles which ought to regulate your conduct; and I ſhall never ſuffer the ſmalleſt "deviation from them."

With opinions ſo diametrically oppoſite, in regard to the prerogatives and authority of the crown, the privileges of parliaments, and the rights of the ſubject, as were now avowed by the contending parties, little hope of any compromiſe or amicable concluſion could remain; and it became every day more apparent, that things were drawing to a criſis, the management of which would be attended with greater difficulties than were yet foreſeen; but which could ſcarcely fail in its effect of proving deciſive, and of either eſtabliſhing on a firmer baſis the authority of the crown, or of modelling, and, perhaps, greatly reducing its power. All civil public buſineſs was at a ſtand, for the provincial parliaments, as well as that of Paris, either refuſed to act under the preſent circumſtances, or were diſabled from acting; ſo that it was morally impoſſible things could continue long in their preſent ſtate.

In the mean time, miniſters were deeply, but moſt ſecretly, engaged in forming an extenſive plan, for a new order of government; which, if it could be carried into execution, would have wholly liberated the king from that continual vexation and trouble

which he had ſo long endured through the refractorineſs of the parliament. This ſyſtem, which was the joint production of monſieur de Lamoignon, and the archbiſhop of Thouloufe, was ſo extenſive, that it ſeemed rather to carry the appearance of a new conſtitution, than to look like the repair of an old one. But its two prominent and leading features were, the eſtabliſhment of a number of grand bailiwicks throughout the kingdom, which were calculated to diminiſh the juriſdiction, the credit, and the *profits* of the parliaments; and the creation of a great council of ſtate and government, under the appellation of *La Cour Pleniere*, which was to be endued with ſuch powers, and placed in the exerciſe of ſuch functions, as would ſerve to carry the parliaments back to the original principles of their inſtitution, and, enabling government to conduct the public buſineſs without any other intervention, would thereby preclude the neceſſity of aſſembling the ſtates-general.

As it was requiſite, in order to render this ſupreme tribunal effective, that it ſhould acquire, at the firſt view of its compoſition, the good opinion and confidence of the public, and thereby be enabled to ſurmount the ſtrong prejudices which ſo new and important an inſtitution muſt inevitably encounter, it became a matter of indiſpenſable neceſſity, that it ſhould poſſeſs every poſſible degree of reſpectability, which could be derived from the rank, integrity, or talents, of its members. It ſeemed, likewiſe, to conſtitute a part of the view of the framers, that by their being drawn from almoſt every order and claſs of men in the nation, they ſhould bear the appearance, in a certain degree, of being a repreſentative of the whole.

In conformity with thoſe purpoſes the ſupreme court was to be compoſed of princes of the blood; peers of the realm; great officers of ſtate; clergy; mareſchals of France; governors of provinces; knights of different orders; members of council; a deputation of one member from each parliament in the kingdom; and two from the chambers of accounts and aids.

The number of which this court was to conſiſt was not yet determined; the king only declaring that the members ſhould not be ſo numerous as to create delay or diſorder, nor ſo confined as to occaſion incompetence, through accidental or unavoidable abſences. The times of their meeting, and the length of their ſittings, were to be regulated by the king's will, and by the preſſure of public affairs.

Notwithſtanding the means of ſecrecy adopted by the court, in the conduct of this important buſineſs, it was no eaſy matter to elude the vigilance of thoſe whoſe ſuſpicions were conſtantly arouſed by their own oppoſition to the meaſures of government. The mere circumſtances of ſilence and inactivity, at a period like the preſent, would have ſufficed to create apprehenſion; but the unuſual buſtle, precaution, and ſecrecy which

which were apparent at the royal preſs at Paris, not only rendered ſuſpicion general, but tended to diffuſe an univerſal alarm. Upwards of an hundred additional workmen were employed; the place was ſurrounded, night and day, with guards; and no perſon whatever was admitted without certain credentials, which it was ſcarcely poſſibly to counterfeit. It was generally believed that ſome meditated attack upon the parliament was the object of theſe extraordinary meaſures; and while rumour continually magnified or created imaginary dangers, the apprehenſion, diſmay, and terror ſpread among the Pariſians were inexpreſſibly great.

The ſecret, however, was diſcovered through the diligence and activity of monſieur d'Eſpremenil, an eminent and enterpriſing magiſtrate; who, at the expence, it is ſaid, of five hundred pounds, ſucceeded in corrupting ſome of the printers, and in obtaining a copy of the new code, as far as it was yet printed off, which was thrown to him out of a window, enveloped in a ball of clay [14].

In conſequence of the information thus obtained, a meeting of the parliament was ſuddenly convened on the third of May; and as the ſource whence their intelligence was derived could not be avowed by that body, they declared, as the grounds of their meeting and intended proceedings, that they had been apprized by public report, as well as by a variety of concurring circumſtances, that ſome fatal ſtroke was in meditation; and they proceeded to ſtate, under the following heads, the cauſes which drew upon them the enmity, and the preſent evil intentions of the miniſters:—the reſiſtance which they had made to the two ruinous taxes on eſtates and on ſtamps;—their refuſal to acknowledge their own competence to the *granting* of ſubſidies [15], and to admit the validity of the king's edicts for that purpoſe;—their ſoliciting a convocation of the ſtates-general;—and their laying claim to liberty for every individual ſubject.

They then declared it to be their duty, firmly to withſtand all plans and attempts of miniſters, contrary to law, and to the good of the nation: they aſſerted, that the ſyſtem of compliance with the king's abſolute will, as expreſſed in his different anſwers, was a proof of the miniſter's deſtructive project of annulling the national government, which parliament was bound to maintain, and which it conſidered as a duty from which it would never depart: that France was a kingdom governed by a king according to the laws: and that the right of raiſing ſubſidies was in the nation, repreſented by the ſtates-general, duly convened.

[14] Hiſtoire de la Revolution, &c. par deux Amis de la Liberté, tom. i. p. 44. note.

[15] The miniſtry had invariably denied their competence;—this, therefore, was a falſe aſſertion, wholly unworthy the dignity of the parliament.

They farther maintained, that the court of parliament, alone, had a right to confirm the king's orders in every province; and to order them to be enregiſtered, in caſe they were conformable to the conſtitutional rights of the province, and to the fundamental laws of the kingdom: that they had likewiſe the privilege of not being arreſted by any order whatever, without being immediately put into the hands of thoſe judges with whom they were connected by their ſituation: that they proteſted againſt all acts of force, attempted in violation of the principles here enforced; and unanimouſly declared, that they were bound by oath not to deviate from thoſe principles: that each member was reſolved to oppoſe all innovations, and not to adminiſter juſtice in any place but the court itſelf, compoſed of the ſame perſons, and poſſeſſing the ſame privileges: and that, in caſe they ſhould be compelled, by force, to diſperſe themſelves, and rendered unable to act in their proper capacities, they would return their privileges and rights undiminiſhed into the hands of the king, his family, the peers of the realm, or the ſtates-general. To guard againſt any ſuppreſſion of their acts at this ſitting, they ordered copies of theſe proceedings and reſolutions to be immediately tranſmitted to all the courts of the kingdom.

In conſequence of an order from the king, for arreſting M. d'Eſpremenil, and M. de Moſambert, two magiſtrates who had been peculiarly active in this buſineſs, a meeting of the parliament was convened the morning after it was iſſued. This aſſembly, at which twelve peers were preſent, having taken into conſideration the meaſures which had been adopted for the purpoſe of arreſting two of their members, unanimouſly concurred in a ſtrong remonſtrance, which they ordered to be preſented to the king by a deputation of their body. This piece contained a repetition of their former arguments with reſpect to perſonal liberty in general, and their own claims to peculiar privileges and exemptions: it then charged the king's adviſers with departing from all the principles of monarchy, and availing themſelves of every reſource which deſpotiſm could ſuggeſt for ſubverting the fundamental laws of the kingdom: and it concluded, by repreſenting the evils and dangers which muſt enſue from ſuch proceedings, and by beſeeching his majeſty to diſmiſs thoſe who adviſed them; as the farther proſecution of them would involve the public liberty, and the lawful authority of the king, in ſuch difficulties as to render it impoſſible for the magiſtrates to extricate them, or to purſue their duty.

But they were now deſtined to experience difficulties which they had not yet had to encounter. The king refuſed to receive the deputation, and a regiment of guards, ſuddenly ſurrounding the palais, prohibited the departure of any of the members. In this ſtate of conſternation, M. d'Agouſt, who commanded the troops, entered the aſſembly, and demanded, in the king's name, that the two magiſtrates, whom he had ordered to be arreſted, but who had made their eſcape, ſhould be delivered up to him. A profound ſilence enſued for ſome time, and not a member would point out the objects of proſcription. At length the preſident aroſe, and declared—while the unanimous plaudits of the court

court teſtified their aſſent to the declaration—that every man there was a d'Eſpremenil and a Moſambert, for that they all entirely coincided with thoſe members in their opinions. On receiving this anſwer, M. d'Agouſt returned to the king for freſh inſtructions; and ſo weak and indeciſive was his council, ſo deſtitute of energy and reſource were his miniſters, that this trifling difficulty, which might eaſily have been foreſeen, occaſioned a pauſe of full twenty hours, before a reply, or the meaſures to be purſued, could be determined.

The parliament, during all this time, remained under confinement in its chamber, and ſurrounded on all ſides by guards. On the return of M. d'Agouſt, all the members were ſummoned to their reſpective places, and that officer charged them, under the penalty of being declared guilty of high-treaſon, to point out M. d'Eſpremenil and M. de Moſambert. But this authoritative demand produced no anſwer; nor was the ſilence broken, until the two members in queſtion roſe from their ſeats, and requeſted the permiſſion of the court to deliver themſelves up. M. d'Eſpremenil was accordingly conducted to the ſtate priſon of Saint Marguerite, in one of the iſlands in the Mediterranean, near Toulon; and M. de Moſambert to the Pierre Enciſe.

But the ſpirit of the parliament was rather confirmed than broken by theſe violent and injudicious exertions of ſeverity; and, being aſſured of the ſupport of a powerful political faction, under whoſe influence they acted, and ſtill farther fortified by the general ſpirit and diſpoſition of the nation, they perſiſted in their endeavours, and framed another remonſtrance, exceeding in boldneſs all their former repreſentations. They expatiated, with great ſtrength of argument and energy of language, on the late violence committed by inveſting the ſeat of ſovereign juſtice with armed men during the ſitting of parliament; on the arbitrary power exerciſed in the arreſt of the two members; and the refuſal of the king to receive their deputation.

They maintained, partly by argument and partly by inſinuation, that a fixed ſyſtem had been formed ever ſince the year 1771, for the overthrow of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution or government, by changing the monarchy into a deſpotiſm. They told the king, in unqualified terms, that the nation would never adopt the deſpotic meaſures which he had been adviſed to purſue: that the fundamental laws of the kingdom muſt not be trampled on; and that his authority could only be eſteemed ſo long as it was tempered with juſtice. They declared, for themſelves, that the intereſts of the nation had determined each and every member to take no part, either as a body or individuals, in any functions which might be the conſequence of new regulations; nor would they aſſiſt in any meaſures which were not founded on the unanimous reſolutions of parliament, endued with all its privileges. "Such"—ſaid they—"is the nature of the French mo-"narchy, and a departure from it may produce the moſt unhappy conſequences."

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The king again found it neceſſary to convene the Notables; and, on the eighth of May, he appeared in perſon in that aſſembly, where, in a ſpeech of extraordinary length, he inveighed, with great ſeverity, againſt the conduct of the parliament. He charged them with perſevering in a continual deviation from their duty, in every point, for a year paſt: that, not ſatisfied with placing the opinions of individual members on a level with the ſovereign authority, they had preſumed to aſſert, that no edict could be valid unleſs regiſtered by them; while they declared, that they could not be forced to the performance of that duty, even though the nation ſuffered by the refuſal: that the provincial parliaments had followed their example, both in their pretenſions and acts: that the conſequences had been, that laws equally neceſſary and deſirable had not been carried into execution; that the moſt uſeful operations of government had been interrupted or ſtopped, and public credit materially injured; that juſtice had been ſuſpended, and the national tranquillity ſhaken.

The king declared, that he owed to his ſubjects, to himſelf, and to his ſucceſſors, the ſuppreſſion of theſe exceſſes: that he might have inflicted puniſhment, but he rather choſe to remedy the evil, and prevent its effects: that he had, indeed, been obliged to puniſh ſome few of the magiſtrates; but acts of rigour were contrary to his nature, even when they were indiſpenſable: that it was not his intention to deſtroy his parliaments, but to bring them back to their duty, and within the limits of their original inſtitutions; to convert the moment of a criſis into a ſalutary epoch for his ſubjects; to begin a reform in the judicial order, by that of the tribunals, which conſtituted its baſe; to enforce adminiſtration of juſtice in a manner productive of leſs expence and greater expedition; and again to entruſt the nation with the exerciſe of its lawful rights, which muſt ever be united with his own; that he would, moreover, eſtabliſh, in every part of his kingdom, that unity of deſign and ſyſtem, that correſpondence of the parts with the whole, without which a great ſtate is only weakened by the number and extent of its territories: that the order he intended to eſtabliſh was not new, for, there was but one parliament in the kingdom when Philip the Fair fixed his reſidence at Paris: that a large ſtate ſhould have but one king, one law, and one power to enregiſter its acts: that tribunals, with a juriſdiction confined to preſcribed limits, ſhould have the future ſuperintendance of the majority of law-ſuits; and the parliaments thoſe of greater importance and conſequence: that there ſhould be a ſingle court of judicature, in which the laws common to the whole kingdom ſhould be enregiſtered and preſerved; and that, to complete the whole reform, a general aſſembly of the ſtates ſhould be convened, not only once, but every time the ſtate of affairs ſhould require it. "Such"—ſaid the king—"is the re-"eſtabliſhment which my love for my people has prepared; and I conſecrate this day for "the commencement of their happineſs, which is my only deſire."

The king was followed by M. de Lamoignon, the keeper of the ſeals, in a ſpeech preliminary to the introduction of the new code, which was ſo voluminous as to fill a quarto

quarto volume of more than four hundred pages. The ordinances, though printed, were each ſigned by the king, and counterſigned by the baron de Breteuil.

The firſt of theſe, with reſpect to importance, though not the firſt in place, and that which excited ſo much oppoſition and alarm, was the eſtabliſhment of the *Cour Pleniere*; the ſupreme authority of which was conſidered by the parliaments as a violent invaſion of their rights and privileges, and as tending to promote a total ſubverſion of their power. This inſtitution was ſtiled in the ordinance a *re-eſtabliſhment*; and the members were to hold their places for life, which ſerved, in a very great degree, if not wholly, to free their proceedings from the influence of the crown, notwithſtanding their original appointment by it.

The parliament were almoſt equally diſguſted with another ordinance by which their number was to be diminiſhed from one hundred and twenty to ſixty-ſeven. This meaſure was founded on or ſupported by a precedent, derived from bad times and an arbitrary reign. This was the celebrated edict of Lewis the Eleventh, dated the twenty-firſt of October, 1467, which peremptorily ordains that the parliament of Paris ſhall be compoſed of a preſident, nine ſub-preſidents, twelve counſellors choſen from among the clergy, with a preſcribed number of commoners and honorary members, which was not, in the whole, by any means to exceed the number above-ſtated. So that this was, in fact, rather the revival of an old law, than a new regulation with reſpect to that body.

The firſt ordinance, in point of place, provided for the eſtabliſhment of a new order in the adminiſtration of civil juſtice in the provinces. Two new courts were to be inſtituted in each of the ſeveral diſtricts therein ſpecified; the one to decide all litigations not exceeding in value four thouſand livres; the other, all ſuch above that amount as ſhould not exceed twenty thouſand livres; reſerving to the parliaments, in their reſpective provinces, when they ſhould reſume their functions, the right of determining all ſuits of greater importance.

The ſecond went to the abolition of the inferior courts, which in France were numerous, and whoſe degrees of authority being ill-defined, and in different places variouſly extended in the exerciſe, not only occaſioned much perplexity and confuſion in the courts of juſtice, but likewiſe contributed to nouriſh a ſpirit of endleſs litigation among the people. The functions of theſe petty courts were, with great propriety, transferred to ſuperior tribunals.

Another ordinance was calculated to promote an excellent reform in the courſe of criminal juſtice; and the laſt ſettled the vacation of the parliament of Paris, as well as of all the others throughout the kingdom. They were to remain ſuſpended in all their functions until the king's pleaſure was farther known; and, during that period, were ſtrictly

ſtrictly prohibited, both generally and individually, from aſſembling or deliberating upon any affair, public or private; the king declaring, that he would, in the mean time, purſue the proper meaſures for enforcing the execution of the new ordinances.

The ordinances being read and regiſtered, the king concluded the buſineſs by a ſhort ſpeech, in which, after obſerving that they had juſt heard his will, and that the more moderate it was the more ſtrictly would he have it fulfilled and enforced; he ſtated, that all his regulations and intentions were directed in every thing to the good and happineſs of his ſubjects: that he depended upon the zeal and fidelity of thoſe who were immediately called to compoſe his *Cour Pleniere*; and that he had no doubt but others of the magiſtracy would, by their good conduct, merit his favour, and be, accordingly, ſucceſſively called to that ſupreme aſſembly.

An univerſal ſilence had prevailed during theſe proceedings; but the next day, the grand aſſembly of parliament met, at an early hour, and entered a proteſt, in which they repreſented to the king, that he muſt not conſider their ſilence, on the preceding day, in his preſence, as any proof of their approbation of his edicts;—that, on the contrary, they totally diſclaimed the idea of having taken any part in the tranſactions of that aſſembly, or of giving their ſanction to them;—that they farther declined the acceptance of any ſeat in that new court which his majeſty wiſhed to eſtabliſh, under the denomination of *La Cour Pleniere*;—and that they *could* not accept of it, from its being contrary to their duty, their oath, and their fidelity to his majeſty.

This proteſt was ſeconded by a letter ſigned by ſeveral of the peers, and addreſſed to the king; in which they declared, that they were penetrated with the deepeſt ſorrow at the attempt now made to ſubvert the fundamental principles of the government ſo long eſtabliſhed in the kingdom: that they ſhould at all times conſider it their duty to give to all ſubjects examples of reſpect and ſubmiſſion; but that their conſciences, and the fidelity which they owed to his majeſty, would not ſuffer them to take any part in the functions which the new edicts impoſed on the peerage: that they, therefore, took the liberty of laying at the foot of the throne this declaration, dictated by the pureſt ſentiments of honour, and of zeal for the true intereſts of his majeſty, which muſt ever be inſeparable from thoſe of the nation.

In reply to theſe remonſtrances, the king obſerved, that the ſole objects of the new plan were the general tranquillity of the kingdom, and the welfare of the people; he declared his reliance on the zeal and fidelity of the parliament for the good of his ſervice; and aſſured that body that he ſhould call them together before the uſual time of their ſitting, if the ſituation of public affairs, and the neceſſities of the ſtate, ſhould ſo require. But this declaration, far from inducing the parliament to acquieſce in the new regulations, led them to frame another memorial, in which they peremptorily perſiſted in all

all their paſt reſolutions, and farther proteſted, that they would not aſſiſt at any deliberation in the ſupreme aſſembly which his majeſty was about to inſtitute. They then reſolved, that as it was not in their power to deliver that proteſt to the perſon whoſe former province it was to receive it; and fearing that it would not be preſented, one of their members ſhould carry it to a notary, in order that it might be formally depoſited; and that the notary ſhould have orders to print off as many copies of it as might be neceſſary to make it publickly and authentically known.

It has been obſerved, that this anxiety to publiſh a paper of this deſcription, under the inflamed and very dangerous appearances which prevailed, at this period, throughout the nation, was not conſiſtent either with the wiſdom or patriotiſm of the parliament; and ſeemed rather to indicate the violence of a party, determined to carry their point at all events, and without regard to conſequences, than the reſult of thoſe cool and cautious deliberations which, looking equally to the rights of the crown and the people, regarded the preſervation of the public tranquillity as their firſt object, and one of the moſt important of their duties.

But while the parliament were thus engaged at Verſailles, their head-quarters were carried by a *coup de main* at Paris: for the governor of that city, attended by an armed force, proceeded to the Palais, where, entering the different chambers, and opening the preſſes and bureaus, he took poſſeſſion of all the papers and archives of every kind appertaining to the parliament; and this buſineſs being finiſhed, he locked the doors, put the royal ſeal upon them, and carried away the keys. All the other parliaments in the kingdom were, about the ſame time, ſuſpended from their functions, and forbidden, under the ſevereſt penalties, from re-aſſembling, from holding any private meetings, or from iſſuing any reſolutions or opinions whatever upon public affairs.

The Chatelet, a court next in reputation and conſequence to the parliament, far from being diſmayed at theſe proceedings, iſſued, after a ſitting of thirty-ſix hours, on the ſixteenth of May, an *arrêt*, in which, after declaring how deeply they were affected by the various acts of authority exerciſed againſt the different ſeats of magiſtracy throughout the kingdom, they particularized the following ſubjects of complaint:—the ſeat of juſtice inveſted by armed troops; the liberty of ſuffrages wantonly violated, by arreſting and confining magiſtrates, who could not be perſonally anſwerable for deliberations which were diſtinct and peculiarly appropriate to themſelves; that magiſtracy was thus debaſed, and all order overthrown, under a monarch who had declared, "That he never "would reign but according to the tenor of the laws;" and that, as the edicts and declarations reported by his majeſty's attornies, had not been deliberated upon by parliament, who had a certain and undiſputed right, acknowledged by the monarch himſelf, to addreſs their remonſtrances to him (a right which they could not poſſibly exerciſe at preſent, on account of the forced ſuſpenſion of their functions) that court unanimouſly de-

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clared, that they could not, and ought not, to proceed to the reading, publiſhing, or regiſtering the ſaid edicts, declarations, and orders.

In the intermediate time, a duke, three other peers, and two archbiſhops, preſented themſelves in perſon to the king at Verſailles, and delivered into his own hands a paper of ſo extraordinary a nature, that neither the names of the preſenters nor ſubſcribers were ever given. It was entitled, the humble and dutiful addreſs of the ſubſcribers, in behalf of themſelves and the publick; and was ſigned by forty-ſeven peers and biſhops, "*for themſelves and the nation.*"

They declared the grief with which they found themſelves obliged to approach his majeſty in the line of their duty; but it was a duty, they ſaid, which they could not reſiſt, conſidering the preſent very alarming ſtate of public affairs, the diſcontents which prevailed among people of all ranks, the tumults that had already occurred, the accounts which were daily arriving of freſh inſurrections of the moſt alarming kind, and, ſtill more than any, the cauſes to which all theſe evils were openly and generally aſcribed.

They farther declared, upon the ſame grounds of ſhewing their motives and duty, that, as princes pledged in the name of the whole nobility for the preſervation of the laws, as peers born for the ſecurity of the throne, and as citizens bound for the public welfare, they could not, conſiſtently with their loyalty to his majeſty, their duty to the themſelves, to the nation, and to poſterity, let the preſent period paſs unnoticed; that, whatever was their ſorrow for the occaſion, duty preſſed them forwards, juſtice required, and zeal for the conſtitutional law of the land, impelled them to remonſtrate at his throne.

That, from theſe motives and cauſes, they were bound to proteſt againſt the diſſolution of the national parliament; againſt all the late edicts, as well thoſe relative to the *Cour Pleniere*, as others; and, in general, againſt every act which militated againſt thoſe eſtabliſhed laws whoſe foundations had been laid on wiſdom, moderation, and juſtice.

That, with the pureſt loyalty, they laid their ſentiments before the king, hoping that God might incline their ſovereign to re-conſider thoſe meaſures, and to permit, in future, things to go on in that channel to which for ages they had been accuſtomed; and thereby prevent an alteration which could not but entail the moſt ruinous conſequences (conſequences too eaſily to be foreſeen) both on the ſovereign and on the people.

This remonſtance, independently of its language or ſpirit, afforded a moſt alarming and ſorrowful demonſtration to the king, how totally he had loſt all weight and influence with the two great bodies of the nobles and clergy, at a period when he was already ſo deeply

deeply involved in a conteſt with the parliaments, and conſequently with the people at large; who, without conſidering the motives by which they were actuated, or the conſequences to which their projects, if ſucceſsful, muſt lead, invariably adhered to them, and regarded whatever cauſe they were engaged in as common to both. Indeed, the ſituation of the king was peculiarly unfortunate and diſtreſſing; the very ſchemes which he propoſed for the relief of his people were rendered unpopular by the arts of the parliament, whoſe authority they tended to curb and diminiſh; and that parliament which urged him to ſuffer things to remain as they were, deprived him of the only reſource he had for carrying on the neceſſary operations of government!

It will eaſily be conceived, that the parliament would not have ventured to perſiſt in an oppoſition ſo ſyſtematic to the meaſures of the court, and that many of the tranſactions we have recorded would not have taken place, unleſs the temper of the times had been peculiarly favourable to ſuch proceedings, and, conſequently, unleſs a moſt material change had occurred in the diſpoſition of the people, and in the complexion of public affairs. It is no eaſy matter to define, with preciſion, the cauſes, complex and manifold as they certainly are, of a change thus important; but ſome of the leading circumſtances by which it was effected may with facility be traced.

The ſtrict intercourſe which, for twenty years previous to the preſent period, had ſubſiſted between the Engliſh and French, and the extreme partiality evinced by the latter for the language and literary works of the former, had given riſe to a ſpirit of imitation, which diſpoſed them to copy us in all things, but principally in that in which we are moſt diſtinguiſhed, the form of our government. Hence ſubjects were publickly and eagerly diſcuſſed in France, which before were either deemed too dangerous to be touched upon, or which it was ſuppoſed a people, more remarkable for levity than reflection, a people ſo long and ſo often charged with being too frivolous for deep-thinking, and too vain to profit by the thoughts of others, would not take the trouble to conſider. The principles upon which governments were originally founded, the ultimate objects of their inſtitution, with the relative rights and duties of the governors and of the governed, became ſubjects of general converſation among common men. But, above all, the perſonal ſecurity afforded by the Engliſh conſtitution, and the right poſſeſſed by every ſubject of a public appeal to the laws, in all caſes of grievance or oppreſſion by power, were objects of general admiration and envy.

But this diſpoſition might have been eaſily ſuppreſſed in its infancy, though nouriſhed by the literary productions of political theoriſts, if the American war had not effectually provided for its growth. The minds of men become attached to thoſe principles which the cauſes they are embarked in require them to ſupport; hence the French nation, reſorting more to proviſion and principle, by which the abuſes of power are corrected, than thoſe by which its energy is maintained, naturally imbibed a love of free-

dom, nearly incompatible with royalty. The ſpirit of diſcuſſion on political topics, the moſt dangerous that could poſſibly be tolerated in an arbitrary ſtate, being, by this means, confirmed, they proceeded to a comparative view of their own ſituation with that of other kingdoms, in which due reſtrictions are impoſed on the ſovereign authority, and the people poſſeſs that weight in the national ſcale which nature and reaſon aſſign them. The partial and oppreſſive diſtribution of juſtice, as being the moſt ſenſibly felt, became the firſt object of complaint. The law-writings of *Elie du Beaumont* and the preſident *du Paty*, and the inimitable pleadings of *Target*, breathed a ſpirit of freedom which would have done honour to any age or country, but which, in the preceding reign, would have proved the certain means of immuring thoſe champions of rational liberty in the horrid dungeons of the Baſtille. *Lettres de Cachet*, thoſe dreadful engines of deſpotiſm, were next attacked, and, inveſtigating the dangers with which they were pregnant, the principles of arbitrary power were, of courſe, expoſed,—and, of courſe, holden up to univerſal deteſtation. It was owing, however, to a ſecondary cauſe, that the American war became inſtrumental to the revolution in the affairs of France. It involved the crown, as we have already ſeen, in ſuch difficulties and diſtreſs, as compelled it, at length, of neceſſity, to throw itſelf for ſupport upon the people; thereby affording them ſuch an opportunity for ſpeaking, thinking, and acting freely, as—excepting the licentiouſneſs of the civil wars—three centuries had not before ſhewn to France.

When the people had once been perſuaded to throw off thoſe reſtraints under which they had laboured ſo long, they were at a loſs how to direct that liberty to which they had been ſo little accuſtomed; hence it became a matter of facility to factious and deſigning men to render them favourable to the promotion of their own views; and, by encouraging a reſtleſs ſpirit of innovation, which ſuch liberty ſo influenced was well calculated to produce, to make them throw aſide all appearance of moderation, and deter them from purſuing the dictates of reaſon. This dangerous diſpoſition, ſo perfectly hoſtile to all uſeful and beneficial improvements, had been encouraged by the injudicious conduct of the parliament; and nothing could be more alarming than the temper which now became prevalent among all orders and claſſes of the people, and the aſpect which almoſt every part of the kingdom exhibited. Paris preſented every morning the new ſpectacle, of ſeditious, inflammatory, or treaſonable written or printed papers, poſted upon the gates and corners of the ſtreets. An incendiary libel of the moſt atrocious nature and dangerous tendency was detected at a private printing-houſe, where the preſs was deſtroyed, and the printed copies, to the amount of ſeveral hundreds, ſeized; but a number of others had been previouſly diſtributed, and ſeveral were moſt conſpicuouſly put upon the city-gates and other public places: in this treaſonable publication, which fully betrayed a deſign that, at a ſubſequent period, was openly attempted to be carried into execution, the king was branded with the odious appellation of tyrant, and charged with having trampled upon the deareſt rights of the people, whoſe father it was his duty to prove himſelf,

ſelf, but whoſe bittereſt enemy and moſt implacable oppreſſor he was actually become. In a ſimilar ſtrain of ſeditious invective, the people were reproached with want of ſpirit, for not having already inflicted an exemplary puniſhment on their oppreſſors; and every other inſtigation to outrage and ſtimulus to rebellion were cloſed by that emphatic ſcripture phraſe, which had been uſed ſo many ages before in ſimilar combuſtions, of "*To "your tents, O Iſrael!*"

The ſame ſpirit of violence prevailed in the provinces. Brittany had been for ſome time involved in anarchy and diſorder. Some local diſputes between the nobles and peaſants had induced both ſides to have recourſe to arms, in different places, in ſupport of their real or pretended rights; and as they could not accommodate their own differences, they ſeemed diſpoſed to let a fruitleſs taſk lie dormant for a time, until they had improved their faculties, by a careful inveſtigation of public grievances. The alarming ſtate of public affairs, however, ſpeedily interrupted this tranſient calm; the flame of commotion again burſt forth, and raged with ſuch aſtoniſhing violence, that the biſhop of Rennes found it neceſſary to depart, in perſon, for Paris, and to uſe ſuch expedition as to travel two hundred miles in thirty-ſix hours, in order to lay before the king a clear ſtatement of the dangerous ſituation of things in that province.

Nor did the ſouthern diſtricts of the kingdom preſent a more favourable aſpect. The parliaments of Toulouſe and Grenoble were both in exile, and ſome of the moſt refractory members had been committed to ſtate-priſons. This procedure irritated the inhabitants of theſe provincial capitals ſo highly, that they were guilty of the greateſt exceſſes, and the moſt violent acts of outrage, in all which they were ſupported by their country neighbours, while they were encouraged, or confirmed, in their conduct, by the people at large. The parliament of Toulouſe having, previous to their diſperſion, paſſed the ſtrongeſt reſolutions againſt the admiſſion of the new ordinances, and the eſtabliſhment of the new court, the people determined, in their abſence, effectually to ſupport their deſign. This betrayed them into ſuch exceſſes, that the count de Perigord, governor of Languedoc, and hitherto one of the beſt-beloved noblemen in France, was, notwithſtanding his popularity, and great natural influence in the country, obliged, with precipitation, to fly from that city. Two regiments, which were quartered there under his command, he was likewiſe obliged to withdraw; whilſt the inhabitants not only took poſſeſſion of the gates, but made every preparation to reſiſt any hoſtile attack.

This was the firſt inſtance in which the attachment of the army to the crown had ever been called in queſtion; but it was now ſtrongly aſſerted, notwithſtanding the greateſt endeavours to ſtifle ſuch a report, that the governor-general of Languedoc actually put the fidelity of the troops to the teſt, and that the two regiments peremptorily refuſed to fire upon the inſurgents. From this, and ſome other correſponding circumſtances, which

which occurred about the ſame time, it came to be generally whiſpered, that, in caſe matters ſhould be carried to extremity, and the adoption of deſperate meaſures ſhould become unavoidable, the army would not ſupport the court in oppoſition to the people: the report, however, ſeems rather to have originated with thoſe who were materially intereſted in procuring a general belief of its truth, than in any real diſpoſition of the troops, who had, in their individual capacities, invariably diſplayed as ſtrong an inclination to exertions of deſpotic power, as any of their ſuperiors of whatever deſcription. Still the report anſwered, in a great degree, the purpoſe it was intended to promote, by inſpiring the malecontents with confidence and ſpirit.

The parliament of Brittany, which, as well as the province at large, had long been in a ſtate of great and continual variance with the court, aſſembled, in defiance of the king's poſitive orders, at Rennes, their capital, in the beginning of June, and, after ſitting fourteen hours without interruption, paſſed, among other violent reſolutions, one in which they declared all perſons who ſhould, in any degree, attempt to carry the new ordinances into execution to be guilty of high treaſon, and to be proſcribed and puniſhed as ſuch. They were afterwards ſurrounded, and their proceedings interrupted, by a ſtrong detachment of the troops in garriſon; but the inhabitants flying in crouds to the reſcue of the parliament, and being joined by a vaſt concourſe of people from the adjacent country, the troops found themſelves compelled, after a violent tumult and ſome miſchief had taken place, to give way to the immenſe multitude of their antagoniſts, and relinquiſh their deſign; while no perſon would venture to ſerve the *Lettres de Cachet*, which had been ſent for the exile or impriſonment of the members. On this occaſion the troops moſt certainly betrayed not the ſmalleſt reluctance in the diſcharge of their duty, a circumſtance which tends to corroborate the opinion before advanced.

A great provincial aſſembly was, ſoon after, convened, for the purpoſe of determining upon the moſt effectual meaſures for oppoſing the execution of the new ordinances. At this aſſembly, a grand deputation, compoſed of ſeveral perſons of eminence, was appointed to proceed to Verſailles, and to remonſtrate ſtrongly with the king, in the name of the province, againſt the *Cour Pleniere* in particular, as being deemed the greateſt *innovation*, and the moſt dangerous to the *parliaments*; and in general againſt all the other new tribunals and ordinances. The confidence and ardour with which the deputation undertook their commiſſion, was ſuddenly checked upon their arrival at Verſailles, for they were not only refuſed an audience, but committed cloſe priſoners to the Baſtille.

During this ſeaſon of fruitleſs hope, continual diſappointment, conſtant turmoil, vexation, and alarm, the agitation of the king's mind was frequently ſo great and apparent, as to excite the compaſſion of all who had an opportunity of being near his perſon; who were deeply impreſſed, from the obſervations they made, that there were few men in his extenſive dominions, to whoſe breaſts happineſs was a greater ſtranger than to his.

It

It was at this period, when all the arts of misrepresentation were employed to heighten resentment and aggravate reproach,—when the keen eye of observation exerted its utmost vigilance, and the keener spirit of animadversion had thrown off all restraint—universally acknowledged on all sides, and by all parties, (for the surreptitious efforts of anonymous traitors to render their dark machinations successful can scarcely be said to form an exception) that no man's intentions could be more pure, and that not any prince could more fervently wish or more fully intend the happiness of his subjects[14]; so that the epithet of *Well-beloved* must be considered as a tribute flowing involuntarily from the hearts of the people; and foreigners as well as natives entertained but one opinion as to the justness of the application. For the king's wish to promote the ease, content, and happiness of the people, was not a passive or inert disposition, indulged only in speculation; it was embodied, and brought fully into action: he had done more in a few years for the welfare and gratification of his subjects, than had been done, by all his predecessors put together, from the foundation of the monarchy.

Unfortunately the state was too deeply involved in debt and embarrassment to be extricated or relieved by any thing within the immediate powers of the crown: the same benevolent disposition which made him ready, upon every occasion, to relinquish his personal interests, rendered him averse from the execution of such vigorous and decisive measures as the exigencies of his affairs absolutely required. In consequence, too, of the late reforms, dictated by the same love for his people, the monarchy had been dismantled of what constituted an essential part of its strength and security.

The king had deprived himself of the power either to bestow bounty, or to reward merit. Four hundred persons had already lost their offices in the royal household, and were turned adrift upon the world without means or resource; a much greater number were affected in the same manner by the reductions in the military departments. This change of condition naturally produced a correspondent change of sentiments in the sufferers, who, if they did not think themselves actually injured, felt themselves at least ruined, and received little comfort in reflecting upon the cause or necessity of the measure: while a great number who were not yet losers, but who saw all the pleasing prospects in life with which they had been accustomed to flatter themselves at once cut off by the retrenchments and reforms, executed or projected, deemed themselves no less unfortunate than the former: they all naturally directed their views to other prospects and to other resources, and thus the king lost, in a certain degree, the support of a brave and powerful body of men, who had hitherto been the strenuous defenders of the monarchy.

Upon the same principle of relieving the people, the crown was farther weakened by the reduction of the Gens d'Armes, and other corps of household troops, who, besides their inviolable attachment to the royal person and family, had, by their extraordinary

[14] This is a fact either tacitly acknowledged, or expressly admitted, by most of the *popular* writers; Rabaud de St. Etienne admits it in express terms; and the authors of the "*Revolution de* 1789," who style themselves "*Two Friends to Liberty*," tend, by their observations, in various instances, on the conduct of the king, to establish the same point.

courage,

courage, powerfully contributed to raiſe the military renown and glory of France, to that high pitch at which they had arrived under Lewis the Fourteenth and his ſucceſſor.

The inſtitution of provincial aſſemblies afforded a notable inſtance of the king's wiſhes to render government as eaſy as poſſible to the people, and even to admit them to ſomething approaching to a republican ſhare in the internal adminiſtration of their affairs. Theſe aſſemblies were to be compoſed of a preſcribed number of each of the three eſtates, the nobles, clergy, and commons, the members being freely elected by their reſpective orders, ſo that each aſſembly ſeemed in itſelf a circumſcribed meeting of the States-general, who were, however, paramount over all. They were to communicate to the crown information and advice on all matters relative to the province, including the ſentiments and particular grievances of the people, and had authority in many caſes to redreſs the latter. One of their principal objects was to attend to the collection of the revenue, and to remedy all abuſes in that department; and, though they were not endued with powers to impoſe taxes, they were to point out thoſe that were oppreſſive or vexatious, and to recommend others upon a better principle. They alſo poſſeſſed many other powers highly beneficial to the people; but ſufficient time was not allowed to experience the advantages which the eſtabliſhment of the provincial aſſemblies was capable of producing. This meaſure, however, if not allowed to be a great advance towards a new conſtitution, was, at leaſt, a wonderful improvement of the old.

The aſſembly of the Notables, whatever were its defects, had done great things towards meliorating the government, and bettering the condition of the lower orders of the people. In the performance of theſe beneficial acts they were much indebted, not only to the prompt operations of the court and miniſters, but to their inceſſant indication of abuſes, and propoſal of reforms; ſo that it would be no eaſy matter to determine on which ſide many of the meaſures of improvement originated.

The abolition of the *Corvée*, in kind, which had for ages been a ſource of conſtant oppreſſion to the country people, through the partial and unjuſtifiable manner in which the compulſion to labour upon the roads had been frequently exerciſed, was an act ſcarcely of greater utility than of mercy with reſpect to that moſt uſeful claſs of mankind. The commutation of money for perſonal ſervice, at the option of the farmer, and his conſequent liberation from the tyranny of petty officers, together with other regulations affording ſecurity againſt oppreſſion, in any ſhape or caſe, rendered the duty ſo comparatively light, that it ſeemed ſcarcely to be any longer conſidered as a burthen.

Another meaſure of great public utility, was the removal of the barriers between the different provinces, and the abolition of all internal taxes, duties, and reſtrictions upon the tranſit of commodities from one to another, which had ever been ſo pernicious a check upon the internal commerce of the country. The decree for laying open and free

free the commerce of grain throughout the kingdom may, perhaps, be conſidered of ſtill greater importance.

To thoſe benefits, actually conferred, may be fairly added that greateſt of all, which was yet only in contemplation, it being, at preſent, impoſſible to carry it into execution: this was no leſs than the total abolition of the Gabelles throughout France, which had always been the opprobrium of the French government, and the moſt odious and intolerable of all ſchemes of taxation to the people. This ſublime idea, as it was deſervedly termed in the aſſembly, was communicated to the Notables on the day of their diſſolution, by Monſieur, the king's brother, who declared, that it was his majeſty's wiſh and moſt earneſt intention; and that he ſhould ever conſider the moment of its accompliſhment as the happieſt of his life. This declaration undoubtedly contributed to the extraordinary adulation which marked the ſpeeches of that day, when the mayor of Paris made uſe of the following hyperbolical expreſſions—"That Lewis the Sixteenth would "have been the exemplar and model upon which Henry the Great would have formed "himſelf, if the partial deſtiny of the preſent generation of Frenchmen had not re"ſerved him to complete their happineſs." It might, however, with truth and juſtice, have been affirmed, that few long reigns, in any country, even among thoſe conſidered as the beſt and moſt glorious, had, through their whole courſe, been adorned with ſo many patriotic and beneficent acts, as had, within a ſhort ſpace of time, been communicated to the public in the preſent.

To render the great improvements which, in conformity with the advice of the Notables, had been made in the management and collection of the public revenue thoroughly effective, a new, efficient, and reſponſible council of finance, compoſed of ſeveral of the great officers of ſtate, was inſtituted, immediately after the diſſolution of that body; a meaſure which they had, indeed, recommended, but was not at the time abſolutely agreed to. This council was bound to furniſh annually a clear ſtatement of the receipts and expenditure of the preceding year; ſo that the balance, which had long been, and muſt ſtill continue to be the deficiency of the former, might be ſeen at a ſingle view, and all the particulars on both ſides of the account were open to public inſpection and examination. No meaſure could have afforded greater ſatisfaction, or have been more generally popular, than the inſtitution of this council, if time had been allowed for its effect to operate. For the whole buſineſs of finance being before lodged—with ſcarcely any check upon him—in the hands of a comptroller-general, theſe miniſters were univerſally ſuſpected, and charged with the moſt unbounded and profligate waſte of the public treaſure; and ſuch accuſations having been, in many inſtances, ſtrongly ſupported by concurrent circumſtances, much of the public diſtreſs had, at various times, and not always without reaſon, been attributed to this cauſe.

But theſe reforms and improvements, however excellent in their deſign, and however beneficial they might hereafter prove in their effect, could afford no preſent relief to government. The Notables, therefore, recommended to the king, after all the retrenchments which he had already made, a ſtill farther reduction in the royal and public expences, to the extraordinary amount of forty millions of livres annually. Though this propoſal was complied with, that aſſembly was ſtill ſenſible that this ſaving, great as it was, could in no degree ſupply the immediate exigencies of the ſtate, by enabling government to fulfil the public engagements to its creditors, and at the ſame time to provide for the unavoidable civil and military eſtabliſhments. For this purpoſe a tax or taxes were indiſpenſably neceſſary, upon the ſecurity of which ſuch a loan could be raiſed, as would be ſufficient to extricate the ſtate from its preſent difficulties, and thereby afford time for the ſyſtem of reform and economy now adopted, as well as the unexampled preſents made by the ſovereign to the public, to operate in producing their proper effects.

Though the Notables had diſclaimed all authority in themſelves to grant ſupplies, and only ventured to adviſe or recommend, yet their ſanction, firſt in ſhewing the abſolute neceſſity of impoſing new taxes to carry on the public buſineſs, and then in recommending or approving thoſe which were intended, was reaſonably deemed by government a matter of great importance, conſidering the difficulties which the parliament threw in the way of all its operations. The firſt was completely afforded by that aſſembly, which, after a careful examination of the whole ſyſtem of finance, ſhewed the exact amount of the revenue, and exceſs of the expenditure; rendering it ſo clear as not to admit of a queſtion, that it was impoſſible to conduct the affairs of government without additional ſupplies.

They in general approved, though with ſome difference of degree in reſpect to its parts, of that ſcheme of taxation propoſed by the miniſters for ſupplying the preſent emergencies, by which the burthen was to be laid upon thoſe parts of the nation which were the beſt able to ſupport the weight—upon the great commercial and landed intereſts. The intended tax upon ſtamps, which was afterwards deſcribed in ſuch odious colours, not only received the moſt unqualified approbation from the Notables, but they ſeemed to ſtep beyond the line which they had preſcribed to themſelves, by recommending its extenſion, with reſpect both to objects and duty, farther than either the original deſign or the adopted ſcheme reached; declaring that it would be little burthenſome to the people, and particularly ſo to the laborious countrymen, to whoſe condition they, upon every occaſion, paid the greateſt attention.

But with reſpect to the land-tax, which would have fallen upon the nobility and clergy, and thereby removed, ſo far as it went, thoſe exemptions which had been ſo long, and ſo juſtly, conſidered as an intolerable grievance, the patriotiſm of the aſſembly either failed them, or they were over-awed by the potent bodies whoſe intereſts were concerned.

Upon

Upon this ſubject, the Notables were guarded, cautious, and indeciſive; and though they could not, conſiſtently with their own avowed ſentiment, but approve the principle of the tax, they did it with heſitation; and, to get entirely quit of the queſtion, flew off ſuddenly to the old plea of total incompetency with reſpect to taxation—a buſineſs, they ſaid, which reſted ſolely with the ſovereign, and to whoſe prudence and diſcretion it muſt be entirely referred [15].

Upon the whole, the territorial impoſt received the tacit approbation of the aſſembly; they acknowledged the juſtneſs of the principle, made no objection to any of the parts, and only recommended, or rather hinted at, ſome doubtful improvement in the mode of regulation.

Theſe two taxes would have been ſufficient to remove all the diſtreſſes, and to afford energy and eaſe to all the operations of government. The king had ſolemnly engaged, that if their produce exceeded the neceſſary public demand, or without that, as the neceſſities of the ſtate were diminiſhed by ſavings and the diſcharge of debts, he would, in either caſe, remit the overplus, and continually leſſen as much as poſſible the burthen to the people. Nor could he recede from this engagement, if he were even ſo inclined—which, however, there was no reaſon to ſuppoſe—as the ſtate of the public accounts, which was to be publiſhed every year by the new council of finance, muſt have effectually bound him to the performance.

The people being now relieved from a number of their moſt crying grievances, and having full room to hope, and rational grounds for expectation, that what was already done was only introductory to a progreſſive courſe of meaſures for the melioration of the conſtitution, and the improvement of all the departments of government; it might ſeem that little more was wanting than an accommodating and conciliatory diſpoſition in the parliament of Paris, by filling up the line already traced by the Notables, to have eſtabliſhed the proſperity of the preſent reign upon the firmeſt baſis, that of the happineſs and conſequent affection of the people.

But the public diſorders were too deep, and too firmly fixed, to be eradicated; and too vigorous, and rapid in their growth, to be checked by any common reſtraints or impediments. The nation was ſplit into violent factions; and theſe, however various and diſtinct their views might be in other things, were all agreed in one point, which was to re-

[15] It was rather a curious circumſtance of obſervation, that, a little before this diſplay of extreme delicacy, the Notables had ſtrongly recommended a tax upon the city of Paris, whoſe vaſt increaſe of population they repreſented as highly injurious to the kingdom at large, and whoſe inhabitants, therefore, they ſaid, ſhould be more heavily taxed than the induſtrious countrymen.

duce the king to ſuch a ſtate of weakneſs and diſtreſs for want of money, that, finding it impoſſible to conduct the buſineſs of parliament otherwiſe, he ſhould be compelled by neceſſity to adopt their favourite meaſure of convoking the States-General. None of the parliaments, any more than that of Paris, could eſcape the influence of theſe powerful parties, and they of courſe adopted their political opinions and principles. The conduct of the parliament, in urging the convention of the States-General, by which their own authority would be eclipſed, appears, at firſt ſight, diſintereſted, and truly worthy of commendation; but there is too much reaſon to believe that they were actuated, in the firſt inſtance, rather by motives of reſentment to the court, than by any concern for the welfare of the nation; and that they flattered themſelves with the ſupport of the ſtates, and with being regularly conſtituted, what they had hitherto affected to be—their repreſentatives. Indeed it appears that they even expected to be called to ſit in the ſtates, in conformity to a precedent in the reign of Lewis the Thirteenth.

The cabals of the innovators began, about this time, to be regularly formed and embodied, and to ſpread through every part of France; and this faction, inſtead of looking with other parties to changes of men, or to an alteration of meaſures in the adminiſtration of public affairs, directed their views to the utter ſubverſion of government. If the parliament were not immediately under the influence of theſe cabals, they, at leaſt, prepared the way for the confuſion that followed, by their conduct and proceedings in the violent conteſts with the king ſince the rejection of the two money-bills. For the paper war, as it may juſtly be termed, which they inceſſantly carried on, and took ſo much care to publiſh, and which was, in a great meaſure, directly or perſonally, pointed againſt the king, could not but tend, in a conſiderable degree, to render the ſovereign odious, as well as contemptible. Indeed, many of their printed documents, excluſive of their reproach and invective, bore rather the character of manifeſtoes, than of reſolutions and remonſtrances, as they were called.

Their effect went far beyond the original deſign. For, while they were intended only to render certain modes or forms of authority odious or ridiculous, they affected all, and, looſening all thoſe bonds of opinion, which are the great cement of mankind, and to the formation whereof whole ages are neceſſary, though a very ſhort ſpace of time may ſuffice to diſſolve them, made way for that general contempt of all orders, eſtabliſhments, and authorities, which the parliaments themſelves have ſince ſo bitterly experienced. Diſorder, confuſion, and anarchy, ſpread through the kingdom; and they found too late that they had raiſed a ſpirit which they would never be able to lay.

While the political hemiſphere was thus obſcured by the clouds of faction, a natural phenomenon appeared to complete the general calamity. On Sunday the thirteenth of July, (1788) about nine in the morning, without any eclipſe, a dreadful and almoſt total darkneſs ſuddenly overſpread the face of the earth, in ſeveral parts of the kingdom; and this awful gloom was the prelude to a tempeſt or hurricane, ſuppoſed to be without ex-

ampl

ample in the temperate climates of Europe. During this violent concuſſion of the elements, wind, rain, hail, thunder, and lightning ſeemed to contend in impetuoſity; but the hail was the great inſtrument of ruin and deſtruction. The whole face of nature was ſo totally changed in the ſhort ſpace of one hour, that no perſon who had ſlept during the tempeſt could have believed himſelf in the ſame part of the world when he awoke. Inſtead of the ſmiling bloom of ſummer, and the rich proſpects of forward autumn, which were juſt before ſpread over the face of that fertile and beautiful country, it now preſented the dreary aſpect of univerſal winter, in the moſt ſterile and gloomy of the arctic regions. The ſoil was changed into a moraſs; the ſtanding corn beaten into the quagmire; the vines were broken to pieces, and their branches buried in the ſame manner; the fruit-trees of every kind were demoliſhed; and the hail was lying unmelted in heaps, like rocks of ſolid ice.

The country-people, on their way to church, were beaten down in the fields by the fury of the tempeſt; and a large wood of cheſnut-trees, in particular, was ſo damaged, that it preſented little more after than the bare and naked trunks, the boughs being either entirely broken off, or hacked and mangled in a manner that heightened the deplorable effect of their appearance.

The diſordered ſtate of public affairs prevented both the courſe and extent of this hurricane from being defined as it would have been in a happier ſeaſon. The thoughts of thoſe who were qualified to obſerve and record ſo extraordinary a phenomenon, were otherwiſe occupied; and the ſufferers could only deſcribe what they had immediately felt, with little curioſity as to the fate of others. The tempeſt ſeems to have been very irregular in its operation; and while ſeveral large diſtricts were entirely deſolated, other intermediate portions of country received much leſs, or comparatively little damage. One of ſixty ſquare leagues was ſo totally ruined, as not to have a ſingle ear of corn, nor a fruit of any kind, left; and the trees and vines were ſo miſerably battered, that four years was the ſhorteſt period eſtimated for their being again in any degree productive. Of the ſixty-ſix pariſhes included in the diſtrict of Pontoiſe, forty-three were entirely deſolated; while of the remaining twenty-three ſome loſt two-thirds, and others not above half their harveſt.

The Iſle of France and the Orleanois ſeem to have been the principal ſcenes of devaſtation; and the magnitude of the damage may perhaps afford ſome clue to calculators whereby to eſtimate the extent of the calamity. The loſs or damage was ſaid to be moderately eſtimated at fourſcore millions of livres, or upwards of three millions, three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. This was confined to the loſſes ſuſtained by the farmers, or more generally the damage done to the produce of the earth; the devaſtation of churches, ſteeples, and houſes, not being included in the calculation.

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The king, in the firſt inſtance, granted an immediate benevolence of fifty thouſand pounds to the ſufferers, and, as a farther relief, eſtabliſhed a lottery in their favour; he likewiſe remittted all taxes to them for a year to come. All poſſible meaſures were immediately purſued for procuring ſuch an importation of corn, from thoſe countries that could ſpare any, as might ſupply the domeſtic loſs; but, unfortunately, the harveſts in moſt parts of Europe had of late been ſo indifferent, and the war which raged in the North occaſioned ſo inceſſant a demand for all kinds of proviſion, that the wiſhed-for ſupply, to be obtained by theſe means, fell far ſhort of expectation. Several of the nobility and dignified clergy diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the extent of their benevolences upon this occaſion. In general, the great land-holders and owners of eſtates in the ruined countries, beſides the remiſſion of a year's rent, and procuring ſeed-corn from diſtant parts for their tenants, ſpared no pains in their endeavours to preſerve the multitude from periſhing in the interim, by obtaining for them ſuch ſuſtenance as came within their reach and ability. But, notwithſtanding every thing that could be done, the diſtreſſes of the people throughout France were great, ſevere, and laſting.

This unforeſeen and irreſiſtible ſtroke of calamity, coming on at a ſeaſon already ſo ſtrongly and unhappily marked, by the violence of faction, by public diſcontent, and by political diſcuſſion, when all men were looking for or apprehending ſome great convulſion in the ſtate, produced ſuch an effect upon the people in general, that the nation ſeemed to have changed its character, and inſtead of that levity and gaiety by which it had ever been diſtinguiſhed, and which was ill-concealed even in the moſt ſerious affairs, a ſettled and melancholy gloom now ſeemed fixed on every countenance.

Such was the ſtate of men's minds, ſuch the inveterate animoſity produced by the clamour of the parliament, and the inſidious machinations of a faction ſtill more dangerous, becauſe its efforts were more ſecretly directed, that the king found himſelf at length reduced to the neceſſity of abandoning the new conſtitution, which he held ſo much at heart, and on which he had founded the moſt ſanguine hopes. The oppoſition to it was ſo great, ſo general, and ſo determined, that it was not poſſible to ſurmount it. The dukes de Rochefoucault, de Noailles, and Luxemburgh, with ſeveral others, who ſtood among the higheſt of the kingdom in point of rank, weight, and public opinion, rejected the king's nomination, and abſolutely refuſed to ſit in the *Cour Pleniere*. Thus there was no alternative. The king was condemned to ſubmit to this public inſult, and to retract all he had done. By this means, the court was ſunk to the loweſt ebb of degradation, while the parliaments were exalted to the pinnacle of triumph and power.

In the mean time, the poverty of government was ſo extreme, that it became incapable of diſcharging its functions, or anſwering the public demands, through the mere want of money, or of credit to raiſe it, ſo that a public bankruptcy ſeemed faſt approaching. In this ſtate, the king iſſued an arrêt, in which, after declaring the deplorable ſituation of the

the finances, his own inability to raiſe taxes, and the total want of confidence in the public, with reſpect to loans, he gave notice that in theſe circumſtances, only a certain proportion of the demands on the treaſury could be paid in caſh, and the remainder muſt be taken in bills payable in a year, and bearing five per cent. intereſt, the bills likewiſe to be received as money in the ſubſcription to the firſt loan that was raiſed.

Though publicity was the firſt object of ſuch a notice, and could alone give it any effect, yet ſuch were the apprehenſions of the court, ariſing from the ſyſtematic oppoſition which all their meaſures had experienced, that the copies of the arrêt were diſtributed, as it were, by ſtealth, on the evening of the eighteenth of Auguſt. But neither this precaution, the fairneſs of the propoſals, nor the goodneſs of the ſecurity, which—if government were capable of ſubſiſting in any form—muſt have been conſidered as undeniable, could prevent ſuch a general alarm, as was almoſt unparalleled, from being ſpread through the city of Paris on the following morning. The immediate conſequences were a great fall of the ſtocks, and a violent run upon the Caiſſe d'Eſcompte, which was conſidered as the national bank. For two days the croud of perſons who went to change their notes was ſo great and ſo preſſing, that the guards were obliged to marſhal and keep them in order, to prevent confuſion, and that each might be brought forward in turn to the bank. By procuring all the caſh that was poſſible, and uſing much addreſs to make each payment take up as much time as it was capable of admitting with decency, the bank was enabled to maintain their credit, until the edict from the king relieved them on the third day, commanding all bankers and others to receive their bills in payment as caſh—a meaſure which nothing but the neceſſity of the caſe could juſtify, and which of courſe gave little ſatisfaction to the public, although it ſaved the Caiſſe d'Eſcompte.

Public diſcontents, meanwhile, were heightened by private diſtreſs. Want and miſery began to be felt in different parts of the kingdom, and the capital itſelf became apprehenſive of a famine. Bread, which is more properly the ſtaff of life in that country than in any other, and where the conſumption of it is ſo prodigious as to appear incredible to ſtrangers, had already riſen from two and a half to four ſous per pound: and worſe being ſtill expected, prudent families began to diſcharge their ſervants, and contract their mode of living, which neceſſarily increaſed the number of idlers, who, through the general ſtagnation of buſineſs being unable to procure any kind of employment, already crouded the ſtreets and open parts of the metropolis, and were in a ſtate of the moſt deplorable diſtreſs.

Under this alarming aſpect of affairs, the prime miniſter, monſieur de Brienne, who had been promoted to the valuable archbiſhoprick of Sens, which conveyed along with it the primacy of the Gauls, the greateſt and moſt honourable eccleſiaſtical dignity in the kingdom, and which moreover ſecured the reverſion of a cardinal's hat, looking more to his own

ſafety than to the duty or gratitude which he owed to his royal maſter, made no ſcruple of leaving him alone to weather the approaching ſtorm as he could: on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt he reſigned his charge, and departed, with the utmoſt expedition, for Italy. It is ſaid that the only quality which this prelate poſſeſſed that could recommend him to notice was *wit*; a quality—ſays a modern French writer—which is, unhappily, too common in France, Haughty with his inferiors, ſervile to thoſe above him; preſumptuous yet weak; enterpriſing yet inefficient; though deſtitute of judgment, energy, or perſeverance, he was eager to decide, command, alter, or correct; he overthrew what he attempted to re-eſtabliſh; made bad worſe; created univerſal diſguſt, and rendered odious the authority with which he was, unfortunately, entruſted.

The example of the archbiſhop was ſoon after followed by M. de Lamoignon, the keeper of the ſeals, a man of a very different diſpoſition, and who bore a very different character. His perſonal ambition, as well as the deranged ſtate of his affairs, had led him to aſpire to the firſt place in the magiſtracy. After combating, in different memorials, the plans propoſed by the archbiſhop, he had the weakneſs to lend his aſſiſtance to enforce the execution of them, and to become the organ and accomplice of the man whom he had hitherto oppoſed. By his efforts, directed to the attainment of glory and the acquiſition of wealth, he covered himſelf with ſhame, and completed his ruin. The reform of the courts, trials by jury in criminal proceſſes, the aſſignment of counſel to priſoners, the total ſuppreſſion of the torture and all barbarous puniſhments, and a variety of other uſeful regulations for the better adminiſtration of juſtice, formed a part of the plan ſubmitted, under his order, to the committee of legiſlation eſtabliſhed by himſelf.

M. de Lamoignon bore his diſgrace with a degree of firmneſs that excited the aſtoniſhment even of thoſe who were beſt acqainted with his fortitude. He never ſuffered a murmur to eſcape him, either againſt the archbiſhop of Sens, whoſe unfortunate ſchemes had occaſioned the ruin of them both, or againſt the public, of whoſe injuſtice he had too much reaſon to complain. He ſupported the loſs of a place to which he was extremely attached, and the weight of unmerited cenſure, with all the calmneſs of a good conſcience and the ſerenity of virtue. He enjoyed an advantage of which few courtiers can boaſt—that of preſerving his friends, and receiving, in the moment of diſgrace, the viſits of thoſe who had ſhunned him in the hour of proſperity.

He died[16], ſoon after his retreat from office, loaded with debts, though he was neither a gameſter nor a debauchee. Although he had ruined his family, his wife and children were

[16] In a Hiſtory of the Revolution, in two volumes 8vo. publiſhed by Robinſons, it is poſitively affirmed that he put an end to his own exiſtence; but this aſſertion is, to ſay the leaſt of it, extremely raſh; his death, occaſioned by the diſcharge of a gun placed between his legs, in a grotto in his park, rather appears to have been the effect of

were inconſolable for his loſs;—but this cannot create ſurprize, when even his enemies acknowledge, that he was a good huſband, a good father, a good friend, and an upright magiſtrate [16].

By the retreat of the archbiſhop of Sens the king's ſituation became extremely difficult and embarraſſing; compelled lately to diſmiſs a favourite miniſter; forſaken now by his ſucceſſor, who left him involved in all the troubles which the raſhneſs or failure of his meaſures had occaſioned; and deſtitute in himſelf of that active energy, of thoſe great and commanding perſonal qualities, which diſtinguiſhed the fourth Henry, and had frequently effected ſuch wonders in critical affairs, and which were never more neceſſary than in the preſent inſtance, to enable him to ſtem that torrent of diſcontent and diſorder which was ſpreading with ſuch violence through his dominions.

Thus circumſtanced, he perceived no other reſource, than that of throwing himſelf into the arms of the popular party, and, by coinciding with their propoſals, to endeavour to reſtore concord and harmony in the kingdom, and to obtain that perſonal quiet beyond which his ambition did not extend. Little diſpoſed himſelf to any exertions of arbitary power, and as little calculated by nature for their ſupport, conceſſions offered no great violence to his feelings.

The firſt ſtep to be taken upon this change of ſyſtem was, in a great meaſure, declaratory and deciſive with reſpect to thoſe that were to follow. This was the recall of M. Neckar, and the placing him again at the head of the finances, a meaſure which had been earneſtly recommended by the archbiſhop of Sens, at the moment of his reſignation. M. Neckar had become the idol of the people; and the circumſtance of his being, by birth at leaſt, a republican, was ſo fortunately adapted to the ſpirit of the times, that it was not only ſufficient to remove all prejudices with reſpect to his being a foreigner and a Proteſtant, but would have rendered him popular if he had not been ſo otherwiſe.

Such was the ſtate of things when M. Neckar was again placed at the head of public affairs. The joy of the people was immoderate, and their expectations and hopes paſſed all bounds of reaſon and poſſibility. It ſeemed as if they conceived that he poſſeſſed a magical wand; that by waving it he could pay off an immenſe public debt without money; and that by another movement he could, with the ſame eaſe, ſupply ſix-and-twenty millions of people with corn and bread. Circumſtances appeared for a moment to give a ſanction to the deluſion; the funds ſuddenly roſe, and the general good-hu-

of accident than of deſign; a full account of the tranſaction may be ſeen in l'Hiſtoire de la Revolution de 1789, par deux Amis de la Liberté, tom. i. p. 58. note.

[16] Hiſtoire de la Revolution de 1789, &c. p. 59, 60.

mour ſeemed to diſpel all thoſe black clouds which ſo thickly obſcured the political horizon.

The new miniſter neglected nothing which could tend to the ſupport of that public opinion ſo eſſential to his fame and greatneſs. Fortune favoured him with an opportunity of ſignalizing his entrance into office by a grand ſtroke, admirably calculated to juſtify the moſt ſanguine hopes that had been formed of his adminiſtration. This was nothing leſs than the reſtoration of public credit, which had been deeply affected by the late arrêt relative to the payments at the treaſury. M. Neckar ſoon diſcovered, and perhaps previouſly knew, that there were large ſums of money lying in ſeveral of the public departments, deſtined to aſſigned purpoſes which were not yet in being. Secure of this ſupport, he immediately iſſued public notice, that all demands on the treaſury ſhould in future be immediately paid in ready money. Nothing could ever produce greater eclat. He was hailed by the people as the Saviour of his country; the preſervation of France from the ruin and diſgrace of public bankruptcy was univerſally aſcribed to him; and all the evils in which the country was plunged were conſidered as already cured. He likewiſe uſed all poſſible means to draw corn from different parts to the relief of the metropolis, where the natural turbulence of the inhabitants was liable, upon any accidental occaſion, to be ſtimulated to acts of outrage and violence.

It was generally ſuppoſed that the reſtoration of the parliament of Paris to its functions would have been one of the firſt effects of a change in the miniſtry; and the ſhort delay that intervened was aſcribed to ſome explanations which were required from the leaders of that body, as to the courſe which they intended to purſue, with reſpect to the meaſures adopted by the late adminiſtration, particularly with regard to the ſuſpenſion.

However that was, the parliament met about the middle of September, and, after ſome diſplay of moderation in their firſt ſittings, ſoon began a new ſquabble with the crown, on the grounds of proſecuting thoſe members of the late miniſtry who were forthcoming, particularly monſieur de Lamoignon, and monſieur de Brienne, (brother to the archbiſhop of Sens) who had holden the poſt of miniſter of the war department, for the evil advice they had given, and the calamities which the nation had ſuſtained thereby. But the king peremptorily refuſed to admit this proſecution, declaring, that he was alone reſponſible for all the late meaſures; and that if any miſchief took place, they proceeded entirely from the refractory conduct and obſtinacy of the parliament.

In the mean time the populace of Paris began to make a diſplay of that riotous and ungovernable diſpoſition, for which, in all times of public commotion, they had, almoſt invariably, been diſtinguiſhed in every period of the monarchy. Under pretence of celebrating the diſmiſſion of the miniſtry, they aſſembled in crouds, firſt in the Place Dauphine,

Dauphine, and afterwards on the Pont-Neuf, where they amuſed themſelves for ſome time with throwing ſquibs and crackers, and obliging paſſers-by to take off their hats, and bow to the ſtatue of Henry the Fourth. But ſeeming to grow tired of that ſport, they ſuddenly provided themſelves with lighted torches, and proceeded in a body to burn and deſtroy the houſe of M. de Lamoignon. The timely interference of the guards ſaved the houſe, and probably the life of that gentleman, to whom his country was ſo highly indebted for his admirable reform of the code of criminal juſtice, and in whoſe humane regulations in the mode of proſecution, the order of men who now ſought his deſtruction were ſo nearly and particularly concerned. The crowd diſperſed upon the interference of the military, but re-aſſembled in another part, and were proceeding to burn the late keeper of the ſeals in effigy; when, finding themſelves purſued, and again interrupted by the guards, their indignation was rouſed to ſuch a pitch, that they ſtood a battle with the troops; but were ſoon routed, above thirty of their number being killed, and a much greater number wounded.

The parliament ſoon afforded an inſtance of the moderation with which they were diſpoſed to exerciſe power or to enjoy triumph, as well as of the terms upon which they intended to ſtand with the court. That body cauſed all the king's decrees, which related to their ſuſpenſion, or which they conſidered as encroaching upon their privileges, to be publickly burned in Paris. In this act, the heinouſneſs of the example, to a turbulent and inflamed populace, kept pace with the wantonneſs of the inſult.

The neceſſity of convening the States-general had, by this time, become obvious to every man, and their meeting was accordingly fixed for the month of April in the enſuing year. As a preparatory ſtep, a convention of the Notables was ſummoned to meet in the beginning of November, for the expreſs purpoſe of receiving their opinion and advice in anſwer to a number of written queſtions propoſed to them, relative to the organization of the ſtates; the mode of election to be purſued; the qualifications of the electors, and of the elected; the numbers to be returned by the reſpective diſtricts, whether with reſpect to their wealth or population; the general number of which the ſtates were to be compoſed; the proportionate number of the three orders, with reſpect to each other; and various other matters relative to the ſame object.

The unequalled ſeverity of the winter could not fail to produce the moſt deplorable effects, in a country where the people were already ſo much diſtreſſed for want of ſubſiſtance. It was in vain that high bounties were offered for the importation of wheat, rye, and other grain: the countries of Europe were in no condition to ſupply, in any degree, the wants of ſo prodigious a number of people; the relief, however, thus furniſhed, though far from ſufficient, undoubtedly preſerved multitudes from periſhing. Paris probably ſuffered more than the reſt; but the want in all was extreme; and the turbu-

lence and extraordinary ill-temper of the people induced them, inſtead of looking to the general effect of bad harveſts, or to the particular ruin occaſioned by the late hurricane, to aſcribe the ſcarcity and dearneſs of bread to the nefarious ſchemes of the court, which they charged with the impoſſible crime of exporting the corn by ſtealth to foreign countries:—And this abſurd accuſation, too, was preferred at the very time when it was as much the intereſt as it was the inclination of the king and his miniſters, to ſooth the minds and conciliate the affections of the people.

The motives aſſigned for the convocation of the Notables, in the royal proclamation, were, that the king could have wiſhed to adopt the model of the laſt aſſembly of the States-general; but that, in various articles, it could ſcarcely be reconciled to the preſent ſituation of affairs; and that, in others, it had excited a diſſatisfaction, the grounds of which deſerved to be inveſtigated; that the elections of the Tiers Etat, or commons, had been confined to the towns diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Bonnes villes*, to the excluſion of many others, which had ſince become conſiderable; that the inhabitants of the open country had in moſt caſes ſent no deputies; that the repreſentatives of the towns were generally choſen by the corporations, whoſe officers at preſent acquired their ſituations by purchaſe; that almoſt all the repreſentatives of the Tiers Etat had been nobles; that the elections had been made by bailiwicks, every one of which had ſent nearly the ſame number of deputies, though they had then been unequal in population and extent, and that inequality was now conſiderably increaſed; that the States-general had divided themſelves into twelve ſections, called governments, by a majority of which every queſtion was decided; but theſe governments were unequal, as well as the bailiwicks, a majority of which conſtituted the vote of the government; laſtly, that a great portion of the time of the laſt States-general had been conſumed in frivolous conteſts reſpecting their formation. Impelled by theſe motives, the king had thought that the diſcuſſion of them ought not to be confined to his privy-council; and he had called together the ſame Notables as had met in 1787, and whoſe nomination had been made for other purpoſes, that he might give the moſt ſtriking proof of his impartiality.

The firſt queſtion ſubmitted to the diſcuſſion of the aſſembly was, whether the deputies of the three orders of the ſtate ſhould meet together in one aſſembly, in which all the concentrated powers of the ſtate ſhould reſide, or whether they ſhould be divided, as they had formerly been, into three chambers, through each of which a reſolution muſt be carried, before it became the acknowledged act of the ſtates: voting by heads was the term applied to the firſt of theſe alternatives, and voting by orders to the ſecond.

The next queſtion was, whether the number of deputies from each of the orders ſhould be the ſame as at the laſt convention of the ſtates, in 1614, or whether, the clergy and

and nobles ſtill adhering to their former numbers, the third eſtate ſhould be allowed to ſend ſix hundred deputies[17]?

This was called the double repreſentation; and the gaining of this point not only formed one of the principal objects of the third eſtate, but united the wiſhes of the republican party, and, generally, of all the malecontents throughout the kingdon. But to render the double repreſentation entirely effective, and to give a decided ſuperiority to the third eſtate, a point of ſtill greater importance was to be gained. This was the *amalgamation*, as it was called, of the three orders in one aſſembly; whereby, ſitting together, without any diſtinction, in the ſame chamber, they ſhould vote by heads, and the majority of votes, without any regard to orders, be of courſe concluſive. The real views in this deſign were extremely well covered by a reference to the conduct of the ancient States-general, who, with ſome few exceptions, had been rendered in a manner uſeleſs to the nation, through the idle diſputes and ridiculous quarrels, relative to objects of little moment, whereby their time being waſted, and deliberations diſtracted, they, in many inſtances, became as odious to the people as to the crown itſelf. This evil, whether juſtly or not, was induſtriouſly repreſented to the public, and by men not deſtitute of ability, as proceeding entirely from the ancient States-general being claſſed in different orders, and ſitting in different chambers; while they boldly aſſerted that the ſyſtem of amalgamation would preclude the poſſibility of ſimilar diſputes.

On theſe queſtions the king's abſolute authority, which, on ſuch points, had not been openly queſtioned by any, was equally appealed to by all the parties for a final deciſion. On the other hand, the ſovereign reſigned himſelf entirely to the advice of M. Neckar, in every thing relative to this ſubject, whoſe popularity he thought would afford a ſanction to whatever was covered by his name, and thereby prove the means of procuring him that eaſe and tranquillity in government, which he was peculiarly anxious to obtain.

That miniſter, whoſe real or ſuppoſed talents for finance and political œconomy had, combined with a variety of fortuitous circumſtances, raiſed him to a degree of public opinion and credit, which has not often been equalled, found himſelf entirely out of his element when he became involved in the unexplored and intricate ſervice of political legiſlation. Surrounded and over-awed by powerful factions, unable to fathom their deſigns, and incapable even of ſuſpecting their inſidious views, he was liable to fall into every ſnare that was laid for him. As vanity conſtituted a very prominent feature in his mind, it inceſſantly ſubjected him to impoſition: ſtanding, as he did, the miniſter of the people, and owing his elevation to them, that circumſtance alone, independent of edu-

[17] In 1614, the eccleſiaſtical chamber was compoſed of one hundred and forty members; the chamber of the nobility, of one hundred and thirty-two; and that of the commons, of one hundred and eighty-two.

cation

cation and habit, could not fail to give him a ſtrong bias towards the popular party. Honeſt himſelf, and moderate in all his views, he ſeems to have placed too great a reliance upon the rectitude of others, and not to have been aware that the deſigns of men often extended far beyond their preſent avowal or action.

With theſe diſpoſitions, M. Neckar wiſhed to make great conceſſions for the gratification and ſatisfaction of the people, and for rendering their future condition happy; but he by no means intended to aboliſh or infringe on thoſe lawful prerogatives and rights, and that conſtitutional authority, of the crown which were neceſſary to give effect and energy to good government, and were not only compatible with, but highly conducive to, the general welfare and intereſts of the people. He neither wiſhed on the one hand to ſubvert the ancient rights of the ſovereignty, nor, on the other, to preſerve to the crown the power of doing wrong in any eſſential matters. But in the purſuit of this rational and equitable ſyſtem, he diſplayed a want of ſteadineſs, courage, and ſagacity; and his conduct clearly proved that he did not foreſee the conſequences of many of his own moſt favourite meaſures. Wiſhing to pleaſe all parties, he temporized, and loſt the good opinion and confidence of all; and while he earneſtly endeavoured to eſtabliſh order, good temper, and good government in the kingdom, he unfortunately, but undeſignedly, became, in no ſmall degree, the inſtrument of anarchy and confuſion.

M. Neckar never gave any decided opinion upon the ſubjects, either of the ſtates voting by heads or by claſſes; of their ſitting in one chamber or in three; or of their amalgamation; but with reſpect to the double repreſentation of the commons, he took a moſt decided part in favour of that meaſure, which certainly appeared to be a juſt and proper meaſure, inaſmuch as it tended to render the repreſentation of the people more equal and fair. The Notables, however, aſſerted a contrary opinion: they recommended the conſtitution of 1614, as the model by which the preſent convocation of the ſtates ſhould be regulated, as that had been by the regulations and orders eſtabliſhed by their predeceſſors. They maintained, that the three orders ſhould conduct their deliberations in ſeparate chambers, as had ever been the caſe, ſince the third eſtate had been firſt admitted to theſe convocations; and that the three orders ſhould conſiſt of ſomething near equal numbers, amounting to about three hundred each.

The Notables, in giving this advice, only followed the example of the parliament of Paris, which had before given its unqualified opinion in ſupport of the principle of convoking the States-general according to the conſtitution of 1614. This conduct of the parliament, which in other ſeaſons would have been productive of all the applauſe which uſually attended their proceedings, upon this occaſion produced a very different effect. The minds of men were now too much inflamed, and the ſpirit of innovation was too widely diffuſed, to admit of their being ſatisfied with theſe ſecurities or conceſſions, which would before have excited the moſt lively ſenſations of gratitude and joy. All the former

former popular acts of that aſſembly, all the arduous conflicts which they had ſuſtained with the late adminiſtration, as well as that invincible courage and perſeverance which ended only with its downfall, were now at once forgotten; and thoſe diſtinguiſhed members whoſe zeal and ſufferings had led the people to rank them among the heroes and martyrs of patriotiſm, were regarded, in the heated minds of the commons, as the contemptible tools of ariſtocracy.

This unexpected change in the public opinion was moſt ſenſibly felt by the parliament, who, in order to recover the affection of the people, aſſembled, with more than uſual formality, on the fifth of December; inviting, at the ſame time, for the purpoſe of giving more dignity and ſplendour to their proceedings, the attendance of the princes and peers. At this meeting, they iſſued an arrêt, the object of which was to qualify, in a certain degree, their former declarations, and to give their ideas of the principal points of French liberty.

They began, by expreſſing their alarms for the conſequences of the preſent ferment, and of the manœuvres employed by evil-deſigning perſons to deprive the nation of the fruits of the efforts of the magiſtracy, and to ſubſtitute anarchy and ſedition in the room of the acquiſition of a juſt and generous liberty. They recommended, as the moſt deſirable of all preliminaries, harmony between the different orders; and they regretted that they ſhould have been ſo much miſunderſtood in their ſelection of the model of 1614. By this ſelection they had undoubtedly intended to point out the mode of convocation by bailiwicks as preferable to all others; but they were neither empowered nor had deſigned to put any reſtriction upon the confidence of the electors; and with reſpect to the proportion of repreſentatives for the three orders, as it was undetermined either by law or common uſage, they had always meant to refer to the diſcretion of the ſovereign the choice of ſuch meaſures as might beſt accord with reaſon, with liberty, with juſtice, and with the national ſentiment. After this explanation of their intentions, they proceeded to point out what they conſidered as fundamental principles, not to be departed from, and which it was the duty of every national aſſembly to eſtabliſh and confirm: the periodical return of the States-general:—No ſubſidy to be allowed, under any pretence, that was not granted by the ſtates:—No laws to be executed by the courts of juſtice which the ſtates had not ſanctioned with their approbation:—The ſuppreſſion of all thoſe taxes that marked a diſtinction between the orders, and their replacement by common ſubſidies equally impoſed on all:—The reſponſibility of miniſters:—The right of the States-general to bring accuſations before the courts of juſtice for crimes that intereſt the whole nation:—The protection of the liberty of the citizen, by the obligation of the party arreſting to commit him to a legal priſon:—And, laſtly, the lawful liberty of the preſs.

Theſe proviſions for eſtabliſhing and preſerving the rights and ſecurity of the people, which had been chiefly collected from the Britiſh conſtitution, though the important right of trial by jury had been omitted by the parliament, probably from the conſideration that it would tend to diminiſh their own prerogatives, would, a very ſhort time before, have been regarded as a glorious Magna Charta of French freedom, and as forming a new epoch in the hiſtory of that country. They were now, however, rejected with contempt, as falling far ſhort of the ideas of equal liberty which were ſo generally entertained. The parliament was therefore wholly diſappointed in the hope of recovering that popularity which it ſo eagerly ſought: and its credit, influence, and authority, continued, from this time, in a ſtate of progreſſive diminution, until it was at length totally aboliſhed, and all its paſt exertions and conſequence conſigned to oblivion. The king's anſwer to the above reſolutions was, that he had nothing to diſcuſs with his parliament; it was with the nation aſſembled that he would concert ſuch meaſures as might permanently conſolidate the public order and the proſperity of the ſtate.

But this reply did not prevent the publication of a brief diſquiſition, by M. d'Eſpremenil, which has juſtly been conſidered as an authentic commentary upon the reſolution of the fifth of December. In this he maintained, that the voting by ſeparate orders was the conſtitution; and the voting in a ſingle aſſembly the exception [18]; an exception to which it might be neceſſary to have recourſe upon extraordinary caſes, but which muſt always be adopted by the voluntary aſſent of the three orders. The fermentation that had been excited upon the queſtion of doubling the repreſentation of the commons was an example, he ſaid, of perverſity and malevolence that no hiſtory could parallel. In fact, he obſerved, all France was of one opinion. The clergy and nobility were willing to concede their pecuniary privileges; and this conceſſion, on the one hand, and the independence of orders, on the other, were only wanting to render the nation happy and free. He was, nevertheleſs, of opinion that the repreſentation of the commons ought to be doubled; not to protect them againſt the ariſtocratical orders, there was no longer any conteſt between them; but becauſe a full and numerous repreſentation of the people afforded the beſt ſecurity againſt miniſterial deſpotiſm, the common enemy of the ſovereign, and of every order in the ſtate.

With a view to ſhew that their ſentiments had been miſrepreſented, and that though they w ere friends to freedom they were enemies to licentiouſneſs, the parliament ordered a violent pamphlet, written in defence of the popular principles, to be burned by the hands of the common hangman! and the ſpeech, which it was uſual upon ſuch occaſions for the attorney-general to deliver, was replete with pointed cenſures againſt the extra-

[18] The juſtice of this aſſertion may be decided by a reference to the former parts of this Hiſtory.

vagant

vagant pretenſions of the Tiers Etat. They ſoon after ſummoned to their bar the author and printer of a petition, ſtiled, the Petition of the inhabitants of Paris, and to which ſignatures were ſolicited by advertiſements and circular letters. Having heard the parties, they iſſued a ſtrict prohibition for the future againſt ſuch advertiſements, and the public expoſure of petitions for ſignature, as contrary to good order, and capable of being applied, by ill-intentioned perſons, to the worſt of purpoſes.

But the exertions of the magiſtrates to check the ſpirit of popular inquietude, and to ſtifle the jealouſy and diſſention which prevailed between the different orders that were to compoſe the ſtates, proved fruitleſs and ineffectual. The commons, far from being ſatisfied with the ſubmiſſion of the nobility to an equal taxation, and to contribute in future a due proportion in the raiſing of ſubſidies, ſought to overthrow all privileges whatever; and would not conſider that as a conceſſion, which they claimed as an abſolute right. This idea of extinguiſhing all claims founded upon ancient uſage, compact, or privilege, was carried ſo far as to trench, in ſome reſpects, upon private property, and, in one inſtance, to affect the circumſtances of a numerous order of the ſtate, many of whom were little able to bear ſuch a loſs. For many of the lords had, ages ſince, whether upon principles of kindneſs or mutual utility, releaſed their peaſants from that ſtate of vaſſalage in which they were then holden, and received from them certain fixed rents as a compenſation for their lands; but, under the preſent projected ſyſtem of general equality, it was taught to be an intolerable grievance and oppreſſion, to pay a price for the enjoyment of thoſe rights and goods of nature to which every man was, as ſuch, equally entitled. Several feudal rights and ſervices were likewiſe ſtill retained in moſt or all the lordſhips or manors, ſome of which were commuted for in money, though the major part of them were diſcharged in kind. The total loſs of theſe rents and ſervices, without any compenſation, would have been very ſeverely felt by the lower nobility, who were very numerous, and who, being obliged to ſupport a certain degree of rank in very confined circumſtances, could expect nothing leſs than utter ruin and miſery to their families, when to this defalcation from their narrow incomes, was to be added the ſhare which they were in future to contribute towards the ſupport of the ſtate.

For the nobility, who, moſt fatally for themſelves, had, in the preceding year, ſo tenaciouſly adhered to their pecuniary exemptions, that they would not afford the ſmalleſt aid to extricate their ſovereign or the public from the emergencies in which they were involved, and had thereby opened the way to all the ſubſequent calamities, were now become not only fully ſenſible of their error, but began to perceive and to feel ſome part of the growing danger of their ſituation. The dukes and peers of France had already preſented a memorial to the king, offering to bear their due proportion of the public charges, and, ſo far as they could, anſwering for the reſt of the nobility as holding the ſame ſentiments; and they were ſupported in this engagement by the public declarations or avowed

diſpoſition of the nobles in different parts of the kingdom. But the ſeaſon was now paſt! and the popular ferment was grown to ſuch a height, that all hope of conciliation ſeemed at an end.

No equalization of taxes, no melioration of their own condition, no exaltation of their political importance in the ſtate, ſeemed now capable of affording any gratification to the commons, while the other two claſſes poſſeſſed a ſingle privilege, or any degree of conſequence diſtinct from the general maſs. As the writers, as well as the orators, and thoſe numerous ſects who were deemed philoſophers, were almoſt all on the popular ſide, ſo the tenures of the nobility were rendered ſo odious in the numberleſs writings which were hourly publiſhed on the ſubject, and their privileges, claims, conduct, and ſervices placed in ſuch ridiculous and degrading points of view, that the nobles thought it neceſſary to iſſue a declaration in their own defence, wherein they inſiſted that their feudal rights were inviolable property, coeval with their eſtates, and equally acquired by the valour of their anceſtors: that they had been eſtabliſhed by the original conſtitution of the country, and confirmed by the ſanction of unnumbered laws, and untold ages. But this declaration, inſtead of producing any good effect, or contributing in any degree to allay the prevailing animoſity, ſerved only to increaſe the unpopularity and odium under which the nobility already laboured.

At the very time that the ſtricteſt union would have been indiſpenſably requiſite to reſiſt the deſigns that were formed againſt the whole of their immunities and diſtinctions, the nobility were divided by various jealouſies among themſelves, and ſplit into violent factions. That ſuperiority aſſumed by the dukes and peers of France, from their poſſeſſing ſeats in the parliament, and from their being conſidered as the hereditary counſellors of the crown, though ſanctioned by the preſcription of centuries, and hitherto, like other ancient eſtabliſhments, paſſed over without exciting much care or enquiry, became, in this ſeaſon of innovation, and under the influence of that reſtleſs ſpirit which marked the genius and temper of the time, an object of much diſſatisfaction and envy with thoſe nobles, the extent of whoſe poſſeſſions, the antiquity or public ſervice of whoſe families, or both theſe conſiderations united, led them to regard themſelves as equally entitled to ſo flattering a diſtinction.

In the ſame manner, and as if the ſpirit of diſſention were contagious, the parliament were themſelves convulſed by internal diviſions. For the places of judges having, by degrees, become, in a great meaſure, hereditary, the ſon uſually ſucceeding the father in his office, the grievance was conſidered as intolerable by the barriſters, who ſaw themſelves nearly deprived of all hopes of ever attaining to thoſe emoluments and diſtinctions, which they juſtly conſidered as the proper objects of profeſſional ambition, as the due rewards of merit and ability, and as neceſſary encouragements to aſſiduity, labour, and exertion,

exertion. They accordingly formed a ſtrong party againſt the judges, and their efforts were directed, not unſucceſsfully, to injure them in the public opinion. The conduct of the judges, too, afforded great ſcope for animadverſion; they were frequently incorrect in their deciſions; and wrong was ſometimes confirmed or eſtabliſhed: in ſome criminal caſes of great notoriety, which had awakened the attention or excited the horror of all Europe, the innocent were condemned to ſuffer the moſt cruel puniſhments which the law permitted for the higheſt degrees of guilt. Of this deſcription was the trial of the unfortunate *Calas*, who fell a victim to the deteſtable bigotry and perſecuting ſpirit of the parliament of Thouloufe; and that of *Salmon*, a young woman of Normandy, ſentenced, by the courts of that province, to be committed, alive, to the flames, for a crime, with reſpect to which there were not only not the ſmalleſt grounds to ſanction a ſuppoſition of *her* guilt, but the ſtrongeſt reaſons to ſuperinduce a belief that it was committed by others [19]. Whenever caſes like theſe occurred, which were, happily, not frequent, the pleading advocates eagerly ſeized the opportunity of acquiring great popularity by the courage and eloquence with which they defended the injured and oppreſſed: they boldly controverted and arraigned, and ſometimes ſucceſsfully, the opinions of the judges; and when their efforts proved fruitleſs, if the caſe were ſufficiently clear, they appealed to the world, by publiſhing their proceedings. But it will eaſily be conceived, that in this eager chace of popularity they frequently overſhot the mark; and that anxious to obtain victory they ſtrained and warped the law from its uſual and natural bias, to make it ſuit the immediate purpoſe. They, however, gained their point, in rendering both the judges and the courts odious; and were indifferent, as to the conſequences, under a reliance, that their own legal knowledge and abilities would, in all caſes, and in any change that could take place, be indiſpenſably neceſſary.

The French parliaments boaſted a peculiar nobility of their own, originating from particular office and rank. It ſeemed, as if ſome fatality had, at this turbulent and dangerous period prompted ſeveral of theſe provincial bodies to become diſſatisfied with their former privileges and honours, and to attempt the introduction of a new regulation, the object of which was to exclude all but gentlemen—that is the lower nobility—from their reſpective aſſemblies. A greater inſult or injury could not have been offered to the third eſtate, than this meaſure of folly and vanity, if time had been afforded for carrying it into effect; it having long been one of the moſt oppreſſive grievances of that body, that nearly all promotions, whether civil, military, naval, or eccleſiaſtical, were monopolized by the nobles. The affront and intended injury were the more galling to the commons, as being offered by men who were drawn from the common maſs of citizens, but who

[19] Fortunately, this injured woman was reſcued from impending deſtruction, by the interpoſition of a nobleman, who, convinced of the injuſtice of the ſentence, appealed, in her behalf, to the council of ſtate, by which ſhe was honourably acquitted. This happened in 1785.

now regarded their fellows with ſuch marked diſdain, that they would ever prevent them from poſſeſſing the ſame advantage, Theſe circumſtances ſerved to render the parliaments not only unpopular but odious; and deprived them of that pity and reſpect which would otherwiſe, have accompanied their ſubſequent fall.

Other prevalent cauſes operated in diſuniting and weakening the nobility. Many of the moſt neceſſitous, the moſt turbulent, or the moſt profligate, rejoiced in the preſent ferment; they wiſhed for tumult and commotion, a ſtate of things by which they could loſe but little, but whence the eagerneſs of hope and deſire flattered them with proſpects of great public advantage. Theſe eagerly ſought popularity at any price, and at all events, without any more regard to the benefit or ſecurity of their particular order, than to the general good of the ſtate. Some, of high rank and great power, were ſuppoſed to entertain views of a remote but dangerous ambition, which could have no other hope of obtaining its end, but what was founded on the diſorders produced by ſome great convulſion in the ſtate. Upon this principle, it was their intereſt to promote, by whatever means, the preſent ferment; and to augment, as far as might be, the rage and violence of the people, as being the proper diſpoſitions for rendering them, at a ſubſequent period, uſeful and active inſtruments in the proſecution of their own deſigns.

The ſpirit of diſcord, grown extremely prevalent, extended to the clergy, who were little more united among themſelves than the other claſſes of the people. The *Curés*, or pariſh prieſts, who lived among and aſſociated with the commons, had very generally, though not in an equal degree, imbibed many of the popular notions and opinions. But there was a peculiar grievance relative to themſelves, which, though patiently borne, they had long juſtly repined at. This was the monopoly which the nobility had, almoſt invariably, poſſeſſed of nearly all the dignities and emoluments in the church, which, independent of the evil reſulting from the vexation, jealouſy, and envy which it naturally occaſioned, could not but have a fatal tendency to the diſcouragement of learning, virtue, and piety, among the inferior clergy, and the diligent exerciſe of thoſe duties which require ſuch conſtant care in the application, and are ſo indiſpenſably neceſſary in that body.

On the twenty-eighth of November, in a general committee of the Notables, the prince of Conti read and delivered a note to Monſieur, as preſident of the committee, containing a declaration, that he owed it to his conſcience, his birth, and the preſent criſis of public affairs, to enter his proteſt againſt the inundation that exiſted of ſcandalous publications, which diffuſed trouble and diviſion throughout the kingdom. The monarchy, he maintained, was attacked! a blow was aimed at its exiſtence! and the moment was at hand! It was impoſſible that the king ſhould not, at length, open his eyes, and that his brothers ſhould not call upon him to do ſo: it was neceſſary to the ſtability of the throne, of the laws, and of order, that all new ſyſtems ſhould be for ever proſcribed,

proſcribed; and that the conſtitution, with the ancient forms, ſhould be preſerved entire. This note was laid before the king, who returned it with an intimation, that the ſubject of it was totally foreign from thoſe, for the diſcuſſion of which the Notables had been aſſembled; that he therefore forbade them to take it into their conſideration; and that the princes of the blood ought to addreſs themſelves directly to him, when they had any thing to communicate which they conceived might be uſeful to him.

The Notables were diſſolved on the twelfth of December, and two days after that event a memorial was preſented to the king by the princes of the blood who had ſat in that aſſembly, with the exception of Monſieur and the duke of Orleans, enforcing the repreſentations of the prince of Conti. They affirmed, that the ſtate was in inſtant danger; that a revolution was gradually taking place in the principles of government; and that the preſent fermentation of men's minds furniſhed the means by which it was to be effected: inſtitutions, hitherto deemed ſacred, and by which the monarchy had flouriſhed for ages, were now diſputed as problematical, or decried as unjuſt; the publications that had appeared during the ſitting of the Notables; the memorials that had been framed by different provinces, cities, and corps; their object and their ſtyle, announced a regular ſyſtem of inſubordination, and a determined contempt for the laws of the ſtate. Every writer erected himſelf into a legiſlator: eloquence, and an art of writing, without information, without ſtudy, and without experience, were thought qualifications ſufficient to enable men to regulate the fate of empires: ſuch was the tremendous progreſs of this effervеſcence, that opinions, which, a ſhort time ſince, would have been deemed the moſt reprehenſible, now appeared reaſonable and juſt; and thoſe, at which men of honour now ſtarted, would perhaps ſome time hence be regarded as perfectly legitimate and regular. They aſked, who could ſet bounds to the temerity of opinion? The rights of the throne had already been diſputed; the rights of the two orders were now called in queſtion; the rights of property would ſhortly be invaded, and the unequal diſtribution of wealth be conſidered as a matter deſerving of reform.

The jealouſy and diſlike between the nobility and commons was daily encreaſing, and ſtrongly indicating miſchiefs and evils, which it ſhould have been the great object of a wiſe and prudent government to prevent or evade. For the diſpoſition of the nobles to ſubject their eſtates in future to a proportional ſhare of the public burdens, afforded, as we have already ſeen, no ſatisfaction to the commons, while the former would have this conſidered merely as a conceſſion of favour, but by no means as a dereliction of their right of exemption, As the point was given up, however, it was of little conſequence in what mode the conceſſion was made; but the chief bone of contention was the queſtion of *amalgamation*, or the three orders ſitting and voting in common in one general aſſembly. This point the commons were determined, if poſſible, to carry at all events; deeming every other acquiſition imperfect and of little value, without the ſtrength and

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efficacy which this was capable of communicating; while the nobility in general were as violent on its rejection. But a part of their own body eſtabliſhed an alarming precedent againſt the conduct and ſentiments of the great majority; for at the provincial meeting of the ſtates of Dauphiny, the nobles and clergy were not only coaleſced into one common maſs with the repreſentatives of the people, but it was determined by that aſſembly, that their deputies to the States-General ſhould be inſtructed to ſupport ſtedfaſtly the queſtion of amalgamation, and to give weight and currency to it from their own example, by neither ſitting nor voting in any other manner.

The commons of Brittany, who, from the union of that province with France, had to the preſent day retained ſome greater portion of freedom than any others in the kingdom, and who had for ſome time been in habits of licentiouſneſs and diſorder, being now fired by the example of Dauphiny, inſiſted that their ſtates ſhould be modelled in the ſame manner; but this being peremptorily refuſed by the gentlemen, who thought it a moſt ungrateful return for the zeal, ſpirit, and riſque, with which they had ſupported the public rights, againſt the tyrannical deſigns and attempts of the late adminiſtration, the differences became ſo warm, and the contending parties ſo much enraged, that the country was for ſeveral weeks in a ſtate nearly approaching to a civil war.

M. Neckar has been deſervedly cenſured for not having uſed the means which his official ſituation, and ſtill more his popularity, ſeemed to place in his hands, of endeavouring, previous to the elections, or even after, to allay the ferment which prevailed in the nation, to conciliate ſome, or to gain over others of the jarring factions, and above all things, to endeavour to heal or to ſoften the animoſities between the commons and the nobility; which, as the latter were willing to reſign their exemption with reſpect to taxation, and might probably have been led to farther conceſſions, did not by any means ſeem an unattainable object. Nothing of this ſort, was, however, attempted; every thing was committed to chance, or ſuffered to purſue that bias from which it received its original direction, while the miniſter, confident in hope, and looking to the States-General with a degree of idolatry, as the ſummit of all poſſible perfection, ſeemed to ruſh blindly on, truſting, in defiance of the hiſtory and experience of paſt times, to find in that body, a remedy for all the political evils of the ſtate.

A. D. 1789] In order to ſecure his favourite point of the double repreſentation of the commons, a meaſure indiſputably juſt, he preſented a memorial to the king, in which he rendered himſelf perſonally reſponſible for its ſucceſs, and deſired that he might be made the ſacrifice to its failure, or at leaſt to its production of any ſiniſter event [20]. The king,

[20] It is remarkable, that while in this piece, M. Neckar drew an imaginary picture of ſome of the effects which really enſued, he ſeemed ſcarcely to conſider them as being within the verge of poſſibility, or to think that there was ſufficient turpitude in mankind for their production.

who

who had received a miniſter from the people, merely in the hope of thereby reſtoring tranquillity to the public, and quiet to himſelf, did not think it prudent to hazard ſo deſired an object by any interference of his own in counteracting his deſigns. In purſuance of this ſentiment, in the beginning of January, he iſſued a decree, framed or dictated by the miniſter, which granted to the third eſtate a double repreſentation, but, through ſome unaccountable neglect or infatuation, left untouched that moſt eſſential queſtion of amalgamation, and conſequently of the ſtates ſitting in one, two, or three chambers.

Nothing could have been more unfortunate, in the preſent ſtate of things, than this omiſſion; and indeed it may be conſidered as the principal cauſe of the evils which enſued. The king's deciſion on the ſubject would have been final, and not only willingly ſubmitted to, but was expected and wiſhed; for none of the parties had yet called in queſtion the plenitude of his authority, until the meeting of the ſtates, to act as proviſionary legiſlator. Nor did it require any great ſagacity to foreſee, that the great point of a double repreſentation being gained by the third eſtate, while the other, of amalgamating the three orders into one, was left open and undecided, they would immediately endeavour to ſeize the advantage thus offered, and that their ſucceſs in the firſt inſtance would render them infinitely more ſtrenuous and impetuous in their efforts to obtain the ſecond, which could alone communicate that full efficacy to the double repreſentation, which was the object of their wiſhes and exertions.

But though conſequences which might have been foreſeen were, in the blindneſs of confidence, overlooked, ſome well-judged propoſals were, nevertheleſs, made for mollifying or correcting this ſtate of things, and for conciliating the animoſity of the parties: for the nobles had bound themſelves, by a ſolemn oath, never to ſubmit to the amalgamating or conſolidating ſyſtem, ſo far as to ſit or to vote in one common aſſembly.

One of theſe ſchemes was, that the repreſentatives of the nobles and clergy, ſhould be united in one aſſembly; and ſhould ſupply, at leaſt in a certain degree, the place of the houſe of lords in England; while the third eſtate ſhould ſit by itſelf, under the name of *the houſe of Commons*.

The ſecond ſcheme was much more comprehenſive. It propoſed, like the other, to unite the clergy and nobility in one houſe; but to reſtrict the number of ſeats poſſeſſed by both to a certain given and proportionate number; that the clergy ſhould be choſen by rotation; that the nobles ſhould poſſeſs a certain given quantity of land to qualify them for election; but, in order that the ſervices of merit and ability ſhould not be loſt to the public, nor utility ſacrificed to forms, that the eldeſt ſons or immediate heirs of

theſe noble poſſeſſors ſhould be likewiſe qualified to fill ſeats, if elected; and laſtly, to enlarge the ſphere of repreſentation in the third eſtate, to remove prejudices, and to unite every rank and claſs of the people in one common intereſt, that the nobility at large, as well as the clergy, who were not appointed to the upper, but leſs numerous, aſſembly, ſhould be qualified to be elected by the commons as their repreſentatives in the third eſtate: the number to be ſtill reſtricted, though, to its original deſignation.

It was maintained by the framers and ſupporters of this ſcheme that it was calculated to produce an excellency of conſtitution, and a juſt fitneſs, due proportion, ſtrength, and ſecurity of all the parts of government. For they repreſented, that counterpoiſes would be thus provided to every diſtinct power in the ſtate; that each would operate as a check and regulator to the others, and prevent all exceſs in any; that, under ſuch guards, it would become impoſſible for any one to devour all the others: and that, thus, the moſt valuable parts of the Engliſh conſtitution would be obtained, without any of its defects.

But the views of the commons were now ſo much extended, and their deſires ſo much inflamed by the near proſpect of placing all the powers of the ſtate in one ſingle aſſembly, that no propoſal that was incompatible with that plan could be attended to with patience. Pride, arrogance, and vanity ſoon found popular reaſons for the rejection of ſuch a propoſal. They urged that it would be diſgraceful in the laſt degree for the *greateſt* and *moſt enlightened* nation in Europe to borrow a conſtitution from another country. They poſſeſſed wiſdom and philoſophy ſufficient for modelling and regulating their own government, without ſubmitting to the ſhameful degradation of being indebted to the aid of foreigners. This idea had ſuch force, that it became for a conſiderable time a fixed principle neither to borrow from, nor to imitate England in any reſpect whatever, relative to the ſtate and government.

On the twenty-fourth of January, the king ſent his circular letters for the convocation of the States-General at Verſailles. Theſe ſet forth that he ſtood in need of the aid of his faithful ſubjects, to enable him to ſurmount the difficulties in which he was involved, reſpecting the ſtate of the finances, and to eſtabliſh, agreeably to his wiſhes, a ſteady, conſtant, and invariable order in every part of government, that intereſted the happineſs of his people, and the proſperity of the kingdom: ſuch were the motives which had determined him to convene the aſſembly of the ſtates in all the provinces in his dominions, in order that they might not only adviſe and aſſiſt him in all thoſe objects which ſhould be ſubmitted to their conſideration, but likewiſe make known the wiſhes and grievances of his ſubjects; ſo that, by a mutual confidence, and a reciprocal love between the ſovereign and the nation, an efficacious remedy might be applied, as ſoon as poſſible, to the diſorders of the ſtate, and abuſes of every kind be reformed and prevented by

by ſuch good and ſolid means as were proper to give permanence to the public happineſs, and particularly to reſtore that calm and tranquillity of which he had ſo long been deprived: he, therefore, proclaimed his intention of aſſembling the ſtates, on the twenty-ſeventh of April, in the town of Verſailles; and expreſſed his deſire that ſome of the moſt reſpectable perſons of each province, bailiwick, and ſeneſchalſhip would attend. The officers to whom the letters were addreſſed were then ordered to convene, in their reſpective towns, without delay, the moſt proper of the three claſſes of their bailiwicks or seneſchalſhips, that they might confer and communicate together on the ſubjects of complaints, grievances, and remonſtrances, and the means and advice they might have to propoſe to the general aſſembly of the ſtates; and, afterwards, chuſe and nominate ſuch perſons as were worthy that diſtinguiſhed mark of confidence, on account of their integrity and ſuperior talents. The letters then ſtated, that the deputies or repreſentatives of the provinces, bailiwicks, and ſeneſchalſhips ſhould be furniſhed with proper inſtructions, and ſufficient power to propoſe, remonſtrate, adviſe, and conſent to every thing that might concern the preſent or future wants of the ſtate, the reform of abuſes, the eſtabliſhment of ſteady and permanent order in every branch of the adminiſtration, the general proſperity of the kingdom, and the welfare of all and each of his majeſty's ſubjects; and they concluded with an aſſurance, that, on the part of the king, the beſt good-will and diſpoſition ſhould be found for maintaining and executing whatever ſhould be concerted between him and the ſtates, whether reſpecting the impoſts they ſhould agree upon, or for the eſtabliſhment of a conſtant rule in all parts of the adminiſtration, or on the public order; and that the king would aſk, and liſten favourably to, their advice, on whatever might intereſt the good of the nation; redreſs their grievances, and attend to their propoſals; ſo that the kingdom, and all his ſubjects in particular, might ever feel the ſalutary effects of ſo noble and ſo grand an aſſembly.

In conſequence of this notice, moſt of the deputies aſſembled at Verſailles on the twenty-ſeventh of April; but the numerous deputation from Paris, as well as the multitude of electors, occaſioned ſo much delay in the elections of that city, that the king thought it neceſſary to defer the opening of the aſſembly to the fourth of May. The parties who were thus brought from all parts of the kingdom to claſh together and ſhew their animoſity at Verſailles, were ſoon diſtinguiſhed and arranged under their reſpective leaders, before the formal opening of the aſſembly. They were claſſed under three great diviſions, and theſe ſubdivided into ſmaller parties.

The firſt was the ariſtocratic party, who were determined to ſupport, at all events and at all hazards, the ancient form and mode of proceeding, by a ſeparation of the ſtates into three chambers, and by each chamber poſſeſſing its reſpective *veto*, or negative on the others. This party was conſiderable, whether with reſpect to numbers, or to the talents and ability of its leaders, in both orders of the nobles and of the clergy.

The ſecond diviſion was that of the middle or moderate party, who, though averſe from continuing the diſtinction of three ſeparate orders, as a ſyſtem in their opinion too complicated and difficult for practice, yet wiſhed for a conſtitution founded upon the principle of reciprocal controul, ſuch as we have already noticed. Though this party was not near ſo numerous as the former, yet it included names, both with reſpect to talents and integrity, which ranked high among the moſt eminent in the kingdom; and even among the commons was ſupported by ſuch men as Mounier, Bergaſſe, and Malouet.

The laſt, but the great and triumphant diviſion, was that democratic party which was deſtined to ſwallow up all others, and to level all diſtinctions in the duſt, from the ſceptre to the croſs of Saint Louis. This party comprehended the moſt violent and turbulent ſpirits in the Third Eſtate, among whom Mirabeau, not leſs celebrated for his talents than marked for his profligacy, finding himſelf rejected with contempt by his own order, obtained a ſeat, and ſoon became the moſt conſpicuous of their leaders [21]. Nor were democratic principles confined entirely to the Third Eſtate; they were adopted with no leſs violence by the biſhop of Autun and the abbé Gregoire, who headed a party among the clergy.

The duke of Orleans, too, unreſtrained by all the principles that operate with the greateſt effect on the boſom of honour, unchecked by the potent conſiderations that reſult from birth and ſtation, by the allurements of dignified rank, by the bonds of friendſhip, and the ties of blood; burſting through thoſe impediments, and breaking down thoſe barriers which nature has wiſely oppoſed to the deſtructive torrent of human paſſions, which reaſon has ſtrengthened, and juſtice confirmed, adopted a line of conduct which had for its object the gratification of an ambition, unprecedented, in its aim and extent, in the hiſtory of modern times, and attainable only by the ſacrifice of all that virtue holds dear, and humanity conſecrates;—this prince had, upon the change of miniſtry, been releaſed from his confinement at Reinſy; but inſtead of repairing to court, he proceeded to his town reſidence, the Palais Royal, which thenceforth became the focus of ſedition, the center of political intrigues. He there began the execution of a project he had formed for attain-

[21] It had hitherto been invariably reckoned highly diſgraceful for a nobleman to become a member of the Third Eſtate; and, on the other ſide, it was holden no leſs diſgraceful to the commons to elect a nobleman to be their delegate; ſuch a meaſure, beſides other grounds of objection, being conſidered as a tacit acknowledgment, that no one of their own claſs was properly qualified to be their repreſentative. But all delicacy in this reſpect was now, in ſeveral inſtances, diſmiſſed on both ſides. Some of the moſt factious and deſperate of the nobility, either deſpairing of being choſen by their own order, or ſuppoſing, that the Tiers Etat would, in the preſent ſtate of things, afford a more ample field for the diſplay of their talents, as well as a more fertile ſoil for the propagation of their opinions and deſigns, uſed all their intereſt and addreſs to obtain ſeats among the commons; while ſimilar motives and diſpoſitions to thoſe which urged them to the application, operating with no leſs effect on the other ſide, they were received with open arms.

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Jones Fecit

LOUIS PHILIP, DUKE OF ORLEANS.

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ing, by all poſſible means, a popularity, in the acquiſition of which he had hitherto through life been ſingularly unfortunate. His immenſe fortune, producing an annual income of one fourth of a million ſterling, greatly facilitated, in the preſent ſtate of things, the accompliſhment of this deſign [22]. The ſtreets were filled with an innumerable multitude of vagabonds, partly natives, but a greater number outcaſts of the different provinces, who, deſtitute of every neceſſary of life, were ready to perform any ſervice of which they were capable, for food and cloathing. By exceſſive largeſſes in money and corn, he ſoon became the idol of that vaſt and populous city; he ſeemed to ſucceed in filling the place which had been formerly occupied by the duke of Beaufort; and to be in a fair way of attaining, as that prince had done, the title of King of the Mob—the only title he was worthy to enjoy! It was impoſſible that ſuch a man, in ſuch a ſituation and ſuch circumſtances, ſhould be deſtitute of a conſiderable party. Mirabeau, and ſome others, of a ſimilar deſcription, enliſted under his ſtandard, and were juſtly ſuppoſed to be actuated in their proceedings by motives very different from thoſe which they openly profeſſed. While the duke himſelf, enveloped in the clouds of his Olympus, was known to "ride on the whirlwind, and direct the ſtorm."

Having been choſen a member of the ſtates for his own bailiwick of Creſſy, in Valois, he was careful to provide a ſanction for his future conduct, by employing the abbé Sieyes, who was particularly attached to him, and whoſe name ſtood high among the ſpeculative philoſophers and politicians of the day, to draw up his *cahier* [23] or inſtructions, in the name of that bailiwick; which the abbé accompliſhed in a manner that could not but afford content to the moſt eager wiſhes of democracy.

In the interval between the firſt aſſembly of the ſtates at Verſailles, and the day appointed for their formal opening, when it might have been imagined that the expectation and joy excited by ſo new and long-deſired an event would have effectually ſuppreſſed the murmurs of diſcontent, and ſilenced the voice of turbulence, the

[22] It is impoſſible to conceive a character more unpopular than the duke of Orleans moſt deſervedly was, for many years previous to the Revolution. Neither the conſideration of his elevated rank, nor the poſſeſſion of his enormous fortune, could deter him from the commiſſion of acts that would have inflicted indelible diſgrace on a man of the loweſt birth, and narroweſt income. His numerous violations, not only of virtue and honour, but of common decency and common *honeſty*, related to me, at Paris, by perſons whoſe authority I am not permitted to doubt, and on a time when no motives of party could exiſt to ſtimulate perverſion or provoke exaggeration, were ſuch as beſpoke a total dereliction of every ſentiment that ennobles and dignifies the human mind, and placed him on a level with the meaneſt and baſeſt of men.

[23] We have ſhewn, in former parts of this Hiſtory, that it was always cuſtomary in France, at the election of the States-General, for each order in each diſtrict to preſent a memorial of grievances, accompanied with inſtructions, to its peculiar deputy; which memorials or inſtructions were called *cahiers*; and by theſe the deputies were ſuppoſed to be bound in their political conduct.

populace of the capital determined to exhibit to the collected repreſentatives of the kingdom an early and notable ſpecimen of the ferocity of their manners, and of their incurable diſpoſition to tumult and diſorder.

The inhabitants of every diſtrict in France, preparatory to the election of delegates, hold what is called a *primary aſſembly*, where they chooſe a preſcribed number of electors, who are to act for the whole in the choice of a repreſentative to the ſtates. The primary aſſemblies have nothing farther to do with the final election of delegates, nor have they any knowledge who they are to be; but they leave their *cahiers* or inſtructions with the electors, which are by them communicated to the repreſentative. By this mode of proceeding, no connection ſubſiſts between the delegate and thoſe whom he repreſents, he being a deputy choſen by other deputies, and owing nothing directly to the good-will of the people at large.

Theſe primary aſſemblies, in which cuſtom, and the practice of expatiating upon and ſtating grievances in their cahiers, neceſſarily produced much licence of ſpeech, and afforded an opportunity to individuals, of every deſcription, publickly to vent their diſcontents, would ſcarcely fail to promote ſome diſorders even in well-regulated ſocieties; but in the preſent ſtate of Paris, their effect was highly and juſtly dreaded by the moderate, moſt reſpectable, and moſt opulent citizens. Whether it was to obviate theſe apprehenſions, or that the court thought it otherwiſe neceſſary, the French guards, who had for ſome time been ſtationed in that capital, now received orders to double their guards, and to be conſtantly ready at call to preſerve order.

Nothing, however, occurred for ſeveral days, to interrupt the public tranquillity; but it happened that M. Reveillon, a citizen of the firſt order in point of reſpectability and opulence, and who conducted a capital paper-manufactory, in which he gave conſtant employment to a great number of workmen, had preſided, in conjunction with a M. Henriot, and ſome other of the moſt eminent citizens in that quarter, at the primary aſſembly holden for the diſtrict of Saint Antoine. It is ſaid that, aſtoniſhed at the length and violence of the political harangues delivered by ſome of his own workmen, Reveillon could not ſo far govern his temper, as not to ſhew ſome marks of diſapprobation at their conduct.

This enraged them ſo much, that, with a view to ſecure the mob in their favour, and to render his deſtruction inevitable, his own workmen, whom he had ſo long employed and maintained, raiſed the malicious and falſe report, that he was at the head of a combination of manufacturers and maſters, who had agreed to reduce the wages of all the journeymen and working-people in Paris; and that he had himſelf publickly declared,

clared, that their wages not only greatly exceeded their deſerts, but were much more than was neceſſary for the maintenance of them and their families.

A report of this nature, without regard to its falſhood, might have been productive of ſome miſchief in any manufacturing and populous place; but in the tumultous ſuburb of Saint Antoine, where the moſt riotous diſpoſition prevailed, and where the population was immenſe, the exploſion it occaſioned was inſtantaneous and univerſal. The firſt effect of the rage of the rabble was the burning of M. Reveillon and ſome others in effigy; and a detachment of guards, who were ſent to ſuppreſs the tumult, being too weak for the purpoſe, their failure tended to encreaſe the audacity of the mob.

The intoxication and mutual communication produced in the night ſucceeding this temporary triumph, were ſufficient to prepare them for any exceſs on the enſuing day. They accordingly proceeded, on the twenty-eighth of April, to demoliſh the houſe of M. Reveillon and M. Henriot, which they effectually accompliſhed with great diſpatch. A ſtrong body of the guards, having arrived before they could proceed any farther in the proſecution of their deſigns, were immediately ſaluted with a violent ſhower of ſtones and tiles, which they bore for ſome time with great temper; but perceiving that their forbearance only ſerved to render the mob more daring and violent in their attack, the guards at length determined to repel force by force, and threw in a cloſe and heavy fire, which made conſiderable ſlaughter among the rabble[24]. A great number were killed; the hoſpitals were crowded with the wounded; and terror immediately ſucceeding to inſolence, the reſt diſperſed with the utmoſt precipitation.

[24] Nothing can more ſtrongly demonſtrate the great partiality and ſhameful inconſiſtency of the reverend Rabaud de Saint Etienne, than his account of this tumult.—"The French and Swiſs guards"—ſays the pious Divine—"*for* "*a long time endured* the inſults and *attacks* of this intoxicated and outrageous multitude, and, at length, received or- "ders to defend themſelves, or, more *properly* ſpeaking, to COMMIT MURDER!!!" "The croud was diſperſed by the "bayonet or ball; and ſeveral paid with their lives the forfeit of THEIR INIQUITY."—How men can be ſaid to commit murder by the act of repelling unprovoked "inſults and attacks," which they had, "for a long time endured" without any attempt at reſiſtance, it is rather difficult to conceive. Nor is it more eaſy to comprehend how men that are *murdered* can be ſaid to have paid with their lives "the forfeit of their *iniquity!!!*"—It is ſomewhat ſingular that an abſurdity ſo groſs as this ſhould have eſcaped the attention of the tranſlator of Saint Etienne's work, who certainly is not ſparing of his comments, where they tend to ſtrengthen the text, or to diſplay, in a *favourable* point of view, the ſentiments of the author.

That the troops did not receive orders to fire on the mob until they had been cruelly haraſſed *(cruellement fatigués)* by their hoſtile attacks, is expreſsly affirmed by the authors of "The Hiſtory of the Revolution of 1789" (vol. i. p. 181), who alſo inform us that the king and his miniſter haſtened to make M. Reveillon—whom they repreſent as a virtuous citizen, and as a man who by his exertions of ingenuity and induſtry had rendered great ſervice to his country—ſome amends for the injury he had ſuſtained. On this occaſion, they exclaim: "What teſtimony can be "more honourable than that of a patriot miniſter, ſo worthy to be a judge of merit and virtue, and the kindneſs of "a virtuous king, ſo worthy to reward them!" P. 185.

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It was ſtrongly aſſerted, at the time, that this riot was not accidental, and did not ariſe from the aſſigned cauſes, nor from any ſudden impulſe of the populace, but had been inſtigated by ſome of the leaders of the contending factions, as an experiment to try the temper both of the mob and of the troops, and thence to draw concluſions which might, at a ſubſequent period, be applicable to certain caſes. Thus far is certain, that the court and the popular party charged each other with being the authors of it; that each pointed out a great leader on the oppoſite ſide as being the immediate inſtigator[25]; and that both parties aſſerted, in the moſt poſitive terms, that wretches who were dying of their wounds in the hoſpitals confeſſed they had been hired, but either would not or could not declare by whom.—If either charge be founded, it will be plain that no means are deemed too execrable for the purpoſes of faction!

Though peace was thus apparently reſtored to the capital, yet the fermentation among the mob was ſo great, that it was eaſily ſeen to be of a very doubtful and precarious nature; of which a ſtronger proof, indeed, cannot be afforded, than the circumſtance of the whole body of the French guards in Paris being obliged to be drawn out, with loaded arms, bayonets fixed, and artillery planted in different places, in order to inſure the execution of two ruffians, who had been taken in the very act of plunder[26]. Such were the ſad auſpices under which the firſt aſſemblage of the States-General, after a lapſe of one hundred and ſeventy-five years, was deſtined to commence its proceedings.

The preſent muſt certainly have been conſidered, by all rational men, as a period the moſt aweful and momentous; the time for conſolidating the welfare and felicity of an immenſe people was at length arrived; the wiſdom and ability of a numerous and mighty nation were now concentrated under one roof; a glorious opportunity was afforded to mollify the government by the correction of abuſe, and the impoſition of ſalutary reſtraints; and from the labours of the aſſembly it was reaſonable to expect, that a fair proſpect of tranquillity and happineſs, through a long courſe of ſucceeding ages, would be tranſmitted to poſterity, by affixing ſuch barriers to the exceſſes of power, ſuch checks upon licentiouſneſs, and eſtabliſhing ſuch ſecurities to rights, as could not be overthrown or ſhaken.

But one dreadful conſideration muſt, it is apprehended, have occurred to all thinking minds, to all attentive obſervers, and have caſt a thick gloom over the flattering ſcene

[25] The count d'Artois, and the duke of Orleans.

[26] It was in this inſurrection that women were firſt ſeen to forget all the timidity natural to their ſex, with all the reſtraints of decency and decorum fixed by habit and opinion, and to mix, with more than maſculine fury, in ſcenes of ſlaughter and deſtruction. It was here, too, that men were taught to diſguiſe themſelves in the dreſs of women, thereby to evade the puniſhment due to their crimes.

before

before them: viz. the depravity of manners, not leſs vicious than general, that prevailed in the kingdom. This circumſtance, it is conceived, more than the prevailing diſpoſition to tumult, the dangerous ſpirit of innovation, or the dark machinations of contending factions, unleſs theſe be conſidered as ariſing from that one grand ſource of univerſal corruption, was calculated, in a peculiar degree, to excite preſent apprehenſions, and to influence future tranſactions. Certain it is that the page of modern hiſtory preſents not one ſolitary inſtance of a nation ſo generally depraved, ſo diſſolute, vicious, profligate, and corrupt, as were the French at this period. The depravity was not confined to the higher orders of ſociety, in which facility of gratification is peculiarly favourable to its growth; it pervaded, in at leaſt an equal degree, the middle claſs, and infected, with its peſtiferous breath, even the loweſt orders of the community[27]. Where virtue is holden in contempt, and the ties of morality are deſpiſed, the fair plant of liberty cannot, rationally, be expected to thrive.

"Liberty," ſays the virtuous citizen of Geneva, "is a nutritious food, but hard of "digeſtion; it requires a ſtrong ſtomach to bear it—I laugh at thoſe people, who pre"ſume to talk of liberty, without having an idea of it, and who imagine that to be free "it ſuffices to be mutinous. Proud and ſacred liberty! if theſe poor wretches could "but know you; were they aware at what price you are to be purchaſed and preſerved; "if they were ſenſible how much the auſterity of your laws exceeds the rigour of the "tyrant's yoke, their weak minds would fear you a hundred times more than they dread "ſlavery—they would fly from you with terror, as from a burden that was ready to "cruſh them."

The views of the different parties, at this awful criſis, are thus briefly repreſented by a perſon well acquainted with them, and who was himſelf an actor of importance in the ſcenes then exhibited: "The commons wiſh to conquer; the nobles wiſh to preſerve what they "already poſſeſs; the clergy want to ſee which ſide will be victorious, in order to join "the conquerors;—but, if any one ſincerely wiſhes for peace, it is the king[28].

The States were opened on the fourth of May, at Verſailles, with much pomp and ceremony, in a magnificent hall that had been prepared for that purpoſe. At one end of

[27] Leſt it may be ſuppoſed that this aſſertion is founded on *ſubſequent* events, it may be neceſſary to ſay, that it is the reſult of *perſonal* obſervation, during a reſidence of ſeveral years in France, as well in the capital as in the provinces, immediately previous to the Revolution; that obſervation was particularly aided by opportunities of introduction to the higher circles of faſhion; by an extenſive acquaintance with the magiſtracy and others of the ſecond claſs; and by ſtrict enquiries into, and attention to, the ſituation and manners of the lower orders of the people. But a *national* reflection, of this nature, muſt not be conſidered as applicable in its utmoſt extent; it is only meant to be applied to the *majority*; though juſtice extorts the affirmation, that ſuch majority was very conſiderable indeed.

[28] Memoire de M. Le Comte de Lally-Tollendal, ou Seconde Lettre à ſes Commettans, p. 23.

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the hall, on a ſpace that occupied about a fourth of the whole, and elevated by ſome ſteps above the reſt, the king was ſeated on his throne; on his left, on a ſeat ſomewhat lower, was the queen; and on either ſide were his brothers, and the princes of the blood, except the duke of Orleans, who, having been choſen a deputy, preferred his ſeat, as ſuch, to that to which his birth entitled him. The ſovereign was ſurrounded by all his court. In the lower part of the hall, at a table oppoſite to the throne, were his miniſters; on the right, on benches, were the clergy; on the left, the nobility; and acroſs the hall, in front of the monarch, ſate the commons. Galleries for ſpectators were divided from the body of the hall, by rows of columns. The ſhow was grand; and the ſilence and order that reigned, were perfect. After the heralds had proclaimed the opening of the States, the king pronounced the following diſcourſe:

" Gentlemen, The day is at length arrived which my heart has ſo long panted to be-
" hold; and I find myſelf ſurrounded by the repreſentatives of a nation it is my glory
" to command.

" A long interval has elapſed ſince the laſt convocation of the States-General; but
" although theſe aſſemblies have not for ſome time been holden, I have not been diſſuaded,
" by the example of my late predeceſſors, from re-eſtabliſhing a cuſtom whence the na-
" tion may earneſtly hope to acquire new vigour, and which may prove the means of
" opening to it an additional ſource of happineſs.

" The public debt, which was already immenſe at my acceſſion to the throne, has
" encreaſed during my reign; an expenſive, but honourable war, was the cauſe of ſuch
" increaſe, and the augmentation of taxes has been the conſequence of it; but an un-
" equal levy has cauſed thoſe taxes to be more ſeverely felt.

" A very general diſcontent, and too great deſire for innovation, have taken hold of
" the people's minds, and will end in miſleading their judgment, if they do not haſten
" to fix them by wiſe and moderate councils.

" It is with this confidence, gentlemen, that I now aſſemble you; and I rejoice to ſee
" that it has been juſtified by thoſe diſpoſitions which the two firſt orders of the ſtate
" have ſhewn, to renounce their own pecuniary privileges. The hope which I have
" cheriſhed, to ſee all the orders unite and concur with me in wiſhes for the public good,
" will, I am certain, not prove fallacious.

" I have already ordered very conſiderable retrenchments of expence; you will like-
" wiſe communicate to me your ſentiments on the ſubject, which I ſhall receive moſt
" gladly; but in ſpite of all the reſources which the moſt rigid economy can ſuggeſt, I
" fear, gentlemen, that I ſhall not be able to relieve my ſubjects as ſoon as I could wiſh.
" I ſhall order an exact ſtate of the finances to be laid before you; and when you have
" examined

" examined them, I am convinced you will propoſe to me the moſt effectual means to " eſtabliſh them on a permanent footing, and to ſtrengthen the public credit. This great " and ſalutary work will claim your moſt earneſt attention; it is that which will ſecure " the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, and maintain its conſequence among foreign " powers.

" The public ſpirit is in a ferment, but an aſſembly of the repreſentatives of the nation " will certainly liſten to no other counſels but thoſe which are founded on wiſdom and " prudence. You yourſelves, gentlemen, have been able to judge, on many recent " occaſions, how far the people have been miſguided; but the ſpirit which will direct " your deliberations will anſwer for the true ſentiments of a generous nation, the pro- " minent feature in whoſe character has ever been the love of their king. I ſhall baniſh " every other ſentiment from my mind.

" I know the authority and power of a juſt monarch, ſurrounded by a faithful people, " at all times attached to the principles of monarchy; theſe have cauſed the glory and " ſplendour of France; it is both my duty and my determination invariably to ſupport " them.

" But whatever may be expected from the moſt tender ſolicitude for the public good, " whatever can be required of a ſovereign, the ſincereſt friend of his people, you may, " you ought to expect from me.

" May a happy union prevail in this aſſembly! and may this epoch become ever me- " morable for the happineſs and proſperity of the country! This is the wiſh of my " heart;—the moſt ardent deſire of my prayers;—it is, in ſhort, the price which I ex- " pect for the ſincerity of my intentions, and the love I bear to my people."

After this " paternal diſcourſe of the king, which proclaimed the beneficent diſpoſi- " tions of his heart, and that affection for his people which is the firſt virtue of mon- " archs [29]," M. Barentin, the keeper of the ſeals, delivered a ſpeech, of no extraordinary length, nor overloaded with matter. He enlarged upon the idea of a limited government, equally removed from abſolute monarchy on the one hand, and ſecured againſt the inroads of anarchy and republicaniſm on the other. In other reſpects he ſeemed confined or guard- ed; and particularly with regard to the formidable queſtion of three chambers or one, he touched it ſo lightly as to leave it in the ſame ſtate of ambiguity which the financial miniſter had hitherto done; not venturing to hazard an opinion, or to enter into any diſcuſſion whatever on the ſubject. He did not, however, neglect to diſplay the atten-

[29] Rabaud de Saint Etienne.

tion paid by the king to the public voice, in granting a double repreſentation of the moſt numerous of the three orders, and that on which the burden of taxation principally lay; but he obſerved, that, in complying with this deſire, his majeſty had not changed the ancient form of deliberation; and that, though the deliberation by heads, in giving one general reſult, appeared to have the advantage of better diſplaying the general wiſh or opinion, yet the king had not willed that this form ſhould take place without the free conſent of the States-General, confirmed by his own approbation.

The expectations of all parties were now raiſed to the higheſt pitch, to hear the long oration which was read by M. Neckar; all expected a wonderful fund of information, public affairs to be placed in a new light, and a ſeries of practical concluſions to be drawn ſo clearly from eſtabliſhed premiſes, as ſcarcely to leave room for doubt or controverſy. It happened, however, unfortunately, that all parties were equally diſappointed in their expectations. Looſe and declamatory in its texture, interlarded with moral maxims and ſentimental apoſtrophes, the ſpeech avoided all the great points of political diſcuſſion or deciſion, which ſeemed to be its only proper objects; and, in fact, was univerſally conſidered as much better calculated for an academical harangue, than for expreſſing the ſentiments of a great monarch to the repreſentatives of a powerful, a haughty, and convulſed nation; and that at a criſis which already exhibited the moſt novel and dangerous appearances.

He entered into a minute account of the revenue and diſburſements; pointed out the deficiency between the fixed receipts and payments to be fifty-ſix millions of livres[30]; and obſerved, that as there were various ways of filling up this deficiency, without having recourſe to new taxes, the king had not been under that abſolute neceſſity of convening the ſtates as had been ſuppoſed; that his doing ſo was only to be aſcribed to his love for his people, and to his love of juſtice, which rendered him deſirous of conſulting their repreſentatives, and of taking ſuch meaſures with them as might tend to inſure their future welfare, *and put the creditors of the ſtate, and the order of the finances, under the ſafeguard of the nation.* He mentioned the eſtabliſhment and utility of provincial aſſemblies; matters relative to improvements in agriculture and commerce; the neceſſity of ſupporting the *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte*, and a variety of other ſubjects, which, he ſaid, would naturally occupy their attention.

In his ſlight examination of, or rather alluſion to, the great and eſſential queſtion of the ſeparate chambers, the miniſter did not depart from his former ambiguity; and, though he ſaid ſufficient on the ſubject to excite the diſſatisfaction of the commons, and

[30] About two million, three hundred and thirty-three thouſand, three hundred and thirty-three pounds ſterling.

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to draw down, from the other orders, a charge of having committed a culpable act of ſupererogation, he left his hearers totally at a loſs to comprehend what his ſentiments really were.

By the adoption of ſome deciſive reſolution on this important point, much of the confuſion and calamities that enſued might have been avoided. The king poſſeſſed, at this inſtant, as he had done ſince the ceſſation of the parliaments, all the legal authority of the kingdom; as, though the ſtates were aſſembled, they were not yet conſtituted, and could poſſeſs no legal powers whatever until the verification of their writs of election, a buſineſs which, in any event, muſt have taken up ſeveral days. Thus the king might, to the laſt moment, have inſtituted ſuch regulations, with reſpect to their ſitting, deliberating, and voting, as he thought proper, provided only, that they were conformable to the ancient precedents and modes of proceeding. Nor would it have been much, if any thing, ſhort of formal rebellion, in any of the orders, to refuſe a compliance with regulations ſo eſtabliſhed. This renders the conduct of his miniſters ſtill more inexplicable. That they ſhould thus perſevere to the laſt moment in ſo fatal a blindneſs or negligence, as to leave queſtions, on which every thing depended, open and undecided, is ſo little reconcileable with the common conduct of common men in matters of buſineſs as to appear totally incomprehenſible.

But this ſeaſon and opportunity being irrecoverably loſt, the commons now ſaw a fair opening for drawing all authority to themſelves, and, by a proper application of the weight derived from their double repreſentation, of the popularity which they enjoyed, and of the advantage offered them by the neglect of the miniſters, to render the other two orders ſo entirely dependent upon them as to become mere nominal cyphers in the ſtate. Nor did they want able leaders to ſeize and improve theſe advantages to the utmoſt. Theſe were quickened in their action, by the hint or advice which had been thrown out by the financial miniſter in his ſpeech, to induce the privileged orders to make a gratuitous ſurrender of their pecuniary exemptions, than which nothing could be more contrary to the views of the oppoſite party, as they dreaded theſe orders might thereby recover ſome ſhare of their former popularity; and the hint was the more alarming, as they knew that a diſpoſition, or, more properly ſpeaking, a determination to adopt the meaſure with a good grace was already prevalent. To counteract this ſcheme, and all others of a ſimilar tendency, was deemed of ſufficient moment to require the joint ability of the moſt ſkilful and experienced leaders of the democratical party; and, inſtead of trifling with expedients, and loſing time in waiting the reſult of contingent events, it was determined, by a bold and unexpected ſtroke, to diſable at once the privileged orders from acting, at leaſt for the preſent, in their peculiar and reſpective functions.

The means for this bold and comprehenſive meaſure were ſought for in the ſpeech made by the keeper of the ſeals, and from an eſtabliſhed form of words, which had always

been uſed upon ſimilar occaſions, but which had never before been wreſted to their preſent application. The paſſage was thus:—"Gentlemen, it is the king's intention "that you ſhould aſſemble to-morrow, to proceed to the *verification* of your *powers*[31], "and finiſh it as ſoon as poſſible, that you may employ yourſelves in the important ob- "jects which his majeſty has entruſted to you."

The leaders of the popular party having ſettled their plan, a very civil meſſage was diſpatched from the Third Eſtate, inviting the clergy and nobles—as if it had been a matter of courſe, or merely in conformity with the king's recommendation—to unite with them, in order that they might proceed to verify in common their writs of return. This invitation not being accepted, and being conſidered as a manœuvre, contrived merely for the purpoſe of pre-judging the great queſtion as to their ſitting in one or in three chambers, the commons, inſtead of relaxing, roſe higher in their pretenſions; and growing hourly more confident in their ſtrength, they ſeemed no longer to think it neceſſary to temporize, but, laying by the maſk, openly to avow no ſmall part of their deſigns. They maintained, as incontrovertible axioms, that no writs could be verified but in their chamber, and in their preſence; and that, until the nobles and clergy had ſubmitted to go through this form of verification, they were not to be conſidered as legal aſſemblies, but merely as a collection of individuals, who could only ſpeak, as ſuch, in their own unauthorized name, but who were totally incapable of acting for, or of aſſuming the voice of, their conſtituents.

Thus were the nobles and clergy ſtopped ſhort in the very outſet of their proceedings, and a bar, which ſeemed inſuperable, thrown in the way of their ever acting, unleſs they were to ſubmit to the degradation of paſſing under the yoke prepared for them by the commons, and to a dereliction of rights and privileges, which they had poſſeſſed for a courſe of ages, before a Third Eſtate had been ever thought of. But the privileged orders were weakened by internal factions, and ſtill more, perhaps, by the want of any bond of common concert and union.

The queſtion, however, of coaleſcing on the ſingle point of verifying their reſpective

[31] As the phraſe, *verification of powers*, in the ſenſe in which it is here uſed, is unknown in this country, it may not be unneceſſary to obſerve, that, on the election of delegates to the States-General of France, the writs of return, inſtead of being ſent to the crown-office, as in England, are immediately depoſited by the returning officers in the hands of the elected members, to whatever orders they may belong. Theſe writs are called *pouvoirs*, or powers; and before any buſineſs could be legally tranſacted by any of the orders, each member was obliged, in a certain ceremonious form, to preſent his writ of election upon the table of the chamber to which he belonged. Commiſſaries were then appointed by each order to examine the authenticity of all the writs immediately belonging to itſelf; and until this buſineſs was finiſhed, which uſually took up ſeveral days, the States-General were deſtitute of all legal authority whatever. The ſanction of the commiſſaries to the authenticity of the writs afforded what was called the *verification of powers*.

powers,

powers, had it led to nothing farther, would ſcarcely have been worthy a conteſt; but it was evidently the deſign of a conſiderable majority of the commons, to follow it up by the grand queſtion of *amalgamating* the three orders into one. Of this the great body of the nobles ſeem to have been aware, and to that muſt be aſcribed their determined reſiſtance to all propoſitions that were calculated to induce them to make this firſt conceſſion. On the other hand, a very reſpectable minority of the nobles, the leaders of which were the counts de Clermont Tonnerre, and de Lally-Tolendal, were decidedly of opinion, that a ſubmiſſion to act in common, on the mere point of verification, would not be concluſive with reſpect to other matters; and that, even a conſent to *amalgamate* for the purpoſe of ſettling all grand conſtitutional queſtions, would give no ſanction to a ſimilar claim in future aſſemblies: of this opinion, too, were M. Mounier, M. Bergaſſe, and other moderate leaders of great ability of the Third Eſtate.

The meetings of the commons, notwithſtanding their apparent unanimity, were, from the beginning, diſorderly and tumultuous in the extreme. It ſeemed, in many inſtances, as if the peculiar temper of the nation rendered them incapable of acting together in public bodies with that coolneſs, ſerioufneſs, and gravity, which are ſo neceſſary in diſcuſſing great and important ſubjects, and in forming thoſe wiſe determinations which may be ſuppoſed to ſtand the teſt of future diſpaſſionate examination. The vanity of the orators, their rage for popularity, together with the general wiſh of the commons to ſecure the populace entirely in their intereſt, were among the cauſes which, at this time, gave riſe to inconveniences and evils, which no ſufficient opportunity afterwards occurred for removing. For thus early began that indefinite liberty of admiſſion, that diſregard of form and order, in admitting the ſpectators to be confounded with the members, and that unbridled licence of noiſe and clamour to the crowd, which would have been deemed intolerable in a theatre, and which has ſince produced ſo many diſgraceful and tumultuous ſcenes in that aſſembly.

The clergy, great numbers of whom were ſtrongly diſpoſed to join the popular party, agreed to name commiſſaries to treat with thoſe of the nobles and of the Third Eſtate, on the ſubject of verification; but the nobility, rejecting any thing that tended to a compromiſe, proceeded with their ſeparate verification, and declared themſelves legally conſtituted. This meaſure, though ſtrictly conformable to ancient cuſtom, was treated with the moſt inſufferable contempt by the commons, and ſome violent motions were made againſt the order of the nobles; but means were uſed to prevent the ſenſe of the aſſembly from being taken thereon. Commiſſaries were, at length, named by the Third Eſtate to confer with thoſe who ſhould be appointed by the clergy and nobles, on the verification of writs; but thoſe commiſſaries were bound by a reſtriction never to depart from the principle of *voting by heads*. On the ſame day (the nineteenth of May) the clergy unanimouſly voted, with great acclamation, that *they renounced all exemption from taxes*; but added a declaration, that they were not yet conſtituted as a legal chamber; and

and they appointed their commiſſaries to aſſiſt at the conference in the character of mediators between the nobles and the Third Eſtate. The commiſſaries met, but the negociation proved fruitleſs, and the parties ſeparated mutually diſſatisfied with each other.

The commons, finding the nobles reſolute, determined, on the twenty-ſeventh of May, to ſend a deputation to the clergy, to invite them, "In the name of the God of "peace, and of the true intereſt of the nation, to unite themſelves with them in one "general aſſembly, for the purpoſe of conſulting together on the means of reſtoring unity "and concord." It is rather ſingular, that this ſolemn invitation, in the name of the Deity, ſhould have been ſuggeſted by a man, the whole tenor of whoſe life had diſplayed a conſtant diſregard to the precepts of religion [32].

The miniſters now began to ſhake off that ſtupor in which they had apparently been involved; and the perſonal interference of the king was deemed neceſſary, in the vain hope of his now being able to cure thoſe evils, which he ſhould, in time, and might, without difficulty, have prevented. Letters were ſent in his name to the nobles and clergy, expreſſing his ſorrow that the difficulties which had ariſen on the verification of writs ſhould have retarded the meaſures which ought to have been taken for the happineſs of his people; and deſiring that the commiſſaries might reſume their conferences, with a view to a ſpeedy accommodation. But the ſeverities produced by the conteſt between the parties had already raiſed their mutual obſtinacy and animoſity to ſo great a height, that little moderation could be expected on either ſide. The nobles, however, agreed to comply with the king's requiſition, with regard to the conferences; but paſſed a ſolemn *arrêt*, or reſolution, that the deliberation by orders, and the *veto* of each chamber, were eſſential to the monarchical conſtitution; and that the nobles would conſtantly perſevere in this principle, as *being equally neceſſary both to monarchy and freedom* [33].

During the ſecond conference, M. Neckar, anxious to reconcile the parties, came forward with a conciliatory plan, which he read to the commiſſaries; and of which the principal articles were—

1. That the three orders ſhould verify their powers ſeparately, and ſhould reciprocally communicate the ſame to each other.

2. That in caſe any conteſts ſhould ariſe, commiſſioners ſhould be appointed from the three orders to take the ſame into conſideration, and report their opinions to their different orders.

[32] Mirabeau. [33] Memoire du Comte de Lally-Tolendal, p. 24.

3. That

3. That ſhould the three orders not agree upon any topic in diſpute, the final determination ſhould be referred to the king.

This plan was ſupported by a formal meſſage from the king to each of the three orders; but was, in effect, only accepted by the clergy. The commons *ſeemed* to take it into conſideration, and the nobles *declared* themſelves ready to accept it; but the latter clogged their acceptance with the reſtriction of never departing from their recent reſolution with reſpect to the ſeparation of the orders, along with ſome other modifications; and theſe, altogether, afforded plauſible ground to the Third Eſtate for rejecting a ſcheme which they would not in any caſe have adopted. Having ſignified this rejection to the nobles, they declared, at the ſame time, that they ſhould proceed to that ſort of meaſure which is underſtood in England by *a call of the houſe*; that the names of the clergy and nobles ſhould be called over as well as the commons; that they would then conſtitute themſelves into *an active aſſembly*, and proceed on public buſineſs without them.

Though this menace greatly alarmed the nobles, yet the great majority of them could by no means be prevailed upon to follow the advice of the temperate few, who uſed all means to perſuade them to revoke their modifications, and not by an ill-timed inflexibility to afford a pretence to the commons for carrying things to the laſt extremity. The leaders of the commons were ſo much afraid of their relaxing, which would prove a bar to the proſecution of their deſigns, that they played upon their paſſions to provoke and confirm them in their perſeverance; holding out that it was impoſſible the nobles could be guilty of ſuch a meanneſs as to retract their own reſolutions [34]. Their addreſs was ſucceſsful, and the nobles played the exact game which their enemies wiſhed them to play.

But though there was a great appearance of obſtinacy in the conduct of the nobles on this occaſion, yet muſt they not be haſtily condemned for entertaining apprehenſions which events have, unhappily, proved to have been too well founded. The arguments of the minority went to prove, that the commons meant only what they profeſſed, and that they had no other object in view but that which they openly avowed.—"*They de-*
"*ceive you, noble citizens*"—ſaid M. de Lally-Tolendal to his brethren—"*who tell you*
"*that the Third Eſtate only demand juſtice with a view to become unjuſt themſelves; that,*
"*pecuniary privileges once deſtroyed, it is their intention to deſtroy all honorary prerogatives, to*
"*aboliſh your titles, and invade your property.—Never, never have thoſe enlightened and*

[34] M. de Lally-Tolendal tells us, that during the diſcuſſion of this queſtion, he went to the chamber of the commons, when ſeveral of the leading members converſed with him on the ſubject, exhibiting, at the ſame time, ſymptoms of inquietude the moſt unequivocal as to the part which the nobles would finally take. One of them even went ſo far as to ſay—"*Will you be mean enough to retract, and accept this plan, after having refuſed it?*" To which the count, aware of his motives, replied—"*I am much afraid we ſhall not have courage enough to commit that act of meanneſs.*" Memoire, p. 32, 33.

virtuous

" *virtuous citizens, that good and benevolent people, whoſe cauſe I bear, and ever will bear,*
" *in my heart, and whoſe defence ſhall be the topic of my ſpeeches—never have they had an idea*
" *of proceeding to ſuch exceſſes, ſuch impoſſible exceſſes; exceſſes of which they would them-*
" *ſelves be the firſt victims!*" It is not much to be wondered at that aſſertions like theſe ſhould have had little effect on men who, though they certainly did not poſſeſs greater talents than M. Lally, were certainly endowed with greater penetration and foreſight.

While things were in this unſettled ſtate, the nobles and the commons thought it neceſſary ſeverally to addreſs the king, each appealing to the conſtitution, and each endeavouring to draw him to their ſide. The king, in his letter to the nobles, gave them a gentle reprimand " for their want of that confidence in him, which"—he ſaid—" might " have prevented the preſent ſituation of affairs."

In the mean time the party of the commons daily gained ground amongſt the clergy; and at the moment that the deputies of Poitou were called over in the hall of the aſſembly, three curés of that province preſented themſelves before the Third Eſtate, with the writs of return in their hands. The joy and triumph occaſioned by this circumſtance exceeded all deſcription. The prieſts were received with loud acclamations; they were embraced, and hailed as the ſaviours of France; and an account of the tranſaction was immediately diſpatched to Paris, with all the triumph that could have attended a Gazette extraordinary, conveying intelligence of a glorious victory over a foreign enemy. The object in this conveyance was not entirely confined to the union which it was thought neceſſary to cement with that city; the leaders of the commons looked beſides to the importance of ſuch an example, and were well aware that theſe early converts would ſoon be followed by a number of other curés.

The king having expreſſed his concern at the inactivity of the ſtates, the commons preſented an addreſs, in which they aſcribed the delay in the verification of their powers to the obſtacles thrown in the way by the nobles. They waited, they ſaid, with the moſt anxious impatience for the moment of that verification, to enable them to offer a more ſtriking homage and token of their love for the ſacred perſon of the king, for his auguſt family, and their devotion to his intereſts, which were always inſeparable from thoſe of the nation. The ſolicitude his majeſty experienced at the inaction of the ſtates afforded a freſh proof of the deſire which animated his breaſt to produce the happineſs of France.

They told the king, that his faithful commons would never forget what they owed to him; and would never loſe ſight of the natural alliance between the throne and the people, againſt *ariſtocracies*, under whatever form, whoſe power would only be eſtabliſhed on the ruins of the regal authority and the public happineſs: the French people, whoſe glory it had been at all times to love their king, would ever be ready to ſhed their blood and

and laviſh their property in defence of the genuine principles of the monarchy: from the very firſt moment that the inſtructions received by their deputies would permit them to expreſs a national wiſh, he would judge whether the repreſentatives of his commons did not prove themſelves the moſt anxious of his ſubjects to maintain the rights, the honours, the dignities of the throne, to conſolidate the public engagements, and to reſtore the credit of the nation.

The king, in reply, expreſſed his ſatisfaction at their profeſſions of attachment to the monarchy; obſerved that all the orders of the ſtate had an equal claim to his favour, and might equally rely on his kindneſs and protection, and recommended the commons ſpeedily to ſecond, with a ſpirit of prudence and of peace, the accompliſhment of the benefits he was impatient to confer on his people, and which they confidently expected from his ſentiments in their favour.

Five weeks had now elapſed ſince the meeting of the States-general, and not one ſtep had yet been taken, tending to promote the national proſperity, which was the ſole object of the convention. All this delay and inaction being charged by the commons to the obſtinacy of the nobles, the credulous public gave implicit belief to the accuſation, without examining into its juſtice. It was never conſidered that the commons had commenced the attack, by attempting to ſtrip them of the privilege of verifying their own writs; that they ſtill perſiſted in this claim with the moſt invincible pertinacity, as well as in another, which they now ſupported, and which was equally novel, and infinitely more dangerous, that of *compelling* them to ſit and vote in one common aſſembly; theſe favourable circumſtances being of no avail, where the judges, determined to condemn, would neither liſten to argument nor evidence, the former unpopularity of the nobles was now changed throughout the kingdom to abſolute deteſtation and abhorrence.

Independent of the mental irritation naturally produced by a ſenſe of this odium, which they conceived to be wholly unmerited, and that which aroſe from their daily conteſts with the commons, they were ſtill farther provoked, and more ſenſibly touched, by the number of pamphlets which were now already publiſhed, and circulated with incredible diligence through every part of the kingdom, propoſing to the people—a doctrine always highly captivating to the multitude—a total abolition of all diſtinctions of blood and rank. The moſt celebrated of theſe pamphlets, was that written by Mirabeau, in anſwer to the biſhop of Langres, who had propoſed the formation of two aſſemblies, upon the ſame principle with the houſes of lords and commons of England, to preſerve the equilibrium of the conſtitution, and to act as a mutual controul upon each other[34].

[34] It is curious to obſerve the contradictory ſentiments of that extraordinary character, Mirabeau, on this as well as on many other grand political queſtions. In his "Letter to the Batavians," he ſaid, that the Engliſh nation wa

Under all theſe circumſtances of irritation and alarm, and continually preſſed by the artful ſcheme of ſuppreſſed hoſtility, which was regularly conducted by their enemies, it would not have been wonderful that the nobility ſhould have been driven into haſty meaſures, nor even, under the influence of paſſion, that they ſhould have miſtaken, as they did, the proper means of defence, by ill-timing the ſeaſons of conceſſion or firmneſs[35].

The commons, having completed the verification of their own writs, as well as of thoſe appertaining to the great body of Curés, who had joined them, became ſo ſenſible of their ſtrength, that they determined to conſtitute themſelves into an active aſſembly. Great debates then aroſe upon the new and comprehenſive title, which it would be proper for them to aſſume. Several were propoſed, and among them the following long but moderate one, by M. Mounier: "The majority of the deputies, deliberating in the abſence "of the minority, duly invited."—This would not anſwer the deſign; many others were propoſed and rejected; at length the appellation of *Aſſemblée Nationale*, ſuggeſted by M. Le Grand, was received with great applauſe, as a title the moſt calculated of any that was thought of to convey an idea, that all the powers of the nation were concentrated in that ſingle body[36].

The democratic members of the aſſembly were now unceaſing in their zeal, to infuſe that tumultuous ſpirit, which operated with great violence upon themſelves, into the minds of the public at large. The vicinity of Paris, and the diſpoſition of its inhabitants, afforded them the faireſt poſſible ground of action, and the ſucceſs of their operations

was *more worthy of pity than of envy*; and that it would *ſoon be reduced, by its ſyſtem of counter-poiſes, to the ſtatiſfaction of ſervitude.* But in his "Courier de Provence," publiſhed at a ſubſequent period, he promulgated a very different opinion; he there expreſsly acknowledged, that the Engliſh conſtitution, "had been in a conſtant ſtate of amelioration, that perſonal liberty was more reſpected in England, than in any other country; that a century of happineſs and tranquillity had given to the Engliſh government a degree of authority of which the moſt beautiful theory "was deſtitute; and that wiſe men would always admire its *practical reſults*, which were ſuperior to the ſublime "theories of the French Utopians." *Courier de Provence*, 36941.

35 The count de Lally-Tolendal, in his memorial, which was written at the cloſe of the year 1789, adverting to this period, ſays, "There doubtleſs exiſted a ſecret project of annihilating the nobility, and of overturning the monarchy; but the projectors of this ſcheme were not yet in a ſituation to dare to promulgate their intentions. "The knowledge of the project was confined to the few minds which had given birth to it; the reſt, even in the midſt of exaggerated pretenſions, and private intrigues, had not yet been infected with this ſyſtem; they had "neither been deceived, ſeduced, nor intimidated. There is an eſſential difference between the ſpeeches and publications of that period, and thoſe which have ſince been iſſued and pronounced; and few principles have been "advanced of late, which do not ſtand contradicted by the principles which the commons formerly broached." P. 21.

36 It is worthy of remark, that, only eleven days before, the commiſſaries appointed by the Third Eſtate to hold a conference with thoſe of the nobles, made this expreſs declaration, in the name of the commons:—"*No one "chamber can diſpoſe of the national authority, unleſs it has been entruſted to it by the nation itſelf, united and preſided by the king. "It is manifeſt that the clergy are not the nation; that the nobility are not the nation; that the Third Eſtate, though including the "moſt numerous part of the nation, is not itſelf the nation entire. The facts oppoſed to us have no weight, when compared with "principles ſo ſimple and ſo rational.*"—Proces-verbal des Conférences, Séance du 6 Juin, Page 194.

tions was accordingly ſo great, as in ſome inſtances, perhaps, to exceed their own wiſhes. The ſpectators now not only filled the galleries appropriated to their reception, and all open places in the aſſembly, every day, but, bidding defiance to every appearance of decorum and order, intermingled with the members, crowded and diſturbed them on their ſeats, and began to take an open ſhare in the debates. Thoſe members, who were more moderate than they wiſhed, whether ſuch moderation was ſhewn by their ſpeeches, motions, or votes, were hooted, hiſſed, reviled, and menaced, in the groſſeſt terms and moſt outrageous manner. Liſts of the voters were openly taken upon every queſtion, in which thoſe who voted contrary to the wiſhes of the ſpectators were ſtigmatized with the title of enemies to their country; and theſe liſts being tranſmitted with the utmoſt diſpatch to Paris, were there printed and circulated with incredible alacrity. Among thoſe branded with this odious and dangerous character, and whoſe names were thus holden out to the public, and tranſmitted to poſterity with infamy, were all the members who voted for a title leſs aſſumptive of ſovereignty, than that of *National Aſſembly* [37].

This conduct was by no means calculated to induce the nobles to change their mode of proceeding. M. de Monteſquiou moved, that they ſhould invite the clergy to join them, and *conſtitute* themſelves into an *upper-houſe*. This motion, however, which was certainly a rational one, was violently oppoſed, and almoſt unanimouſly rejected; and the nobles, before they ſeparated, voted a ſtrong addreſs to the king, juſtifying their own conduct, accuſing the commons, and ſtrongly animadverting on their unlimited aſſumption of authority, in the firſt act of their reign, after they had voted and acclaimed themſelves ſovereigns. The act they alluded to was the publication of a decree, relative to the exiſting public taxes; in which, after ſtating that difficulties might be raiſed upon the payment of impoſts, "the more ſerious as they would be founded upon a principle "conſtitutional and ſacred, acknowledged by the king, and ſolemnly proclaimed by all "the aſſemblies of the nation; a principle which forbids all levying of contributions "without the formal conſent of the repreſentatives of the nation; and conſidering "that the contributions, as they are now levied in the kingdom, not having been con-"ſented to by the nation, are all *illegal*, and conſequently *null*, in their creation, exten-"ſion, or prolongation; the National Aſſembly declares, that it conſents proviſorily, "for the nation, that the taxes, or contributions, though illegally eſtabliſhed and levied, "ſhall continue to be levied in the ſame manner that they have hitherto been, until the "day only of the ſeparation of this aſſembly;"—they then added, that the taxes were

[37] It is a ſingular fact, that the very day on which the deputies of the Third Eſtate aſſumed to themſelves the whole legiſlative authority, was the firſt on which this iniquitous meaſure was adopted; a meaſure than which none more fatal to the freedom of ſuffrage and debate was ever enforced, with reſpect to any public aſſembly.—*Expoſé de la Conduite de M. Mounier, p. 7.*

to ceaſe, if not re-granted by the aſſembly; and declared that "they put the creditors of "the State under the guard of the honour and loyalty of the French nation."

It muſt be obſerved, that no ſtatute or law had ever been paſſed, to render thoſe contributions null and illegal which were now declared to be ſo; that, on the contrary, contributions had been impoſed and levied by the crown in the ſame manner, in all ages, without its authority being queſtioned; ſo that this decree was in every ſenſe an *ex poſt facto* law, and that deciſively paſſed by only a part of the legiſlature.

But though the nobles were fully aware of the danger of affording, by their junction, a ſanction to ſuch proceedings, the clergy betrayed a very different diſpoſition. The party who had ſided with the commons had newly attained a majority; and that final deciſion was only retarded by the influence of the archbiſhop of Paris, who, when it, at length, took place, joined in a ſtrong proteſt againſt it: the conſequence was, that though he was a prelate of reſpectable character, and his charities to the poor were ſo extenſive as to exceed all cuſtomary limits, he was, ſome days after, purſued with all the violence of popular fury, attacked in the ſtreets of Verſailles, inſulted, and his life endangered. He was reſcued with ſome difficulty; and it was on this occaſion that the troops firſt refuſed to act, againſt their *fellow-citizens*. "This was the firſt inſtance "in which the French army aſſumed the power of judging for themſelves on all public "queſtions, as well as on all caſes of military ſubordination."

The king, who, hitherto truſting to M. Neckar's promiſes of an eaſy and happy reign, had granted every thing that was required in favour of the Third Eſtate, and who ſeemed in himſelf more diſpoſed to them than to the nobles, finding all his hopes diſappointed, and farther alarmed at the haſty ſtrides towards ſupreme power, which the commons were making, began to heſitate in his proceedings, and, perhaps, to queſtion the wiſdom and propriety of his paſt conduct; this change of ſentiment could not eſcape the obſervation of thoſe about him, and he was ſoon ſurrounded by the party of the princes, who alone wiſhed to preſerve the power of the crown undiminiſhed; by the diſcontented nobles, who only ſided occaſionally with the court, being as much diſpoſed to preſcribe limits to the royal authority as the commons themſelves, though not in an equal degree; and by all thoſe of the different orders, who were diſſatisfied with the preſent ſtate of things, and wiſhed to preſerve the ancient ſyſtem of ſeparate chambers, and voting by orders.

All theſe coaleſced in endeavouring to profit by the preſent change in the king's diſpoſition; nor did they want ſtrong grounds of argument to confirm his new ſentiments, and increaſe his alarm. They deſired him to obſerve, that thoſe leaders of faction, not content with taking the power of future taxation into their own hands, had boldly decided, without one poſitive law to ſupport them, that all the exiſting taxes were illegal; a poſi-

a poſition which tended directly to ſet up the indefinite rights of nature above all the poſitive laws of the land. May you not then well expect (ſaid they) that their next declaration will hold out, as a ſacred and conſtitutional principle, that legiſlation, as well as taxation, belongs by inherent right to the people, and, therefore, that every law now obeyed by the French is *null* and *illegal*, and, to make it otherwiſe, it muſt be re-voted by theſe ſelf-conſtituted ſovereigns?

Council after council was holden at Marly, whither the court had retired for a week, but the natural effects of weakneſs, diſorder, and faction were ſo predominant, that they could not agree in any thing. At length it was thought adviſeable that the king ſhould recur to the ancient method of holding *a royal ſeſſion*. The plan was, accordingly, fixed, and the day appointed.

It would ſeem that ſome over-ruling fatality was at this time to counteract and fruſtrate all the meaſures and deſigns of the court and miniſters; as if wiſdom itſelf would be immediately perverted into folly under their treatment, and the moſt wholeſome nouriſhment inſtantly become a poiſon in their hands. Nothing could have been more innocent, ſimply in itſelf, than this meaſure; and it might poſſibly have been of ſome uſe. But through the unaccountable and unexampled blindneſs, folly, raſhneſs, and violence with which it was conducted, it was rendered an immediate, and no inefficient inſtrument, in the ruin of the monarchy, and the ſubverſion of government.

The hall in which the Third Eſtate held their aſſembly being much larger than any of the other chambers, it had from the beginning been the place where the king met and harangued the States. Without the ſmalleſt communication to that aſſembly of what was done or intended; without letter or notice of any ſort to their preſident; without the ſmalleſt preparatory addreſs or management, a party of guards took poſſeſſion of their hall, in the morning of the twentieth of June. Workmen were ſent in to erect a throne for the king; the royal ſeſſion was formally proclaimed by the heralds; and M. Bailly, the preſident, with other members of the commons, were repulſed, without ceremony or explanation, from their own door.

The commons, apprehending nothing leſs than an immediate diſſolution, and ſeeing at once all the dangers to which the more obnoxious part of them might be expoſed, were naturally inflamed with reſentment, and in that paſſion hurried on foot, through a violent ſtorm of rain, to an old tennis-court, where, with equal ſpirit and firmneſs, they bound themſelves by a ſolemn oath never to part *until the conſtitution was completed*. The affecting ſpectacle of ſix hundred repreſentatives of the nation being driven to the extremity of encountering ſuch weather, in ſuch a manner, and of ſtanding bareheaded, under all its inclemency, while they were taking this awful oath, could not but excite the greateſt, and, indeed, the moſt univerſal indignation againſt the court. Had the united

talents

talents and genius of all the miniſters been combined, in contriving a ſcheme to render the king odious, and to bind the people more indiſſolubly to the commons, it is more than probable they could not have found one more effectual for either purpoſe; while the ſmalleſt portion of prudence or diſcretion would have prevented any ill conſequence whatever,

M. Mounier—one of the moſt virtuous men in the aſſembly, and who had exerted himſelf, from the firſt, with the greateſt ability, to procure a moderate reform of government, but whoſe integrity induced him afterwards to quit them, when he perceived what courſe the violent leaders were purſuing—was the propoſer and framer of this oath. He has ſince declared that he propoſed it in order to prevent that moſt dangerous of all meaſures, the aſſembly's transferring itſelf to Paris.

The following day produced a ſcene of a different nature, but of no ſmall importance in the preſent ſtate of things. The majority of the clergy, having determined to join the Third Eſtate, met in the choir of the church of Saint Louis, while the commons aſſembled in the body of the church, After ſome meſſages to adjuſt ceremonials, the ſeparating doors flew open, the clergy, with their preſident, the archbiſhop of Vienne, at their head, advanced, while the commons roſe to receive them; the two preſidents embraced, and ſat down by each other; the loudeſt ſhouts of applauſe, and the moſt pathetic effuſions of eloquence, celebrated, what was then deemed, the happy reconciliation of two of the diſcordant orders of citizens.

The commons, emboldened by the junction of theſe new allies, whom they ſo lately conſidered as enemies, waited with confidence and redoubled courage for the opening of the royal ſeſſion. On the twenty-third of June the king aſcended the throne which had been prepared for him, and addreſſed the States in the following ſpeech:

"Gentlemen, at the time I took the reſolution of aſſembling you; when I had ſur-
"mounted all the difficulties which had threatened a convocation of my States; when I
"had, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, even pre-conceived the deſires of the nation,
"in manifeſting beforehand my wiſhes for its welfare; I thought to have done every
"thing which depended upon myſelf for the good of my people.

"It ſeemed to me, that you had only to finiſh the work which I had begun, and the
"nation expected impatiently the moment, when, in conjunction with the beneficent
"views of its ſovereign, and the enlightened zeal of its repreſentatives, it was about to
"enjoy that proſperity and happineſs which ſuch an union ought to afford.

"The States-General have now been opened more than two months, and have not
"yet even agreed on the preliminaries of their operations. Inſtead of that ſource of
"harmony

" harmony which ſhould ſpring from a love of their country, a moſt fatal diviſion
" ſpreads an alarm over every mind. I am willing to believe, and I ſhall be happy to
" find, that the diſpoſition of Frenchmen is not changed: but, to avoid reproaching any
" of you, I ſhall conſider, that the renewal of the States-General after ſo long a period,
" the turbulence which preceded it; the object of this aſſembly, ſo different from that
" of your anceſtors, and many other circumſtances, have led you to an oppoſition, and
" to prefer pretenſions to which you are not entitled.

" I owe it to the welfare of my kingdom, I owe it to myſelf, to put an end to theſe
" fatal diviſions. It is with this reſolution, gentlemen, that I aſſemble you once more
" around me—I do it as the common father of all my people—I do it as the defender
" of my kingdom's laws;—that I may recall to your memory the true ſpirit of your con-
" ſtitution, and reſiſt thoſe attempts which have been aimed againſt it.

" But, gentlemen, after having already eſtabliſhed the reſpective rights of the differ-
" ent orders, I expect from the zeal of the two principal claſſes, I expect from their at-
" tachment to my perſon, I expect from the knowledge they have of the preſſing ur-
" gencies of the ſtate, that, in thoſe matters which concern the general good, they
" ſhould be the firſt to propoſe a re-union of conſultation and opinion, which I conſider
" as neceſſary in the preſent criſis, and which ought to take place for the general welfare
" of the kingdom."

The king then produced the following paper, entitled, a declaration of his intentions, which was read to the States-General.

1. No new impoſt ſhall be eſtabliſhed, no old one ſhall be prorogued beyond the term fixed by the laws, without the conſent of the repreſentatives of the nation.

2. All new impoſts that may be eſtabliſhed, or old ones that may be prorogued, ſhall ceaſe the moment the firſt aſſembly of the States, ſubſequent to ſuch eſtabliſhment or prorogation, ſhall meet.

3. As loans might lead to the neceſſity of an augmentation of impoſts, none ſhall take place without the conſent of the States-General, provided, however, that in caſe of war, or other national danger, the ſovereign ſhall have the power to borrow without delay, as far as *a hundred millions*[39], for it is the king's intention never to ſuffer the ſafety of his empire to depend on any one.

4. The States-General will examine with care the ſtate of the finances; and they will aſk for all the elucidations that may be neceſſary to give them a thorough knowledge of the ſubject.

[39] Of *livres*; about four millions, one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling.

5. The

5. The account of the revenue and the expenditure ſhall be publiſhed every year, in a form to be preſcribed by the States-General, and approved by the king.

6. The ſums appropriated to each department ſhall be determined in a manner fixed and invariable; and the king ſubjects, to this general rule, the funds which are deſtined to the ſupport of his houſhold.

7. *It is the king's will*, that, for the purpoſe of fixing the different expences of the ſtate, the neceſſary diſpoſitions for that purpoſe be pointed out to him by the States-General, and his majeſty will adopt them, provided they accord with the royal dignity, and with that celerity which the public ſervice requires.

8. The repreſentatives of a nation, faithful to the laws of honour and probity, will ſanction no violations of public engagements: and the king expects that they will confirm and conſolidate, in the moſt authentic manner, the confidence of the creditors of the ſtate.

9. When the avowed declarations of the clergy and nobles to renounce their pecuniary privileges ſhall have been realiſed by their deliberations, it is the king's intention to ſanction them, and no longer to ſuffer the exiſtence of any kind of privilege or diſtinction in the payment of pecuniary contributions.

10. *It is the king's will*, that, for the purpoſe of enforcing this ſalutary diſpoſition, the very name of *Taille* be aboliſhed throughout the kingdom, and that that impoſt be united either to the twentieth, or any other territorial impoſt, or elſe replaced in ſome other way, ſo that a juſt and equal proportion be obſerved, without diſtinction of ſtation, rank, or birth.

11. *It is the king's will*, that the right of *Franc-fief* be aboliſhed the moment that the revenue and expences of the ſtate ſhall be exactly balanced.

12. All property, without exception, ſhall be invariably reſpected; and his majeſty expreſsly comprehends under the name of property, the tenths, hundredths, rents, rights, and duties, *feudal and ſeignorial*, and, generally, all uſeful or honorary rights and prerogatives, attached to eſtates and fiefs, or belonging to individuals.

13. The two firſt orders of the ſtate ſhall continue to enjoy their exemption from perſonal charges; but the king wiſhes the States-General to deviſe ſome means for converting charges of this deſcription into pecuniary contributions, when all the orders of the ſtate ſhall be equally ſubject to them.

14. It

14. It is his majeſty's intention to determine, after the opinion of the States-General, what employment and places ſhall, in future, preſerve the privilege of ennobling their poſſeſſors. His majeſty, notwithſtanding, agreeably to the right which is inherent in his crown, will grant letters of nobility to ſuch of his ſubjects as, by ſervices rendered to the king and ſtate, may have proved themſelves worthy of ſuch a reward.

15. The king, deſirous to ſecure the perſonal liberty of all citizens on a ſolid and permanent footing, invites the States-General to ſeek and propoſe to him the beſt means of conciliating the abolition of thoſe orders, known by the name of *Lettres de Cachet*, conſiſtently with the maintenance of public ſafety, and the precautions neceſſary to be taken, in certain caſes, either to preſerve the honour of families, to repreſs with celerity the firſt efforts of ſedition, or to ſave the ſtate from the effects of a criminal correſpondence with foreign powers.

16. The States-General will examine and communicate to his majeſty the moſt proper means of conciliating the liberty of the preſs, with the reſpect due to the religion, the manners, and the honour, of the citizens.

17. Provincial ſtates ſhall be eſtabliſhed in the different provinces or generalities of the kingdom, of which two tenths ſhall be eccleſiaſtical members, and a part of that number neceſſarily choſen from the epiſcopal order; three-tenths, nobles; and five-tenths, members of the Third Eſtate.

18. The members of theſe provincial ſtates ſhall be freely elected by the reſpective orders, and a certain proportion of property ſhall be neceſſary to qualify a man either for an elector or a deputy.

19. The deputies of theſe provincial ſtates ſhall deliberate in common on all buſineſs, agreeably to the cuſtom which prevails in the provincial aſſemblies which they are intended to replace.

20. An intermediate commiſſion, choſen by the ſtates, ſhall manage the affairs of the province, in the intervals that ſhall occur between the different ſeſſions; and theſe intermediate commiſſions, on which the whole weight of reſponſibility ſhall reſt, ſhall have delegates, appointed either by themſelves ſolely, or by the provincial ſtates.

21. The ſtates-general ſhall communicate to the king their deſigns with reſpect to the other parts of the internal organization of the provincial ſtates, and to the ſelection of forms applicable to the election of members of that aſſembly.

22. Independent of the objects of adminiſtration with which the provincial aſſemblies are entruſted, the king will confide to the provincial ſtates the government of the hoſpitals, priſons, poor-houſes, and receptacles for foundlings; the inſpection of municipal expenditure; the ſuperintendance of the foreſts; the preſervation and ſale of woods, and of all other objects which may, with greater convenience and utility, be managed by the provinces.

23. The diſputes which have ariſen in the provinces where ancient ſtates ſtill exiſt, and the objections which have been ſtarted to the conſtitution of thoſe aſſemblies, ought to fix the attention of the States-General, who will make known to his majeſty the juſt and wiſe diſpoſitions which it may be expedient to adopt, for the eſtabliſhment of permanent order in the adminiſtration of ſuch provinces.

24. The king invites the States-General to employ themſelves in deviſing means for turning the royal domains to the greateſt advantage; and alſo to impart to him their ideas on the proper conduct to be obſerved with regard to ſuch of the domains as are mortgaged.

25. The States-General will take into their conſideration the project which his majeſty has long ſince conceived for removing the cuſtom-houſes to the frontiers of the kingdom, in order that the moſt perfect freedom may prevail in the internal circulation of national or foreign merchandize.

26. His majeſty is deſirous that the bad effects of the duty upon ſalt, and the importance of that branch of the revenue, may be carefully diſcuſſed; and that, at all events, means may, at leaſt, be deviſed for rendering the collection of it leſs burdenſome.

27. His majeſty alſo *wills* that the advantages and inconveniences of the aids and other impoſts be attentively examined; but without loſing ſight of the abſolute neceſſity of eſtabliſhing an exact balance between the revenue and the expences of the ſtate.

28. Agreeably to the wiſh which the king expreſſed, in his declaration of the twenty-third of September laſt, his majeſty will examine with the moſt ſcrupulous attention the projects that ſhall be communicated to him relative to the adminiſtration of juſtice, and to the means of perfecting the civil and criminal laws.

29. The king *wills* that the laws, which he ſhall have cauſed to be promulgated during the ſitting and after the advice, or agreeably to the wiſhes, of the States-General, experience in their regiſtration and execution no kind of delay or obſtacle, throughout the whole extent of his kingdom.

30. It is his majeſty's *will*, that the *Corvée*, for the making and repair of the roads, be totally and perpetually aboliſhed in his kingdom.

31. The king deſires that the abolition of the *Droit de main morte*, of which his majeſty has ſet the example in his own domains, may be extended throughout France; and that ſome means may be deviſed for providing ſuch indemnity as may be due to the noblemen who are in poſſeſſion of this right.

32. His majeſty will forthwith make known to the States-General the regulations he is about to adopt for the purpoſe of reſtraining the *Capitaineries*; and for giving, by ſuch reſtrictions on what more immediately affects his perſonal enjoyments, a freſh teſtimony of his love for his people.

33. The king invites the States-General to conſider every circumſtance attending *the drawing* of the militia, and to adopt proper means for reconciling what is neceſſary for the defence of the ſtate with the relief which his majeſty is anxious to procure for his ſubjects.

34. The kings *wills* that all the diſpoſitions of public order, and of beneficence towards his people, which his majeſty ſhall have ſanctioned during the preſent ſeſſion of the States-General, thoſe, among others, which relate to perſonal liberty, to the equality of contributions, and to the eſtabliſhment of provincial ſtates, may never be changed without the conſent of the three orders, ſeparately taken. His majeſty places them before-hand on the liſt of national property, which it is his wiſh to ſecure, as well as every other ſpecies of property, in the moſt authentic manner.

35. His majeſty, after reminding the States-General of the neceſſity of directing, in concert with him, their attention to great objects of public utility, and to every thing which can contribute to the happineſs of his people, *declares, in a manner the moſt expreſs that he will preſerve entire, and without the ſmalleſt reſtriction, the inſtitution of the army, as well as all authority, police, and power, over the military, the ſame as has ever been enjoyed, by all the kings of France* [39].

Previous to the production of this piece, another paper was read by the keeper of the ſeals, in which his majeſty declared the three diſtinct orders to be the only true repreſentatives of the nation; that their deliberations therefore were to be ſeparate, though, on

[39] A French author has obſerved that "This declaration, a little modified, might become the Magna Charta of the "French people; and a bad king would certainly never have granted it, until he had loſt many battles."

ſubjects of general utility, they might, *with his conſent*, be in common; but he ſaid, that from theſe he expreſsly excepted whatever might regard the *form* to be given to the next aſſembly of the States, the ancient conſtitutional rights of the three orders, and the ſignorial property and honorary prerogatives of the nobility and clergy; but he, at the ſame time, declared his deſire, that, in the public contributions and taxes, all pecuniary diſtinctions and privileges ſhould ceaſe.

The king cloſed the *Seance* by ſaying—"You have heard the reſult of my wiſhes; "they are conformable to an ardent deſire to promote the public good; and if, from any "fatality, and contrary to my hopes, you ſhould abandon me in ſo laudable an enter- "prize; alone, I will conſider myſelf to be the true repreſentative of my people; alone, "I will ſeek their happineſs; and, as I know the inſtructions you have received, and the "perfect accord that exiſts in the views of the greateſt part of the nation and my inten- "tions, I will have all the confidence that ſo uncommon a harmony ought to obtain, "and go forward to the object I would arrive at, with the courage and firmneſs ſuch "confidence ſhould inſpire. Reflect, gentlemen, that none of your plans, none of your "reſolutions, can have the force of laws without my ſpecial approbation. I am the "natural guarantee of your reſpective rights, and the three orders of the ſtate may rely "on my impartiality. Any diſplay of miſtruſt on your part, would be manifeſtly an "act of injuſtice to me. It is only I, as yet, who have done every thing for the public "welfare; and it, perhaps, has ſeldom happened, that the only ambition of a ſovereign has "been to obtain of his ſubjects agreement among themſelves, in accepting the advantages "which he offers them.

"I order you, gentlemen, to ſeparate immediately; to meet again to-morrow, each "order in its reſpective chamber, and to re-commence your proceedings. I order the "grand-maſter of the ceremonies to prepare your halls accordingly."—The king then roſe, and quitted the aſſembly.

Whoever attentively conſiders the king's "declaration of his intentions," muſt acknowledge that, whatever imperfections it poſſeſſed, conſidered as a ſcheme of government; whatever objections ſome of its parts were perhaps liable to, and whatever deficiencies certainly remained to be ſupplied in others, it preſented ſuch an amelioration of the conſtitution, ſuch a ſalutary plan for ſecuring the freedom of the ſubject, and the property of individuals, that, inſtead of being rejected with contempt, it ought to have been received with joy and gratitude, by every true patriot and real friend to his country. Its great fault was the dictatorial ſtile of its compoſition, and the too frequent introduction of the "king's will;" and its application, without management, in too harſh and abſolute a manner, in enforcing the injunctions. But what man, circumſtanced as the members of the national aſſembly then were, and ſituated as the kingdom then was—

what

what man, who had the good of his country at heart, would have ſo far quarrelled with the *mode* of introduction, as to reject the *matter* introduced, when calculated to promote the moſt beneficial purpoſes? Who would wiſh to imitate the conduct of a ſick child, that caſts away the medicine that would reſtore health, becauſe nauſeous to the palate, or adminiſtered in an unpleaſant form?

The article which related to perſonal ſecurity was cenſured as not being ſufficiently explicit in the cauſe of liberty; but ſurely the States had it in their power to demand the moſt effective *Habeas Corpus Act* that could be framed; and, if the king refuſed to comply—which did not even admit of a ſuppoſition—not to grant a ſingle ſubſidy until he did.

But what tended moſt to alienate the minds of the commons from the propoſed regulations, was certain reſtrictions contained in the paper read by the keeper of the ſeals, previous to the publication of the king's "intentions." This paper was entitled "The "king's declaration, concerning the preſent ſeſſion of the States-General;" and the reſtrictions principally related to the relative and diſtinct limits and functions of the reſpective orders. One clauſe ran thus—"The king wills, that the diſtinction of the "three orders ſhould be preſerved entire, as eſſentially connected with the conſtitution; "and that the deputies freely elected by each of the three orders, forming three cham"bers, deliberating by orders, but having a right, with the ſovereign's approbation, to "agree on deliberations in common, can alone be conſidered as the repreſentative body of "the nation; conſequently the king declares *null* the deliberations taken by the depu"ties on the ſeventeenth of this month, as well as all others that may have followed "it." However diſguſting ſuch a mode of promulgating the royal will might be deemed, whoever conſiders, with a mind unwarped by prejudice, the regulations announced by this clauſe, muſt avow that they breathed the true ſpirit of the conſtitution, and that they were ſanctioned by the preſcription of centuries; the former part of the clauſe, therefore, is merely *declaratory*, and the latter part, which can alone be conſidered as bearing any reſemblance to a poſitive enacting clauſe, appears to be a neceſſary conſequence of the firſt: for if the three orders could alone conſtitute the repreſentative body of the nation, it is evident that no *one* of them was competent to any exerciſe of legiſlative power, and that any attempt of that kind muſt be an unwarrantable aſſumption of authority, a direct and flagrant uſurpation, pregnant with the moſt dangerous conſequences. This being admitted, *who* was to ſupply a remedy for the evil, *who* was to correct the uſurpation? Undoubtedly *the king*, who, until the States were duly and legally conſtituted, was the only guardian of the conſtitution, entruſted with ſufficient power, and whoſe indiſpenſable *duty* it was, to ſecure it from invaſion or attack.

Another article prohibited, for the ſake of good order, of decency, and of the freedom of deliberating and voting, that any ſpectators ſhould in future be permitted to aſſiſt at the deliberations of the ſtates.

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Though no reſtriction was ever more abſolutely neceſſary, none was ever more unpopular than this; the clamorous, ſcandalous, and daring behaviour of the ſpectators had, from the beginning, exceeded all bounds of order and decorum; and the enormity continued every day to encreaſe, until at length no member could venture to ſpeak or vote, according to his opinion, if in that he differed from the crowd by whom he was ſurrounded, without enduring the groſſeſt abuſe and moſt outrageous threats upon the ſpot, and encountering imminent danger to his perſon and life afterwards. But the popular leaders of the commons knew too well the benefits to be derived from having ſuch "a crowded "ſeminary of faction" immediately at their call and command, as well as their uſefulneſs in immediately diſſeminating through the capital all the novel and bold aſſertions and doctrines, which they either gathered from the moſt violent harangues in the aſſembly, or which ſprang from their own factious and turbulent diſpoſition, to riſque, on any account, the loſs of ſuch faithful auxiliaries, who immediately directed the ſentiments of near a million of people, and the influence of whoſe opinions and conduct extended to every part of the kingdom.

Had the commons, at this period, diſplayed that conciliatory diſpoſition which was beſt calculated to promote the attainment of the grand object for which they were convened; had they ſacrificed to the accompliſhment of that object all perſonal animoſities and reſentment, all views of private ambition, all inferior conſiderations of whatever deſcription, and from whatever ſource they were derived, it is certain that the king had marked out for them a plan, by the purſuit of which they might have ſecured, on the broad and permanent baſis of rational freedom, the welfare and happineſs of their conſtituents, and the general proſperity of the ſtate. That the plan required numerous modifications, additions, and extenſions, is indiſputably true; but it is not leſs true that the king would have ſanctioned with his approbation any alterations that would have tended to render it complete and perfect. He expreſsly ſaid to the States—"*I do not mean to cir-*"*cumſcribe your zeal in the circle I have traced, as I will adopt with pleaſure* WHATEVER "*may be propoſed by the States-General* FOR THE PUBLIC WELFARE[40]." What a glorious field was here opened to them! a field in which harmony and order might have accompanied regulation and reform, and in which the fair plant of liberty might have flouriſhed—unchecked by the noxious weeds of anarchy and faction—in a ſoil alike congenial to its nature, and favourable to its growth[41]!

But,

[40] "Ce n'eſt pas pour circonſcrire votre zèle dans le cercle que je vais tracer; car j'adopterai avec plaiſir toute autre vue de bien public qui ſera propoſée par les Etats-Généraux.—*Diſcours du Roi.*"

[41] The anonymous authors of an Engliſh Hiſtory of the Revolution in France, to which we have before had occaſion to advert, ſpeaking of the "Declaration of the king's intentions," ſay—"*The odious tyranny of Lettres de Cachet* "WAS FORMALLY ANNOUNCED TO BE CONTINUED, *with only a few modifications.* A GUARDED SILENCE *was obſerved* "*concerning the liberty of the preſs*, &c." (vol. i. p. 92.) It is ſomewhat ſtrange that men who undertake to compoſe a hiſtory,

But, unhappily for the country, the infidious arts of a few defigning men had been fucceſsfully exerted in miſleading and deceiving the majority of the commons as to the real object of their miſſion; and had perſuaded them to adopt the prepoſterous idea, that they were convened, not for the purpoſe of improvement, modification, correction, or reform, but for the purpoſe of framing *a new conſtitution*. And though this idea was directly repugnant to the ſpirit, and immediately contradictory to the language of thoſe *cahiers*, or inſtructions, which they had ſolemnly ſworn to obey, it was too flattering to minds, on which religious and moral rectitude had not previouſly made a deep impreſſion, not to meet with an eaſy and favourable reception. Thoſe who had admitted it ſpurned with contempt the advantages proffered by their ſovereign; and even conſidered the royal interference as an invaſion of their own authority, though, not being yet lawfully conſtituted, they could not poſſeſs any legal power. It will be hereafter ſeen in what manner they exerciſed the ſovereignty they had aſſumed, and how far their conſtitution of 1789 excelled that ameliorated ſyſtem of government which might have been formed on the plan preſented by the king.

Some other cauſes alſo operated unfavourably, on the preſent occaſion. The procraſtination of the king's miniſters, and the diviſions in his councils, had ſuffered that ſea-

hiſtory, ſhould neglect to conſult ſuch authentic documents as *ſtate-papers*; and ſhould prefer to that infallible ſource of information the looſe remarks and incautious aſſertions of *anonymous party-writers*. By giving our readers a faithful tranſlation of the declaration, we have afforded them an opportunity of detecting the fallacy, or rather falſhood, of ſuch aſſertions as thoſe we have quoted above: we have ſhewn them, that ſo far from *formally announcing the continuation of Lettres de Cachet*, the king expreſsly invited the States to deviſe ſome means for preventing their *abolition* from becoming injurious, in certain reſpects, to the public welfare; we have ſhewn them, too, that ſo far from obſerving *a guarded ſilence* on the liberty of the preſs, he devoted *a ſeparate article* to that important conſideration, deſiring only the impoſition of ſuch reſtrictions as might ſecure religion from the impious attacks of the infidel or philoſopher; as might guard the public manners from being polluted by obſcene publications; and protect the honour of citizens from invaſion by perſonal libels:—reſtrictions, the wiſdom and propriety of which no man, it is conceived, will preſume to call in queſtion.

It is no difficult matter to diſcover the ſource whence the above aſſertions have been taken. In the *Hiſtoire de la Revolution de 1789, et de l'Etabliſſement d'une Conſtitution en France*, PAR DEUX AMIS DE LA LIBERTE (tom. i. p. 211), among the objections to the royal declaration, are the following—"RIEN DE POSITIF SUR LA LIBERTE DE LA "PRESSE.——L'INTENTION FORMELLE DE CONSERVER LES LETTRES DE CACHET, AVEC DE VAINES MODIFICA-"TIONS." Rabaud de Saint Etienne, too, has the aſſurance to aſſert, that *no mention* is made, in the declaration, of the liberty of the preſs; *(White's tranſlation of his work, p. 73.)* though he muſt have *heard*, if he had not *read*, the ſixteenth article, which runs thus:

"Les Etats-Généraux examineront et feront connaître à ſa Majeſté le moyen le plus convenable de concilier "*la liberté de la preſſe*, avec le reſpect dû à la Religion, aux mœurs, et à l'honneur des citoyens."

It is remarkable that the *Two Friends to Liberty*, though *generally* copious in their accounts, and careful to ſubmit to their readers ſuch ſtate papers as tend to ſubſtantiate their own arguments, and to confirm their own opinions, have thought proper wholly to omit the king's important declaration. But the praiſe which, in this inſtance, muſt be refuſed to their fidelity ſhould be beſtowed on their ſagacity; for that authentic document would certainly have exhibited a direct contradiction to their own aſſertions.

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ſon to elapſe, in which any plan of government ſanctioned by him could meet with a temperate diſcuſſion. The folly and violence which accompanied the introduction of the royal ſeſſion had likewiſe ſoured the minds of men in ſuch a degree, that they would not think favourably of any propoſal that originated with the ſovereign. Some of the expreſſions uſed in enforcing the different articles were, beſides, as has before been obſerved, in a more harſh and abſolute tone than the preſent temper would admit, and afforded occaſion for a ſarcaſm, that the king wanted to convert the States-General into a *bed of juſtice*. Nor could a knowledge of mankind warrant the expectation, that the commons, in their preſent plenitude of power, would relinquiſh the ſweets of that ſelf-conſtituted ſovereignty, which they had ſo newly begun to exerciſe, and in a few days conſent, without a ſtruggle, to reſcind their firſt great and public diſplay of it.

As ſoon as the king left the hall, he was followed by the nobles and the greater part of the clergy; but the members of the Third Eſtate remained, though ſummoned by the grand-maſter of the ceremonies, to retire. "You know, Sir,"—ſaid that officer, addreſſing himſelf to the preſident—"the intentions of the king." "Yes, Sir,"—exclaimed Mirabeau—"we have heard the intentions *that have been ſuggeſted to the king*[42]; "and you, who cannot be his agent *(ſon organe)* at the States-General, you, who have "here neither ſeat, nor voice, nor a right to ſpeak, are not the perſon to remind us of his "ſpeech. But, in order to avoid all equivocation and delay, I declare that if you are "inſtructed to make us leave this place, you muſt aſk for orders to employ force, ſince "nothing but the power of the bayonet ſhall compel us to quit our ſeats."—The members then unanimouſly exclaimed, that ſuch was their determination.

On the motion of M. Camus, ſupported by Meſſieurs Barnave, Glezen, Petion, and the abbé Gregoire, they proceeded to a confirmation of all their former decrees; in the name of the National Aſſembly, they declared the perſons of its members to be inviolable, and that every individual, whether in a private or public ſtation, any corporation, tribunal, court, or commiſſion, who ſhould dare, during or after the preſent ſeſſions, to reproach, ill-uſe, arreſt, detain, or cauſe to be arreſted or detained, the perſon or perſons of any one or more of the deputies, for any motion, opinion, advice, or diſcourſe, made or holden in the aſſembly, or any of its committees, ſhould be regarded as infamous, and conſidered as a traitor to his country.

In the evening a great number of the deputies went to compliment the miniſter of the finances, who had not aſſiſted at the royal ſeſſion. A rumour prevailed that he had

[42] In the original it is—*les intentions qu'on a ſuggerées au Roi.*—The authors, therefore, of the Hiſtory of the Revolution, adverted to in the preceding note, have committed a groſs error in tranſlating the paſſage thus—"The intentions which have been ſuggeſted *by* the king."

reſigned.

reſigned. Being ſent for by the king, and having taken the public way through the courts, M. Neckar was met in his paſſage by immenſe crowds of people, who followed him with loud acclamations, which were redoubled, when, on his return, he informed them that he would remain in office. The mob were, on this occaſion, extremely tumultuous, and celebrated the joyful news, that had been communicated by the miniſter himſelf, with bonfires and huzzas, almoſt under the windows of the royal apartments. The reſolutions, which had been entered into by the commons, ſhewed the people that there was now a power which could brave the authority of the ſovereign. Inſidious attempts were made, by dark inſinuations, to impreſs their minds with the conviction that the declarations of the king were inſincere; and from one end of the kingdom to the other they ſpoke with enthuſiaſm of men, who, they were taught to believe, had expoſed themſelves to the moſt imminent danger on their account.

But the ferment at Verſailles was nothing, when compared with that which prevailed at Paris, which had been daily encreaſing, with more or leſs rapidity, ever ſince the beginning of May, in proportion as the nobles, and afterwards the court, attempted, in any degree, to oppoſe or controul the pretenſions of the commons. The people were far from being left to their free agency in this reſpect: for the pains were infinite, and the induſtry unceaſing, which were uſed to prejudice and inflame them, and to operate with the fulleſt effect upon their moſt dangerous paſſions. The fiſh-women of Paris—called *les Poiſſardes*, and ſometimes *les Dames de la Halle*—had from time immemorial aſſumed the privilege of being the leaders of all political mobs; on which occaſions their ſex, however diſguiſed or degraded, ſcreened them from many miſchiefs, puniſhments, and dangers, to which their fellow-rioters of the maſculine gender, if they had acted an equal part, muſt have been inevitably expoſed. It was impoſſible that theſe women, turbulent, violent, and ferocious, if not by nature, at leaſt by habit, and ever accuſtomed to wade through all the loweſt ſinks of profligacy, could paſs ſo glorious an opening to miſchief as was now preſented.

The ſex likewiſe afforded another body of auxiliaries, more inſinuating and leſs ſavage in appearance, but not leſs effective, and ſcarcely, in act, leſs ſanguinary and ferocious than the former. Theſe were the courtezans, whoſe numbers in that capital, notwithſtanding its known and long-eſtabliſhed pre-eminence in profligacy, exceeded all bounds of credibility. But as theſe ladies were hired, and their ſervice paid for in money, they were rather to be conſidered as a body of uſeful light mercenary troops, than as faithful diſintereſted allies, like the *Dames de la Halle*, who acted purely from principle, through their innate paſſion for confuſion and miſchief. The former were not, however, by any means ſlack in diſplaying their zeal and their talents; and, independent of the ſervices peculiar to their vocation, were highly diſtinguiſhed in ſome of the moſt active and trying ſcenes of violence, blood, and horror, that ſucceeded.

The garden of the Palais Royal, belonging to the duke of Orleans, was now become the grand theatre of popular, or, to ſpeak more correctly, of *mob* politics. It was ſaid by the duke's enemies—and, unhappily, there is not leſs truth than ſeverity in the aſſertion—that, after long being the ſcene of all the crimes of licentiouſneſs, it was now become the theatre of all the crimes of ferocity. *Hired* orators were here employed to inflame the multitude to every act of the moſt atrocious violence. Each of theſe, exalted upon a ſtool, chair, or table, was ſurrounded by a groupe as conſiderable as could come within a reaſonable diſtance for hearing; and was obliged to act as moderator, or preſident, to prevent the tumultuous interference of the eager voices, which all wiſhed to be heard at the ſame time. In theſe groupes all the forms of parliamentary debates were alternately objects of imitation and deriſion; violent reſolutions of cenſure, intermixed with menaces of direct outrage, were paſſed againſt the princes, the courtiers, the nobles, and the clergy; nor did the queen always eſcape. Theſe groupes were fed, and ſtill more inflamed, by the frequent arrival of *bulletins*, or notes, bringing an account of the proceedings at Verſailles, and of the ſpeeches or expreſſions uſed by the moſt violent leaders of the commons. Theſe were inſtantly read to the crowd, and heard with the moſt anxious attention, and the moſt eager enthuſiaſm; but if any man was ſo incautious or unfortunate as to ſay any thing in defence of the court or the nobles, or to expreſs any diſapprobation at the conduct of the commons, nothing leſs than the ſwiftneſs of his heels, or his inſtantly ſubmitting to make a formal *amende honorable*, by exclaiming, *Vive le Tiers Etat!* could ſave him from immediate corporal puniſhment.

It being difficult to form any juſt conception of the ſcenes which were exhibited at this time, in theſe gardens, and by theſe orators, a relation of the particulars of one of them, which was diſtinguiſhed by ſome peculiarities from the general claſs, may at once ſerve to gratify curioſity, and to convey a proper idea of the *wiſdom* and *temper* with which their deliberations were conducted. We have before ſhewn that M. d'Eſpremenil, by his vigorous oppoſition in the parliament of Paris to the deſigns of the late miniſter, and by his conſequent impriſonment, had become the idol of the populace. He had ſince been elected by the nobility of Paris one of their deputies to the States; and being charged as one of the great promoters of the obſtinacy diſplayed by that order in their conflict with the commons, and alſo as having adviſed a diſſolution of the States—though there does not appear to have been the ſmalleſt foundation for the latter charge—not only loſt his former popularity, but became one of the moſt odious men in the kingdom, particularly with the Pariſians. An orator in the Palais Royal made a motion one day, that as they could not reach his perſon, *they ſhould burn his houſe in Paris, and murder his wife and children.* This horrid propoſal was received with ſuch marks of approbation as ſeemed to enſure its adoption; but another orator, thinking the propoſal went too far, and knowing the inefficacy of any appeal to juſtice or humanity, mounted the ſtool in turn, and harangued the mob in the following terms: "Gentlemen, you

"may

" may aſſure yourſelves that the ſcheme of revenge now propoſed would be no puniſh-
" ment to the offender; for his houſe and furniture belong to the landlord; his wife
" belongs to the public; and his children may, perhaps, belong to ſome of yourſelves."

This ſcandalous and brutal jeſt, and as falſe in every ſenſe as it was brutal, was, however, ſo well calculated to ſuit the capacity and taſte of his auditors, that it produced the effect intended by the orator: the mob laughed, their rage evaporated in the clumſy joke, and M. d'Eſpreſmenil's houſe and family were ſaved.

Thus were the Pariſians gradually trained to a defiance of all laws, to a mockery of all ſubordination, and to the contemplation of cruelties the moſt inhuman, without the *unpleaſant* accompaniment of wounded *feelings*. At the ſame time, it excited the aſtoniſhment of all who conſidered the natural temper of the nation, to behold the patience and inflexible perſeverance, with which theſe groupes of politicians in the Palais Royal endured all the rigours of a burning ſun, and reſiſted all the calls of nature from morning till night, partly in liſtening to theſe orators, and partly in diſplaying their own knowledge and ability in affairs of government.

Their general diſpoſition to revolt was now become ſo open and evident, that M. Neckar found it neceſſary to write a letter to M. du Croſne, the lieutenant of the police, giving an aſſurance from himſelf, that the court had no intention to diſſolve the States-General. For, though Neckar was little liked by the leaders of any of the parties, he continued to be as dear as ever to the Pariſians, who ſtill truſted ſomething to *his* word, though they paid not the ſmalleſt degree of credit to that of their ſovereign.

The commons found themſelves ſo ſtrong in the public ſupport, that they affected to treat the king's ſyſtem and declaration with that ſilent contempt which uſually attends propoſals of ſuch inſignificance as merit neither conſideration nor anſwer. The nobles, however, declared that they would adhere to it; but their adherence came too late, and a plan of concord, which, if propoſed in time, might have been attended with happy effects, was now ſtigmatized as a plan of diſguiſed ſlavery.

On the twenty-fourth of June, the count de Clermont-Tonnerre moved, that the nobles ſhould unite with the commons; and was ably ſeconded by M. de Lally-Tolendal. They both evinced a moſt ardent deſire for the eſtabliſhment of a free and happy government, though in the mode they adopted for the attainment of that grand object they rather diſplayed an eagerneſs of hope, and purity of intention, than any depth of political knowledge, or extent of political experience. Their arguments, though peculiarly forcible under the preſent aſpect of affairs, made little impreſſion on the great body of the nobles, who were extremely averſe from a junction, the dangerous conſequences

of which they foreſaw. They were, however, ready to vote a general adherence to the king's plan, and, if an equal conformity prevailed on the other ſide, to unite for the preſent (according to its terms) with the other orders, and to conduct the public buſineſs with them in common.

But the minority being tired out by this fruitleſs perſeverance of their numerous brethren, and having likewiſe diſtinct objects in view, and holding from the beginning principles congenial with thoſe avowed by the prevailing party, formed a determination on that very evening to unite with the commons. This they performed on the ſucceeding day, having previouſly ſent a letter to their preſident, the duke of Luxemburgh, expreſſing their concern at the ſtep which they had been impelled by neceſſity and duty to take. In conſequence of the reſiſtance of the majority of the nobles, and of ſeveral of the clergy, many anonymous letters were written to ſome of the principal members of either order, threatening to take away their lives, and burn their houſes: the archbiſhop of Paris was even attacked in his carriage, and only eſcaped aſſaſſination by the ſwiftneſs of his horſes, and the preſence of mind and intrepidity of his coachman [43].

The king was deeply affected by the diſſentions which prevailed between the different orders;—an honeſt man, and a good citizen, the ſole object of his wiſhes was the welfare of the ſtate [44]. But divided between his own ſentiments, and the ſuggeſtions of others, he ſaw himſelf, with ſorrow, involved in a labyrinth, ſurrounded on all ſides by rocks and precipices. Repeated councils were holden, but no deciſive reſolution was adopted. At length, on the morning of the twenty-ſeventh of June, a council met at the palace, at which the princes of the blood attended. The duke of Luxemburgh arrived ſoon after they had aſſembled; and the king having conducted him to his cloſet, the following converſation is ſaid to have paſſed between them. "Monſieur de Luxem-
" burgh,"—ſaid Lewis—"I expect, from the fidelity and affection which the order over
" which you preſide bear to my perſon, its union with the other two." "Sire,"—replied the duke—"the order of nobility will ever be forward to give your majeſty proofs
" of their devotion to you; but I will venture to affirm that they have never given
" more ſtriking proofs of their attachment, than on this occaſion; for it is not their
" cauſe, but that of the crown which they are now defending." "The cauſe of the
" crown?" exclaimed the king. "Yes, Sire, the cauſe of the crown. The nobility
" have nothing to loſe by the union which your majeſty deſires: a conſequence eſtab-
" liſhed by ages of glory, and tranſmitted from generation to generation; immenſe
" riches, together with the talents and virtues of many of its members, enſure them, in
" the National Aſſembly, all the influence they can wiſh for; and I am certain that
" they will be received with tranſport. But has your majeſty been taught to conſider

43 Hiſtoire de la Revolution de 1789, &c. tom. i. p. 264. 44 Idem, ibid. 267.

" the

" the conſequences of this union with regard to yourſelf? The nobility will obey, Sire,
" if you order them; but, as their preſident, as the faithful ſervant of your majeſty, let
" me entreat your permiſſion to ſuggeſt to you ſome farther reflections upon a meaſure
" ſo deciſive."—The king having ſignified that he would liſten to him with pleaſure, the duke proceeded thus: " Your majeſty well knows what degree of power the public
" opinion and the rights of the nation aſſign to its repreſentatives—it is ſo great, that the
" ſovereign authority with which you are inveſted, remains, as it were, dumb in its pre-
" ſence. This unlimited power exiſts in its utmoſt plenitude in the States-General, how-
" ever compoſed; but their diviſion into three chambers confines their action, and pre-
" ſerves your own. United, they own no maſter; divided, they are your ſubjects. The
" *deficit* in your finances, and the ſpirit of inſubordination which has infected the army,
" impede, I know, the deliberations of your councils; but your faithful nobility, Sire,
" ſtill remain true to you. At this inſtant they have the choice, either to go, as your
" majeſty invites them to do, and partake with their *co-deputies* of the exerciſe of the le-
" giſlative power, or to die in defending the prerogatives of the throne. The part they
" will take admits not of a doubt—they will die; and for that they aſk no return of
" gratitude; it is their duty. But, in ſacrificing their lives, they will ſave the indepen-
" dence of the crown, and annul the operations of the National Aſſembly, which cer-
" tainly will never be deemed complete, when a third of its members ſhall have fallen
" victims to the rage of the populace, and the ſword of aſſaſſins. I conjure your ma-
" jeſty to reflect on the conſiderations which I have the honour of ſuggeſting to you."

" M. de Luxemburgh,"—replied the king, with firmneſs—" I have reflected; I am
" determined to make every ſacrifice; and *I will not ſuffer a ſingle man to periſh in eſpouſ-*
" *ing my cauſe.* Tell, therefore, the order of nobility, that I requeſt them to join the
" other two. If that will not ſuffice, I command them as their ſovereign, *Je le veux.*
" If there be a ſingle member of that order, who conſiders himſelf bound by his *inſtruc-*
" *tions, his oath*, and *his honour*, to remain in the chamber, let me know it; I will go and
" place myſelf at his ſide, and die with him if there be occaſion [45]."

The cardinal de Rochefoucaud and M. Neckar next attended the council, which broke up at eleven o'clock; when the preſidents of the nobility and clergy left the king, each taking with him a letter from his majeſty, to be communicated to his order. The letter was conceived in the following terms:

" Couſin—Solely intent on promoting the general good of my kingdom, and wiſhing
" above all things to ſee the aſſembly of the States-General occupied with objects that
" intereſt the nation, after the voluntary acceptance of my declaration of the twenty-

[45] Hiſtoire de la Revolution de 1789, &c. tom. i. p. 268, 269, et ſuivantes.

" third of this month, I engage my faithful clergy to unite, without delay, with the " two other orders, to accelerate the accompliſhment of my paternal views. Thoſe who " are bound by their powers, may go thither without giving their votes, until ſuch time " as they ſhall have received freſh powers. I ſhall conſider a compliance with my re- " queſt as a new mark of your attachment, &c."

The mandate of the king was obeyed without heſitation by the clergy; but in the chamber of the nobles a long and violent debate took place, during which the duke of Luxemburgh read a letter from the count d'Artois, inſinuating that any farther reſiſtance might endanger his majeſty's life. M. de Cazales cried out, with the moſt energetic voice, that the conſtitution of the monarchy was more ſacred than the monarch, and that the perpetual ſeparation of the orders was its only ſupport. But the duke of Luxemburgh, riſing from his ſeat, exclaimed, " Gentlemen, this is not the time to deliberate, " but to ſave the king and country. The king's perſon appears to be in danger; which " of us then can heſitate a moment?" The exhortation was too powerful to be reſiſted by men whoſe loyalty was proverbial: the vote of union was accordingly carried, and at four o'clock in the afternoon, (of the twenty-ſeventh of June) the commons were acquainted that the nobles were coming into their hall.—They were accompanied by the remaining diſſidents of the clergy, cardinal de Rochefoucault, who, on his entrance, ſaid, " We are conducted hither by our love and reſpect for the king, by our deſire of " peace, and our zeal for the public welfare." The duke of Luxemburgh, as preſident of the nobility, ſaid, " The order of the nobility reſolved this morning to come to this " hall, to give the king a mark of its reſpect, and the nation a proof of its patriotiſm."—Some of the nobles, however, withdrew from the States entirely; ſuch compliance, they ſaid, being incompatible with their duty to their order, to their country, and to their ſovereign himſelf, who, they inſiſted, had been deceived. As many of the deputies of the nobility as had received poſitive commands from their conſtituents to maintain the orders ſeparate, declared, in the way of proteſt, their inability to take any part in the reſolutions of the aſſembly, without violating their oaths, unleſs the inſtructions they had voluntarily ſworn to obſerve ſhould be reſcinded. M. de Perigord, a young man lately made biſhop of Autun, moved that all imperative inſtructions ſhould be declared void; but thoſe deputies of the nobility refuſed to avail themſelves of it, nor did they vote in the aſſembly, until empowered by their conſtituents.

Public rejoicings and illuminations took place upon this union of the orders, and the people fondly thought that the happineſs of the nation was complete. But every man of reflection muſt, it is conceived, have been aware that this meaſure was pregnant with the moſt fatal conſequences. Conſidered abſtractedly, indeed, as a temporary expedient for reconciling diſcordant parties, it was deſerving of commendation; but was it not eaſy to foreſee that the whole influence of the commons would be exerted to render the union

union permanent, and, by the removal of that counterpoiſe which the ſeparation of orders eſtabliſhed, ſecure to the democratic party ſuch an undue influence as would, in the firſt inſtance, ſhake the baſis, and, by degrees, deſtroy the whole fabric, of the monarchy?

It ſurely required no great ſtretch of political ſagacity to perceive the danger of truſting the whole power of a mighty ſtate in the hands of a ſingle aſſembly, without any other to check or regulate its conduct, or any power whatever in the government which could, even by the interpoſition of a negative, attempt to reſtrain the exorbitances to which a body, poſſeſſed of ſuch unexampled authority, muſt almoſt be neceſſarily ſubject. It was evident, that in ſuch an aſſemblage all its power muſt be ſubjected to the caprice or deſign of a majority; that the diſſenting minority, whatever its number, could do nothing more than complain (if they were allowed to do that) and would thereby become entirely uſeleſs; while the triumphant majority, by a proper management of the inflamed populace, with the national purſe and the ſword in their hands, might eſtabliſh the moſt complete tyranny, under a republican name or form, and render it unalterable, by boldly perpetuating their own exiſtence.

From the time the union of the orders took place, the aſſembly—to uſe the language of an Engliſh writer, whoſe juſt and impartial remarks are the reſult of perſonal obſervation—preſents to us the idea of an immenſe ſhip, with a numerous crew, toſſed about upon the waves, without any one to direct its courſe. We ſee it ſometimes agitated by a variety of paſſions and intereſts, giving way to ſudden impulſes, paſſing reſolutions big with important conſequences in an inſtant, and again ſpending days and weeks on objects of the moſt trifling kind. Many, however, have aſſerted, that this ſeemingly contradictory conduct was in reality the reſult of deſign: that thoſe reſolutions, which tended to deſtroy or leſſen the rights and privileges of the ſuperior orders, to lower their importance, and to gratify the people, had been long intended, and were moved by the democratic party, as they found a fit occaſion: that thoſe of the oppoſite party were compelled to conſent to them, or withdraw, to eſcape the fury of the mob, which was conſtantly at hand to enforce the opinions of their adverſaries: and that whatever might tend to the eſtabliſhment of order was purpoſely delayed, that the people, in the mean time, might be prepared to approve, and meaſures be taken to execute, the ſchêmes that were now projected.

As to the cauſe of the apparently ſupine and queſtionable conduct of the miniſter, it has been gravely affirmed by ſome, that he was himſelf the principal promoter of the Revolution, and had purpoſely adapted the meaſures of government to that end: but though this idea ſeems merely the ebullition of an inflamed imagination, it muſt be allowed, that he was eventually the cauſe of it, though, probably, without any ſuch deſign.

ſign. He ſeems to have apprehended that the reformations he deſired, and chiefly the reduction of expence, and the equality of taxation, would be liable to be defeated by one or other of the ſuperior orders; he miſtruſted the ſupport of the court; and hence he was induced to give a preponderance to the commons, and to ſuggeſt, at the opening of the States, the neceſſity of their ſometimes forming but one aſſembly, and voting by numbers: others have maintained, that his forbearance to exert his influence with the deputies, aroſe from his moral character. But ought he not to have conſidered, that, in times of general effervescence, when a numerous aſſembly might be miſled by the arts of intrigue, and the efforts of private ambition, it became the duty of a virtuous miniſter to ſtand forward, and, with his utmoſt influence, to endeavour to prevent that violence which has proved ſo injurious to the ſtate, and ruinous to individuals? And would he not have deſerved better of the nation, and have had more rational grounds for ſelf-applauſe, had he boldly exerted himſelf, rather than peeviſhly complained of a waſte of time, while he was a tame ſpectator of meaſures which he ſeemed in private to condemn?

Though it ſeems evident that the motives which led him to compoſe the States in the manner he did, aimed only at an effectual reform, not at the ſubverſion of the government; it is impoſſible to conſider his conduct, after they were opened, without ſuſpecting that it aroſe from the too high notion he entertained of the weight of his perſonal influence. He ſeems to have expected that his opinions would have been adopted with the ſame implicit ſubmiſſion, in the great body of the aſſembly, with which he was accuſtomed to ſee them received in the circle by which he was ſurrounded. If ſuch were really his belief, he has moſt fully experienced its vanity; he was deſtined to the mortification of ſeeing his opinions, firſt ſilently neglected, and afterwards openly condemned. One of the beſt of the French periodical writers has obſerved, "Nature and education "had formed him for buſineſs: while he was only fit to conduct the finances under a "ſtateſman, he had the ambition to rule; the embarraſſment of the government brought "him to the ſituation he had long ſighed for; he wiſhed to ſecure himſelf againſt the "fluctuating politics of an intriguing court; and meaning only to reform abuſes, in the "ſpace of a few months he overturned the kingdom."

Paris, raiſed and ſupported by its vicinity to the court, not by induſtry and commerce, contained an immenſe number of perſons, the refuſe of France and other countries, who, having no viſible means of ſubſiſtance, ſeemed to depend on chance, and were ready to be employed to any purpoſe [46]. They had till lately been reſtrained by a vigilant and vigorous police but this having, as we have ſeen, greatly relaxed its former activity,

[46] The officers of the police calculated that there were almoſt fifty thouſand perſons, at this period, who had no viſible way of maintaining themſelves.

thoſe

thoſe already in the city were encouraged to proceed to exceſſes, while their numbers were daily augmented by a variety of other vagabonds, that now flocked in from the provinces.

Riots, occaſioned by ſcarcity of bread and other cauſes, were become frequent and dangerous; the ſpirit of inſurrection ſeemed rapidly to encreaſe; and little doubt can be entertained of the truth of thoſe allegations, which declared it to be ſecretly encouraged. The French guards had been ſo long ſtationed to preſerve order in Paris, that by degrees their intimacy with the inhabitants became ſo cloſe that it led them to imbibe all their political opinions. Among theſe was the new doctrine, which was taught with unceaſing application and energy, that ſoldiers, being citizens like other men, were to conſider their duties as ſuch to be paramount to all others; that having an equal intereſt with their brethren in whatever related to the public, they were to judge for themſelves on all queſtions of government; and, above all things, that nothing could be a greater or more parricidal crime, than to obey any orders for firing upon their fellow citizens, in the exerciſe or ſupport of their rights. Theſe guards had a little before been highly unpopular, on account of their alacrity in quelling ſome former riots; but things were now ſo totally changed on both ſides, that the populace ſeemed to adore the ſoldiers, and the latter ſeemed ready to go even beyond them in any act of violence.

Their converſion was not, however, entirely truſted to arguments or doctrines; more effectual means were employed by the factious citizens, who were profuſe in the diſtribution of wine, women, and gold, the three moſt powerful agents for debauching a ſoldiery. The conduct of the troops became ſo licentious and daring, that their commanders found it neceſſary to confine them in their barracks; but all ſenſe of ſubordination and of military diſcipline was ſo totally eradicated, that, on the twenty-fifth and twenty-ſixth of June, they left their barracks by hundreds at a time, went to the Palais-Royal, where they were received with the greateſt joy by the multitude; and while they were feaſted and plentifully ſupplied with wine, money, and even bank notes *(billets de caiſſe)* [47] were profuſely diſtributed amongſt them. In the mean time, the ſtreets and gardens reſounded with popular ballads, made on purpoſe to encourage and inflame the ſoldiery. It cannot, then, be matter of aſtoniſhment, that, on this occaſion, they ſhould join the crowd, and even enter into a competition with them, in the loudneſs and eagerneſs of their huzzaing for the Third Eſtate.

For theſe and ſimilar acts of diſobedience and contempt of orders, eleven of the moſt daring and refractory ſoldiers were committed to the priſon of the Abbaye de Saint Germain, preparatory to their trial by a court-martial. On the thirtieth of June, a letter

[47] Hiſtoire de la Revolution de 1789, tom. i. p. 281.

was read aloud in the garden of the Palais-Royal, inviting the people to the deliverance of theſe brave men, who were ſuffering in their cauſe. This produced its immediate effect. The people flew in crowds to the priſon; forced the gates; and removed the priſoners to the Hotel de Geneve, where they were not only lodged and entertained, but loaded with preſents. The next day a deputation of young Pariſians waited on the National Aſſembly, requiring from them the free diſcharge of the priſoners; and this demand was made in terms that ſhewed that they conſidered the claim rather as a matter of right than of favour. The aſſembly felt their embarraſſed ſituation, and endeavoured to extricate themſelves by a kind of moderate temporizing vote, exhorting the Pariſians to tranquillity, and entreating the king to exerciſe his clemency towards the delinquents. The king could do nothing but comply; and thus was an end put to military diſcipline, as well as to civil government, in Paris.

Under theſe circumſtances, there can be no doubt but that the force, which, in caſe of need, could have been brought to ſuppreſs diſorders, would have proved unequal to the taſk. Paris, as the metropolis of the kingdom, as the general place of reſidence of the nobility and perſons attached to the court, or employed in the finances, not only contained the royal treaſury, and other important eſtabliſhments, but immenſe private property, and the moſt valuable deeds and records that had any reference to the ſtate. The preſervation of the city from pillage or fire was the intereſt of all, and the indiſpenſable duty of the government. For theſe oſtenſible reaſons, therefore, the king ordered a body of troops to be aſſembled in its neighbourhood. It was difficult to oppoſe any good objection to the meaſure; the diſorders that reigned in the capital could not be denied; the danger of them was evident; but, when it was known that theſe troops were to form an army of above thirty thouſand men, with a numerous train of cannon and mortars, the National Aſſembly took alarm, and, on the tenth of July, preſented a long addreſs to the king, in which they ſaid, "Sire, we conjure you, in the name of the nation, and for "your own happineſs and glory, to ſend back your troops to the poſts from whence your "counſellors have drawn them; to ſend back the artillery deſtined to cover your fron-"tiers; and, above all, thoſe foreign ſoldiers, paid to defend, and not to diſturb us. "Your majeſty has no occaſion for them: why ſhould a monarch *adored* by five-and-"twenty millions of Frenchmen, collect, at a great expence, a few thouſands of fo-"reigners around the throne?"

In his reply, the king told them, that they had themſelves been witneſſes of the ſhameful licentiouſneſs that had long prevailed at Paris and at Verſailles; that it was a principal duty with him to preſerve the public tranquillity, to defend and enforce the laws, and to protect that freedom which they wiſhed to preſerve among themſelves. He aſſured them, that the troops had been called for thoſe purpoſes only; that however, if their neceſſary preſence in the neighbourhood of Paris gave any uneaſineſs to

to the States, they might remove to Noyon or Soiſſons, in which caſe he ſhould go to Compeigne, in order to keep up that immediate intercourſe which ought to ſubſiſt between them. The king's declaration of his motives was ſo poſitive, the facts were ſo unqueſtionable, and the propoſal itſelf was ſo fair, that ſeveral of the leading members of the more moderate parties were perfectly ſatisfied, and willing to agree to it; but the determined leaders of the popular ſide, whoſe views extended farther, were too well aware of the ſtrength and ſupport which they derived from the vicinity of the capital to liſten to it. There was no reaſon to alledge againſt going to Noyon or Soiſſons; it was evident that their deliberations would be there leſs liable to be influenced or diſturbed than in the neighbourhood of Paris; and, by conſtant practice, the choice of the place, where the aſſembly ſhould be holden, belonged to the ſovereign. All theſe conſiderations however were inſufficient to ſuperinduce a compliance with the king's propoſal, which, being condemned by Mirabeau, with his uſual intemperance, was finally rejected.

That the motives which influenced the conduct of that profligate demagogue were of that kind which fixes the indelible ſtamp of infamy on the mind that harbours them, is a fact proved beyond the reach of confutation. Two members of the aſſembly, meſſieurs Bergaſſe and Duport, men of veracity unimpeached, of character the moſt reſpectable, have poſitively affirmed, that Mirabeau talked with them familiarly and unreſervedly, about their having *a Louis the Seventeenth, in the place of a Louis the Sixteenth*, as king, or, at leaſt, as lieutenant-general of the kingdom; thereby alluding directly, and by *name*, to the *duke of Orleans, with whom*—he likewiſe ſaid—*he had converſed upon the ſubject; and that the prince had received the communication in the moſt pleaſing manner.*

Mounier (a man, whoſe honour and integrity was never queſtioned by *any* party, in all the violence of their contentions) has likewiſe recorded, that having mentioned to Mirabeau his exceſſive alarm at the manœuvres which were continually practiſed in Paris to ſeduce the troops from their officers; and obſerving, farther, with what facility an ambitious prince, appearing at the head of a diſcontented army, diſtributing money with one hand and libels with the other, might uſurp the throne, Mirabeau, treating his apprehenſions with ridicule, anſwered, "Why, you good ſimple man, I am as much attached to "royalty as you are; *but what ſignifies whether we have Louis the Seventeenth or Louis the "Sixteenth*; and why need we have a child [48] to govern us?" M. Mounier, who experienced, at the horrid ſuggeſtion, that indignation which every virtuous man muſt have experienced on ſuch an occaſion, candidly acknowledges, that he felt a temptation to plunge a dagger in the heart of a wretch who could conceive ſo wicked a ſcheme. The teſtimony adduced in ſupport of this important fact cannot be controverted; it is clear,

[48] The term *bambin*, which Mirabeau uſed, may be underſtood either as a child or an ideot.

direct,

direct, and deciſive; and the fact itſelf throws a ſtrong light on the ſubſequent proceedings of Mirabeau, and his deteſtable patron—*par nobile fratrum!*

But though the king's conduct in aſſembling the troops in the vicinity of the capital was accounted for in a manner the moſt rational and clear, it was nevertheleſs rendered, by the violence of party, a ground for cenſure, invective, and reprobation. The popular writers and declaimers deſcribe it as one of the moſt perfidious and bloody plots that ever was formed; and which, if carried into execution, would have rivalled and renewed all the horrors of the maſſacre on Saint Bartholomew's day. They repreſent, that fifty thouſand men, one hundred pieces of artillery, an army of banditti, and ſix princes, were to have pulled down the ſanctuary of liberty on its miniſters' heads, and to have overturned the French empire; that the national aſſembly would have been diſperſed; its reſolutions declared ſeditious; its members proſcribed; the Palais-Royal, and the houſes of all *patriots*, given up to plunder; while the electors and their deputies were to be executed. The glaring inconſiſtency in theſe ſeveral puniſhments are ſo obvious, as ſcarcely to require obſervation. Some difficulty might appear in diſperſing a body of men who were buried under the weight of an enormous building; and, on the ſuppoſition of a reſurrection, it might appear entirely needleſs to proſcribe men who were given up to execution.

The Hiſtorian of the Revolution, however, finiſhes his picture with the following *ſublime* effort of imagination:—"This is the horrible tiſſue of crimes and aſſaſſinations which a "troop of *villains* and *infamous women*, meditated with barbarous joy in the tumult of "their execrable orgies!!!" It is ſurely curious to obſerve, that none of the enormities here deſcribed ever took place, even in a ſingle inſtance, on the ſide of the court; and that all the crimes and aſſaſſinations here charged upon troops of villains and infamous women, were not only fully realized, but brought into daily and continual practice on the popular ſide, by the two numerous orders thus ſpecified, with both of whom, it is probable, that Paris at this period abounded far beyond any other city in the univerſe. Indeed, the indifference, and, in ſome caſes, the complacency, with which the National Aſſembly received and heard details of the horrid cruelties and murders committed by theſe two orders, afford too much room for ſuppoſing that they conſidered them as very neceſſary and eſſential arms of their power.

But it muſt not be conceived that, even by moderate men of different parties, the approach of the troops was viewed with jealouſy and apprehenſion: they conceived, that the troops had been aſſembled, partly to prevent the exploſion which a projected change in the miniſtry might occaſion, and partly to enable the king to carry into effect the plan of reform he had ſuggeſted in his declaration of the twenty-third of June. Impreſſed with this belief, they expected that the king would require the States to ratify that declaration,

claration, and, in caſe of their refuſal, would proceed to the extremity of attempting a diſſolution of the aſſembly. As ſuch an attempt would be reſiſted, they apprehended, that the military might be called in to ſuppreſs thoſe tumults which, in the preſent temper of the people, their forced ſeparation muſt inevitably occaſion.

Theſe were the greateſt evils or dangers which moderate men apprehended from the preſent conduct of the court. But even in this worſt ſtate of things, and ſuppoſing the forced diſſolution to take place, although they trembled at the idea of an act of power and violence ſo diſgraceful both to the government and country, yet they conſoled themſelves under the certainty they fully poſſeſſed, that the king could then have no other reſource than that of immediately ſummoning another meeting of the States, as it would be otherwiſe impoſſible for him to manage or ſettle the diſorders of the nation, or to conduct the government in any manner. As to the pretended plots which were ſaid to be diſcovered, and the details of them propagated with ſo much induſtry, ſuch as the blockade of the city of Paris; the ſtarving or maſſacre of the inhabitants; the overturning that capital from its foundations, with the long liſts of deputies to the States who were to be ſeized or executed; all theſe, with others of the ſame deſcription, would have been treated by ſuch men only with ridicule, if the wickedneſs of the deſigns which they ſaw they covered had not excited their utmoſt indignation. They declared their firm opinion, *that no perſons in the aſſembly were more thoroughly convinced of their falſhood, than the very men who took the greateſt pains to propagate them abroad as undoubted facts*[49].

Though the mareſchal de Broglio ſeemed to have been forgotten by the court, yet the opinion that was univerſally entertained of his private virtues and military talents pointed him out as the fitteſt perſon to be employed in ſo critical a conjuncture as the preſent. He was accordingly called from his retirement by a letter from the king, and appointed to command the army, with the title of generaliſſimo. It was imagined that the troops would be flattered, in again ſeeing at their head a veteran who had acquired ſo much merited reputation, when oppoſed to one of the ableſt captains of the age. But the circumſtances in which he was now to act were entirely different. Then, his courage and military ſkill were ſufficient to carry him through every difficulty. Now, inſtead of a warrior, who fought on the field of honour, he had to encounter the prejudices of his countrymen; inſtead of a martial foe to ſubdue, he had an inſidious faction to overcome; and, if the aſſertions of many of the French may be credited, he was to be enſnared by intrigue, and defeated by corruption. He ſeems then to have neglected the only danger that awaited him, the defection of his ſoldiers; and, probably from a conſciouſneſs of his own principles, he did not ſufficiently ſuſpect theirs.

[49] Mémoire de M. de Lally-Tolendal, p. 63, 64.

The troops came by detachments, and were ſent as they arrived into the villages about Paris, and ſome into the town itſelf. The conſequences that might be expected from this diſpoſition muſt at once have ſtricken even the leaſt attentive obſerver of the ſcenes that had lately paſſed there. The troops being debauched by money and promiſes, deſertion became general; and thoſe who found means to quit their quarters, were brought in triumph to the *Palais Royal* to be feaſted, and to hear the orations that were pronounced there. But had a camp been marked out in ſome ſituation equally calculated to cover Paris and Verſailles, the troops might have entered it as they arrived; all improper intercourſe would have been prevented; the ſpirit of diſcipline would have been revived; and military manœuvres, and the appearance of the monarch, might have awakened thoſe ſentiments of loyalty, and love of glory, that are congenial with the profeſſion of arms. Had ſuch a plan been adopted, it is highly probable, that, without having occaſion to draw the ſword, the diſorders that quickly followed would have been prevented, and the perfidious deſigns of the factious and diſaffected cruſhed in their infancy.

The conduct of the firſt miniſter of the finances had long been the ſubject of animadverſion with thoſe who chiefly approached the ſovereign. The manner in which the States were compoſed, his behaviour with regard to the royal ſeſſion, and a variety of other circumſtances, were pointed out as ſure indications, that he was ſecretly connected with, and encouraged the pretenſions of, the democratic party. After being tormented with many doubts, and perplexed by a variety of advice, the king was at laſt prevailed upon to diſmiſs him; and, on the eleventh of July, about two in the afternoon, he ſent him a letter, written with his own hand, to acquaint him that the ſituation of public affairs made it neceſſary that he ſhould reſign his place, and quit the kingdom. M. de Luzerne, miniſter of the marine, who carried the letter, informed him, that it was the king's deſire that the order he then delivered to him ſhould be kept ſecret; which was ſtrictly complied with. M. Neckar dined with a large company, and afterwards received many viſits. In the evening, under pretence of taking an airing with his wife, he went to his country houſe at Saint Ouen, near Paris; nor was his departure known there till the twelfth, when he was at a conſiderable diſtance from the capital.

It has been obſerved, by a French periodical writer [50], that his diſmiſſion at that time was juſt as impolitic, as if the king of Naples, in the midſt of ſome fanatic inſurrection, were to order the ſacred vial that contains the blood of Saint Januarius to be contemptuouſly thrown into the ſea. But, beſides popular favour, M. Neckar enjoyed the confidence of the public creditors, among whom was a great number of perſons of every claſs, who depended on their annuities for their maintenance. Their apprehenſions of a national bankruptcy were now revived; and, from this moment, we may conſider the monied intereſt of the kingdom as moſt decidedly and actively oppoſed to the meaſures of the court. The opportunity, which it now preſented, was eagerly embraced. A thou-

[50] L'Abbé Sabatier.

ſand

ſand mouths were inſtantly opened to ſpread the news, and to cry, that the public payments were to be ſtopped; the aſſembly to be diſſolved; that the army had been aſſembled on that account; and that, as the virtue of the miniſter was inflexible, he had not only been diſmiſſed from the council, but ſent ignominiouſly out of the kingdom. The conſternation was univerſal; and, in every ſociety and place of public reſort, nothing was heard but the clamours of thoſe, who, in the ſuppoſed impending ruin, ſaw a proſpect of penury for the reſt of their days.

The people now began to meet in crowds in different quarters of the city. In the afternoon, the buſts of the duke of Orleans and of M. Neckar were carried, enveloped in black crape, in proceſſion through the ſtreets. The heterogenous coalition of two perſons—artfully contrived by the partiſans of the duke—who had never been aſſociated in politics or otherwiſe, was not attended to; they were ſaid to be alike victims to the cauſe of the people: a report was induſtriouſly propagated, that his highneſs, and ſome other popular members of the aſſembly, had been arreſted; and, to mark the ſentiments of the public on theſe imaginary calamities, deputations from the crowd aſſembled at the *Palais Royal* were ſent to the different theatres, with *orders* that they ſhould be ſhut.

In conſequence of theſe tumults, detachments from the regiments of Choiſeul dragoons and Royal Cravate cavalry, that were quartered in the town, patroled through the ſtreets; and a ſtrong body of the Swiſs guards was poſted with cannon in the Champs Eliſées. About five o'clock in the evening, a ſhirmiſh happened between the people, in the *Place Louis Quinze*, and a party of the dragoons. A patrole of the Royal Allemand cavalry, that were quartered at La Muet [50], commanded by the prince de Lambeſc, coming up at the ſame time, and being aſſailed by the populace with a ſhower of ſtones [51], charged them, and drove them into the garden of the Tuilleries, where two or three perſons, ſaid to be merely ſpectators, were unfortunately wounded. When it began to grow dark, the people ſet fire to ſome of the wooden barriers at the end of the town, and drove away the perſons ſtationed there to collect the cuſtoms. A party of the Royal Allemand, that had been diſpatched to diſperſe the mob, that were burning the barrier at the end of the ſtreet *Chauſſée d'Antin*, in coming from thence upon the *Boulevard*, was fired upon by a party of the French guards, at the corner of that ſtreet from what is called their *depôt*. Though their alienation from the court had been long ſuſpected, this was their firſt act of open hoſtility; but almoſt all of them were now under arms in their barracks; they would not any longer obey their officers, but deſired they would withdraw. In every quarter of the town reſounded the cry, "*To arms!*" and, "*Down "with the officers and foreign troops!*" During the night, detachments of the French

[51] A royal palace, in the *Bois de Boulogne*, about two miles from Paris.

[5] Rabaud de Saint Etienne, p. 84. Engliſh tranſlation.

guards mixed with the citizens, patroled through the ſtreets. In the morning of Monday the thirteenth, the alarm-bell *(tocſin)* was rung in all the ſteeples[52].

For

[52] In our account of the tranſactions of this period, after a careful compariſon of the facts advanced by different writers, we have preferred the authority of an Engliſh gentleman, of character and fortune, who reſided at Paris at the time; and who, independent of the claims to belief which his perſonal reputation muſt give him with all who know him, is peculiarly entitled to credit by an exemption from all prejudice and partiality, and from all temptation to deviate, in the ſmalleſt degree, from the ſtricteſt veracity, in his account of the events, which he has recorded with equal fidelity, elegance, and perſpicuity. We are aware, that, by purſuing this courſe, we differ materially from the anonymous authors of the Engliſh Hiſtory of the Revolution, who have boldly proclaimed their own impartiality, but who have, nevertheleſs, not ſcrupled to adopt ſome of the groſſeſt and moſt abſurd falſhoods, and ſome of the moſt ridiculous tales which had been fabricated for the rabble in Paris, during the firſt paroxyſms of confuſion, tumult, and madneſs, and to which they have endeavoured, ſo far as they were capable, to give the character, rank, and weight, of hiſtorical facts. Some of theſe we ſhall have occaſion to notice as we proceed.

By their account of the tumult of the twelfth of July, one ſhould be naturally led to ſuſpect that the people were perfectly pacific, and the military the aggreſſors. They tell us, that "A body of citizens," who were eſcorting the buſts of Neckar and the duke d'Orleans, was ſtopped "by a German regiment, the Royal Allemand." That, the buſts having been broken by the ſoldiers, "the ARMY now came forward, in force, with the prince de Lambeſc, "grand eſcuyer of France, *at their head*, who was *ordered* to take poſt at the Tuilleries.—Irritated, *perhaps*, at the "ſpirit of *reſiſtance* which he *obſerved* in the citizens, he imprudently wounded with his ſabre a poor old man, who "was walking peaceably in the garden—The French have a *remarkable reſpect for age*," (it muſt be confeſſed they have an odd way of ſhowing it) "and this wanton outrage proved the SIGNAL of revolt." A more groſs perverſion of facts has ſeldom been exhibited!—A riotous mob is repreſented as "a body of citizens;"—a party of dragoons, is converted into "a *regiment* of German cavalry;" and a patrole of horſe into an "ARMY."—The prince de Lambeſc, though placed at the head of this pretended army, receives *orders*—from *whom* we are not told—to ſtation himſelf in the Tuilleries; the attack on him with ſtones, mentioned by Rabaut, is carefully omitted; and the wanton outrage committed by him on an old man, is, through the remarkable reſpect of the French for old age, gravely aſſerted to have been the *ſignal of revolt*:—The reader being of courſe left to ſuppoſe that there were no *previous* ſymptoms of revolt; and that, but for *this* circumſtance, no revolt would have taken place!!!

In the ſame *ſpirit*, we are ſoon after told, that while the inhabitants of the capital were involved in conſternation and diſmay, during the diſaſtrous night of the twelfth, "The court party abandoned themſelves to the moſt indecent joy," and "the women of the court mingled with the foreign ſoldiers *in laſcivious dances*, to the ſound of the "German muſic." In this choice paſſage, the "*impartial*" hiſtorians almoſt exceed the violence and calumny of the moſt democratic writers. By the women of the court is generally underſtood the female attendants on the royal family, who were certainly women of rank and character; and to aſſert that ſuch perſons would be guilty of ſuch marked and public profligacy, is to propagate a calumny that can only obtain credit from ignorance or prejudice. We have read of *laſcivious dances* in the courts of Eaſtern monarchs, but they are a ſpecies of amuſement peculiar, we believe, to thoſe climates, and unknown even to the moſt refined voluptuaries of Europe. The account of this tranſaction is evidently taken from the *Hiſtoire de la Revolution de* 1789. tom. i. p. 315, 316. but it varies even from that doubtful authority, and exhibits an incorrectneſs of tranſlation that can only be aſcribed to a wilful perverſion of facts. The original paſſage is this—"Les *bandits* (not the *women*) de la Cour, s'applaudiſſoient de leur victoire, ils "ſe rejouiſſoient de la conſternation & des larmes des bons citoyens; ils danſoient au bruit de la muſique Allemande, "ils inſultoient, dans *les chanſons laſcives* et groſſieres, les amis de la liberté."

Rabaud de Saint Etienne, indeed, ſpeaks of women, of "princeſſes and favourites," who entertained themſelves with muſick of "martial inſtruments," and who "loaded the ſoldiers with careſſes and with preſents:" but every ſchool-

For the purpoſe of electing repreſentatives in the States, Paris had been divided into ſixty *diſtricts*; and, at the ſound of the bell, the electors aſſembled at the places where they had lately met. From the electors of the diſtricts, a general aſſembly was now formed that met at the town houſe; and, out of that, a *permanent committee* was choſen, that was entruſted with the executive power. Monſieur de Fleſſelles, provoſt of the merchants, being the principal municipal magiſtrate, was nominated preſident of this committee, and a correſpondence was eſtabliſhed with committees, that ſat in the different diſtricts. The firſt ſtep taken was to embody a militia of forty-eight thouſand men; and many officers and ſerjeants, who had retired from the army, or were at Paris on leave, having offered their ſervices, were diſtributed to inſtruct it. The firſt motive for arming was the preſervation of the town from pillage; but it was ſoon extended to its defence againſt the army, in caſe it ſhould attempt to enter.

That the ſkirmiſhes which occurred between the populace and the cavalry were the conſequence of the riotous diſpoſition and tumultuous conduct of the former, and not the reſult of any plan formed by the miniſtry, is clearly demonſtrated by this circumſtance; that though there were ſeveral regiments of foot at the time ſtationed cloſe to Paris, not one of them made the ſmalleſt movement to aſſiſt or ſupport the horſe; ſuch a want of concert among the commanders muſt be conſidered as a certain proof that no orders had been iſſued by government on the ſubject. The total inaction of the troops, both on that night, and the ſucceeding day and night—during all which time, critical as the ſeaſon was, and notwithſtanding the alterations and preparations which they ſaw and knew were taking place in Paris, they never once made the ſmalleſt attempt to enter that city—ſeems likewiſe to exculpate the court and miniſters from the bloody deſigns and cruel intended maſſacres which were attributed to them; for this would have been the ſeaſon, and the night of Sunday (the twelfth) particularly, when nothing but terror and confuſion reigned in the city, and no regular ſcheme of reſiſtance or defence was yet thought of, to have carried them with full effect into execution, if any ſuch had been formed; and the ſtate of things was ſuch, that it would have been very difficult, if not impoſſible, to prevent their completion, if plans ſo wicked could be formed with wiſdom, and executed with promptitude, which, through the goodneſs of Providence, is not often permitted.

Many exceſſes were committed in the morning of the thirteenth, particularly at the houſe of the congregation of Saint Lazarus, who being ſuſpected of having corn concealed in their granaries, were, by that charge or ſuſpicion, expoſed to a pretence for be-

ſchool-boy knows the innocent application of the term "combler de careſſes," as invariably uſed by the French and nothing contained in either of the above paſſages, can warrant the calumnious aſſertion, that "The women of the court mingled with foreign ſoldiers in laſcivious dances."

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ing plundered. This circumſtance was the more to be lamented, as it was a truly pious and charitable inſtitution; but ſuch matters were ſoon to be loſt in the glare of greater enormities. Many ſlighter robberies were committed on the ſame day; but as theſe were directed againſt individuals, and executed by ſmall gangs of thieves on their own account, without any popular pretence, when they were ſeized in the fact they were inſtantly dragged to the *Grève*, the common place of execution, and hanged by the ropes which were uſed to faſten the lanterns. From hence originated that moſt horrid practice of the mob's conſtituting themſelves judges and executioners in the ſame inſtant, without the ſmalleſt regard to rank, to laws, or to juſtice. From hence alſo originated that horrid and barbarous cry, *à la lanterne!* the laſt ſounds that vibrated in the ears of ſo many unhappy victims as have thus cruelly periſhed.

The arming of the militia, and the conſequent diſtribution of patroles, tended to impoſe a momentary reſtraint on the licentious proceedings of the mob. The French guards, now called, SOLDIERS OF THE COUNTRY *(Soldats de la Patrie)*, were mixed with the militia. Some companies had, at firſt evinced a reluctance to this meaſure, but all now joined, except the uſual guard at the palace of Verſailles, that was ſtill on duty there to protect their ſovereign.

The count de Montmorin, miniſter of foreign affairs; monſieur de la Luzerne, miniſter of the marine; and monſieur de Saint Prieſt, a member of the council, but without office, had retired at the ſame time with the director-general of the finances, having been all diſmiſſed except monſieur de la Luzerne. Monſieur de Puyſegur quitted the place of miniſter of war to make way for the mareſchal de Broglio; the baron de Breteuil was appointed preſident of the council of finances; the duke de la Vauguyon ſucceeded monſieur de Montmorin; monſieur de Villedeuil continued in his place of miniſter of Paris; and monſieur Barentin remained keeper of the ſeals. Monſieur Foulon was offered a poſt in the war-office, under the mareſchal de Broglio, but he refuſed to accept it.

On the thirteenth, the National Aſſembly ſent an addreſs to the king, to inform him of the alarming ſituation of the capital, the diſmay which the meaſures lately taken had produced there; to requeſt that the troops might be withdrawn from its neighbourhood; and, not ſeeming to be acquainted with what had been done by the Pariſians, propoſing that a militia ſhould be immediately formed. They, at the ſame time, offered to ſend a deputation to the town, to communicate the anſwer they hoped to receive, and to endeavour, by quieting the fears of the people, to reſtore the public tranquillity. In reply to this addreſs, the king ſaid, he had already communicated his motives for the adoption of thoſe meaſures to which they alluded; that he alone could judge of their neceſſity, which, as it ſtill exiſted, did not admit of any change: that he was very far from entertaining any doubt of the purity of their intentions in the preſent afflicting circumſtances,

ſtances, but their preſence at Paris could be of no utility, while it was much wanted where they were, in order to proceed with the important buſineſs in which they were engaged. This anſwer ſeemed by no means to ſatisfy the aſſembly; and a debate enſued, in which the moderate party took the lead, ſhewing themſelves as little diſpoſed to ſubmit to any deſpotic exertions of regal authority, as the moſt furious of thoſe who were diſtinguiſhed by the much-proſtituted appellation of *patriots*. Mounier opened the debate with an eloquent ſpeech, wherein, after exhorting the aſſembly to proceed with coolneſs, prudence, and moderation, and ſtating the great and immutable line which muſt be drawn between the legiſlative and executive power—a line which was acknowledged and confirmed by the aſſembly—he proceeded to obſerve, that though the aſſembly had no legal right to direct the king's choice of miniſters, yet as the choice he had now made led to the moſt dangerous conſequences, it was neceſſary to vote their ſolemn and grateful thanks to M. Neckar, and to declare that the preſent miniſters had not the confidence of the nation. He was ably ſeconded by M. de Lally-Tolendal, and, after ſome deliberation, the following reſolutions were adopted.

" That the National Aſſembly, being the medium by which the ſentiments of the " nation are conveyed, declares, that M. Neckar, and the other miniſters who have juſt " been removed, carry with them its eſteem and regret.

" That, alarmed by the proſpect of the fatal conſequences which the anſwer of his " majeſty may produce, the aſſembly will not ceaſe to inſiſt on his ſending away the " troops that are collected about Paris and Verſailles, and on eſtabliſhing guards of " citizens.

" That there cannot exiſt any immediate perſon or power between the king and the " aſſembly.

" That the miniſters and other agents of authority, civil and military, are anſwerable " for every thing they may do that is contrary to the rights of the nation, and the de- " crees of the aſſembly.

" That the miniſters and counſellors of his majeſty, of whatever deſcription or rank " they may be, are perſonally reſponſable for the preſent calamities, and the conſequences " that may reſult from them [53].

" That the public debt having been placed under the ſafeguard of the faith and

[53] This reſolution, which bore the character of an *ex poſt facto* law, the aſſembly juſtified on the ground of neceſſity, and its own deſperate ſituation.

" honour

" honour of the French nation, and the nation being willing to pay the intereſt of " that debt, no power has a right to announce the *infamous word, bankruptcy*, under any " denomination whatſoever.

" That the aſſembly perſiſts in all its former decrees, and expreſly in thoſe of the " ſeventeenth, twentieth, and twenty-third of the month of June; and orders, that a " copy of the preſent reſolutions be delivered to his majeſty, by its preſident; that a " copy be ſent to M. Neckar, and the other miniſters who have been removed; and that " they be printed and publiſhed."

By theſe reſolutions, the three orders united confirmed all thoſe important decrees that had been made by the *Tiers Etat*, while they were aſunder; the counſellors of the king were made reſponſible for the meaſures of the government; the people were more than ever impreſſed with the idea, that an intention had been formed to ſuſpend or reduce the public payments; and were taught to conſider the aſſembly as the only ſafeguard againſt a calamity they ſo much feared.

On the thirteenth, the people began to wear a cockade of green and white; but having recollected that green was the colour that diſtinguiſhed the houſhold of the count d'Artois, it was changed for blue, white, and red. Theſe were called the colours of liberty, and ſuch as neglected to wear the national cockade, as it was termed, were expoſed to inſult, whatever their rank and character; ſuch a diſpoſition to tyranny did theſe new *ſovereigns* evince in their firſt exertions of power!—In the night, the troops that had been ſtationed in the *Champs Eliſées* were withdrawn, and, in the morning of the fourteenth, a body of the militia, followed by a crowd of people, and led by a M. de Corny, repaired to the Hôtel des Invalids, of which M. de Sombreuil, formerly commandant of Lille, was the governor. Taking advantage of an interval of reſt which that officer had allowed to his men, the inſurgents forced an entrance into the place, and carried off twenty pieces of cannon, and about thirty thouſand ſtand of arms. They had already rifled the king's *garde-meuble*, in the *Place Louis Quinze*, of many ancient and curious arms that were kept there; and, among others, of thoſe once worn by their *then* favourite prince, the fourth Henry, whoſe breaſt-plate and helmet bore the marks of his courage, and of the danger to which he had been expoſed.

Emboldened by ſucceſs, the populace next proceeded to the Baſtille; and as it was the only priſon in Paris that could reſiſt the efforts of an armed mob, it was, of courſe, deemed expedient to reduce it, if only with a view to ſcreen from puniſhment the authors of theſe popular exceſſes. At this time, there were fifteen pieces of cannon on the towers of the fortreſs, eleven of which were eight pounders, and the reſt four pounders, mounted on truck carriages, and formerly uſed on occaſions of rejoicing. As the parapets

pets were thin and low, the ſoldiers employed at theſe guns muſt have been entirely expoſed, nor had any meaſures been taken for their protection.

Some few days before the inſurrection, three field-pieces were brought from the arſenal, and planted before the draw-bridge. The governor, the marquis de Launay, likewiſe procured from thence twelve wall-pieces, called *Amuſettes du Comte de Saxe*, carrying balls of one pound and a half each; a number of muſketoons, carrying balls of two-thirds of a pound; with a quantity of ſmall-arms, cartridges, cannon-balls, and two hundred and fifty barrels of gunpowder, which were brought thither as to a place of ſecurity rather than for uſe. Upon the ramparts above the draw-bridge a great number of ſtones, grenades, and looſe cannon-balls, were laid, to be ready to throw down upon any who ſhould attempt to force the paſſage.

The garriſon conſiſted of the governor and other eſtabliſhed officers and ſervants of the Baſtille; eighty-two invalid ſoldiers with their officers; and a lieutenant and thirty-two ſoldiers of the Swiſs regiment of Salis Samade. About two in the morning of the thirteenth, monſieur de Launay ordered the ſoldiers to retire from their barracks into the caſtle, leaving ſentinels at the gate that led to the ſtreet Saint Anthony.

The garriſon remained within the caſtle undiſturbed during the day of the thirteenth; but the ſentinels on the towers were fired on in the night, though without effect: they did not return the fire, but gave the alarm.

Early on the morning of the fourteenth, the ſentinels at the gate Saint Anthony were taken priſoners by the people, and carried to the committee at the town-houſe. About ten in the morning, three deputies came from the committee, as far as the iron-railing at the firſt draw-bridge, and deſired to ſpeak with the governor, who went to them; but ſeeing an immenſe crowd of people, he ſaid, that only the three deputies could be admitted, and offered to ſend out as many hoſtages, which was agreed to. While they were with the governor, monſieur de la Roziere, a Pariſian barriſter, and firſt elector of the diſtrict of Saint Louis, arrived, and, at his requeſt, was admitted likewiſe. He ſaid, that he came to repreſent to the governor, that the cannon, pointed from the towers on different ſtreets of the town, had alarmed the inhabitants, and to ſolicit their being withdrawn. The governor urged the impoſſibility of his compliance without orders from his ſuperiors: he obſerved, they were in the places where they had been for many years paſt; but that, to quiet thoſe alarms, he would order them to be drawn back within the parapet. Monſieur de la Roziere aſked permiſſion to go into the caſtle to ſee this done: the governor, at firſt, made ſome difficulty, but at the requeſt of the major, de Loſme, he conſented. As ſoon as de la Roziere was within the caſtle, addreſſing himſelf to the governor, he conjured him and the garriſon not to fire on the people, but to *give up the*

place. He was, very properly, anſwered, that the people would, moſt certainly, not be fired on, unleſs they attacked the caſtle. He then returned with the governor to the houſe of the latter, and, after ſtaying a ſhort time, went away [53].

About half an hour afterwards, the people appeared in great numbers in the ſtreet Saint Anthony, and in the paſſage-court, armed with muſkets, ſabres, and hatchets, exclaiming, *they muſt have the Baſtille, and down with the troops!* The officers from the walls begged them to keep back, and repreſented the danger to which they expoſed themſelves. They, however, perſiſted in advancing, and as there were no troops to defend the firſt draw-bridge, they found means to get it down. The garriſon again called out to them to retire, or they muſt fire upon them; but they ſtill continued to advance towards the bridge of the caſtle, and *fired their muſquets at the troops on the walls.* They *returned the fire*, and the inſurgents retired beyond the firſt draw-bridge, from whence they kept up a conſtant fire upon the ramparts. Soon after, a flag was ſeen advancing from the arſenal, followed by an immenſe number of perſons in arms. Some halted with the flag in the firſt court, called the court of Elms, while others advanced to the next court, calling out to the garriſon not to fire; and ſaying, that deputies were come from the town-houſe. Monſieur de Launay ſaid, that the deputies with the flag might advance, but deſired the people in arms not to proceed beyond the firſt draw-bridge. The ſoldiers on the walls called out, that they would not fire; and, as a proof of it, clubbed their muſkets. After many ſigns, and much entreaty, the people ſtopped, and the deputies advanced into the paſſage-court, from whence they might have ſeen the ſoldiers on the towers with their clubbed firelocks, and a white flag as a ſign of peace. The deputies ſtaid in the paſſage-court about ten minutes without advancing, notwithſtanding the ſoldiers that were on the towers called out to them—*Come and ſpeak to the governor; we will be anſwerable for your ſafety with our lives:* but they returned to the Elm-court, where they ſtayed about a quarter of an hour, and went away.

The governor obſerved to the garriſon, that thoſe could not be deputies ſent from the town-houſe, but perſons who wiſhed to ſurpriſe them; for if they had really been deputies, they would not have heſitated to advance after the aſſurances that were given them. The numbers continued to encreaſe, and, in a ſhort time, the Elm-court, the paſſage-court, which led to the firſt draw-bridge, and the court beyond the draw-bridge, were entirely full. They again preſſed forwards towards the next draw-bridge, called the draw-bridge of the caſtle, and the garriſon called to them as before, not to advance,

53 It would ſeem as if one principal object of M. de la Roziere's miſſion was to reconnoitre the fortreſs, for the purpoſe of ſeeing how far it was in a ſtate of defence, and what part of it was moſt open to attack. Before the aſſault commenced there was juſt time enough for him to make his report, and the inſurgents to march to the caſtle.

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or they would be fired upon. They, however, proceeded, and the governor, at laſt, ordered the troops to fire, which they did, when ſeveral fell, and the reſt fled: but they did not go far, and continued firing on the battlements. Some broke open the barracks, on the right of the paſſage-court, and plundered them. About an hour afterwards, they brought in a great quantity of ſtraw, and ſet fire to the guard-room, which was ſituated to the left, on the entrance of the court before the caſtle; to the governor's houſe, on the right, farther on; and to the kitchens, which were placed on the left, beyond the court, and nearer to the interior of the caſtle. A cannon was then fired at them loaded with grape-ſhot; *the only one that was diſcharged during the attack.* The garriſon only defended the place with muſkets.

The French guards appeared, bringing with them a mortar, two four pounders, and a cannon inlaid with ſilver, which had been taken out of the king's *garde-meubles.* Monſieur de Launay had neglected to lay in any proviſions; and as the people perſiſted in their determination to reduce the place, about four in the afternoon all the non-commiſſioned officers went and ſolicited the governor to ſurrender it. Finding himſelf in this extremity, he attempted to fire a piſtol into the powder that had been brought from the arſenal, and was depoſited in one of the towers, called the tower *de la liberté*, but was prevented by two ſerjeants, Ferrand and Beguard. Monſieur de Launay aſked the garriſon, what they wiſhed him to do: he ſaid, his own opinion was, that they ſhould defend themſelves to the laſt, and even blow up the place, rather than fall into the hands of a furious mob. But as the garriſon inſiſted on ſurrendering, he gave a white handkerchief to a ſerjeant, ordered him to ſhew it from the battlements, and ſent a drummer at the ſame time to beat the chamade. His orders were ſtrictly obeyed; but the populace, regardleſs of the ſignals, and rendered more courageous by the ceſſation of reſiſtance, continued to fire. They ſoon after advanced to the draw-bridge, and deſired it might be let down. The officer who commanded the Swiſs detachment ſpoke to them through a loop-hole at the ſide of the gate, and propoſed that the garriſon ſhould be allowed to march out with their arms; but they all exclaimed—*No, no!* He then told them, that the troops would deliver up the place and their arms, if they would promiſe that neither inſult nor violence, of any kind, ſhould be offered to them. The inſurgents replied—"*Let down the draw-bridge, nothing ſhall happen to you.*" The governor, on this aſſurance, took the key out of his pocket, and ordered two corporals, Gaiard and Pireau, to let down the bridge. It was no ſooner down, than the people ruſhed into the court, and attacked the invalids who had laid down their arms, and were ranged along the wall on the right. The Swiſs were oppoſite to them, and eſcaped, not being immediately remarked, owing, probably, to the canvas frocks which they wore over their uniforms. The people then entered the apartments of the officers, where they broke the furniture, doors, and windows: and ſo great was the tumult and confuſion, that many continued to fire, and, without intending it, killed and wounded their companions.

The officers and the invalid ſoldiers were ſeized, and dragged towards the town-houſe. Some ſoldiers of the garriſon, who publiſhed a narrative of the tranſactions of this day, ſay—"After humiliations of every kind, we ſaw, on arriving at the Grêve, the bodies "of two of our companions, who had been hanged. Some exclaimed that we deſerved "the ſame fate, and in the inſtant a thouſand perſons demanded that we ſhould be delivered "to them. But the ſoldiers of the French guards ſtepped forwards, ſurrounded us, and "deſired that we might be ſpared. The people conſented, and the guards then eſcorted "us to one of their barracks in *La Nouvelle France*, gave us a ſupper and beds, and the "next morning ſent us to our hôtel."

M. de Launay was alſo dragged to the Place de Grêve, and miſerably murdered[54]. Monſieur de Loſme Salbray, the major of the Baſtille, experienced a ſimilar fate, and ſimi-

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54 We have, in our account of the reduction of the Baſtille, followed that of Mr. Crawford, the gentleman alluded to in a former note. Many of the particulars are taken from a publication, entitled *La Baſtille devoilé*, which was ſtrongly recommended, for its accuracy, by meſſieurs Suard and de la Harpe, conductors of the Journal de Paris, and Mercure de France, and both of them members of the French Academy.

Our relation of this event will be alſo found to differ, in many material points, from that of the authors of the Engliſh Hiſtory of the Revolution, adverted to in a former note; who have preferred the unfounded aſſertions of anonymous writers, to the irrefragable teſtimony of formal depoſitions, taken upon oath. It would be foreign from our purpoſe to correct each particular perverſion, as the ſame ſpirit of miſrepreſentation pervades the whole account; but having accuſed thoſe writers of contributing to the propagation of "groſs falſhoods" and "ridiculous tales," it may not be unneceſſary to adduce ſome farther proofs in ſupport of the charge. Of the claſs thus characterized muſt particularly be conſidered the injurious and cruel falſhood, that the unfortunate and murdered de Launay had treacherouſly enticed a number of Pariſians into one of the courts of the Baſtille, where he cauſed them to be maſſacred in cold blood. This horrible and wicked invention produced its odious purpoſes at the time; in the firſt inſtance, by exciting the animoſity of the populace, and ſpurring them on to that pitch of outrage and cruelty which was intended; and in the ſecond, by holding out ſome palliation for the inhuman murder of the governor, and repreſenting it to the world as an act of juſt retribution for his treachery. That a falſhood, ſo foul and calumnious, ſhould have been aſſerted by an *Engliſh* writer, and at ſo late a period as the ear 1794, when it ſtands contradicted by the poſitive and unrefuted teſtimony of the *Invalids*, who formed a part of the garriſon; and when even the author of the *Baſtille Devoilée*, though evidently no friend to M. de Launay, and though he ſeems not to diſapprove of his being put to death, exculpates his memory from the treachery that was imputed to him;—that, under ſuch circumſtances, ſuch a falſhood ſhould be ſo adopted and propagated, muſt excite both aſtoniſhment and indignation!—In this inſtance, the "IMPARTIAL" authors have preferred the raſh and unſupported aſſertions of the "*Deux Amis* "*de la Liberté*" to all other authority; and have contented themſelves, in their account of the reduction of the Baſtille, with almoſt a literal tranſlation of a work, which bears, on that ſubject at leaſt, ſcarcely one mark of authenticity, and innumerable ſymptoms of the moſt marked and inveterate prejudice: of this no ſtronger proof will, it is conceived, be required, than the aſſertion, that "M. de Launay deſerved death as governor of the Baſtille—"The mere act of holding that poſt made him guilty of *leſe-nation!!!*" (tom. ii. p. 48.) But the tranſlators have occaſionally exceeded even the originals, by boldly hazarding an unqualified aſſertion (as to a matter of fact) where the latter have adopted the modification of an "*On dit*," or a "*ſelon quelques uns*."—Thus, ſpeaking of a paper ſaid to be diſplayed from the walls by a Swiſs officer, addreſſed to the inſurgents, which an unknown perſon [illegible] invented to

lar cruelty; although it has ſince been generally acknowledged, even by the democratic writers, that he was a man of great humanity, whoſe tenderneſs to the priſoners deſerved far different treatment. This was, indeed, ſtrongly confirmed by a remarkable circumſtance

fetch, by laying a plank over the ditch, and ſetting it on the parapet, the Frenchmen ſay—"*Le brave inconnu s'avance "il eſt prêt a ſaiſir le papier, mais il tombe dans le foſſe, frappé,* SELON QUELQUES UNS, *d' un coup de fuſil*"—(tom. ii. p. 30), which the Engliſhmen thus render—"The brave unknown advanced upon the plank; but juſt as he was ready to "ſeize upon the paper, *he received a muſket-ſhot*, and fell into the ditch." (Vol. i. p. 269.)

It cannot eſcape notice, that the only acts of treachery that paſſed at the taking of the Baſtille, were committed by the *people*, who wantonly broke the word they had ſolemnly pledged, and inflicted death where they had promiſed ſafety.

The pleaſant tale of the heroic barber, who found himſelf ſo deeply involved in the weighty concerns of empire, that he attempted to blow the Baſtille and himſelf up together, though it ſeems intended only as a companion to the former, certainly poſſeſſes many advantages over it; "for beſides its being totally innocent, and undoubted-"ly affording much ſatisfaction to the members of that fraternity, ſome of whom it may poſſibly ſtimulate to ſimilar "deeds of chivalry, it has the poſitive merit of being an unique in that ſpecies of compoſition." But harmleſs as ſuch tales may appear when uſed as a temporary expedient to anſwer a particular purpoſe, they merit the ſevereſt reprobation, when employed to ſully the purity of the hiſtoric page, and to contaminate the clear ſtream in which hiſtory ſhould invariably flow.

In the month of January, 1790, one Francis Felix Dénot, by birth a Pariſian, and by profeſſion a cook, was arreſted in the capital, and proved to be the man who had beheaded the marquis de Launay. The following extract from the depoſitions taken before the Chatelet is too curious to be omitted.

"Being interrogated with reſpect to his conduct on the twelfth of July and the following days, he ſays, that, "on the twelfth of July, ſeeing the buſts of the duke of Orleans and M. Neckar carried through the ſtreets, he "went to the Palais Royal; that ſome perſons there propoſed to him to go to the Place Louis Quinze, to aſſiſt the "people againſt the dragoons who were purſuing them; that he there ſaw troops, among whom he was told was "the prince of Lambeſc, charge and diſperſe the people ſword in hand; that he himſelf was thrown down, and "received ſeveral blows from ſtones; that he heard a muſket fired, and, being frightened, threw himſelf on his "face; that, when he got up, he found a dragoon's helmet, which he brought away with him; that on his way "home, he called out to all he met, to be on their guard that night; that he did not go out again on the twelfth, "but that the next day, hearing that the citizens had taken arms, he went, with the helmet on, to the *Place de "Greve* about nine in the morning; that he from thence went along with many others to get arms at the barracks "at Papincourt; that they there got a number of muſkets, and that he endeavoured to prevent any from getting "arms but ſuch as were fit to be truſted with them; that they there diſperſed and went off to different quarters; "that he and others came to the town-houſe, where they were deſired to return home, and acquainted that a plan "would be formed in the different diſtricts; that he did ſo, and from thence went to the place of rendezvous for "the diſtrict Saint Opportune; that he and other citizens, on that day, and afterwards, marched in patroles through "the ſtreets, and that for eight days and nights he was almoſt conſtantly on foot *to preſerve good order*; that on the "morning of Tueſday the fourteenth, he was employed in bringing arms from the Hotel des Invalides; that after-"wards hearing the people were gone to the Baſtille, he went thither likewiſe; that he was there informed, that "the people were conducting M. de Launay to the town-houſe; that he ran after them, and joined them at the "[illegible] that the people who were aſſembled before the town-houſe called out, *Hang him, hang him!* that "M. de

ſtance which occurred at his death; for the marquis de Pelleport, a young man, whoſe faſhion and figure, independent of his rank and generoſity, entitled him to reſpect, was ſo deeply impreſſed with the kindneſs he had experienced from the major, when he was himſelf a priſoner, that, eagerly claſping him in his arms, in the midſt of all this terror and danger, he moſt pathetically entreated the people to ſpare the life of his friend, to whom he owed ſo much. But his entreaties were as fruitleſs as his exertions were vain; the major's head was ſeparated from his body, and his grateful and generous friend, after receiving a ſevere wound in his neck, with difficulty eſcaped the fury of the mob.

In the midſt of theſe diſorders, M. de Fleſſelles, the provoſt of the merchants, had been detected in a correſpondence with the court; he was accordingly diſmiſſed from his office by the committee of electors, and ordered to be conveyed to priſon until his trial; but he had ſcarcely reached the bottom of the ſteps at the town-houſe, when the new executors of ſummary juſtice forced him from the guard, ſhot him inſtantly without trial or enquiry, diſmembered his body, and carried his bleeding head about the ſtreets on a pike in triumph, along with that of M. de Launay. Monſieur de Miray, *aid-major*, was killed in the Rue Tournelle. Monſieur Perſan, lieutenant of the Invalids, was murdered in his way to the Grêve; and monſieur Caron, lieutenant in the ſame company, after receiving four wounds in the ſtreets, was carried to the Hôtel Dieu, where he recovered. In the defence of the place only one ſoldier was killed and four wounded. One invalid was killed, and ſeveral wounded by the people after their admiſſion into the caſtle; and two were hanged by the inſurgents at the Grêve.

After more than two hours had rapidly elapſed, under the double intoxication of joy and revenge, ſome humane perſons reminded the populace, that the priſoners in the Baſtille ought to be releaſed; their cells were accordingly broke open, and they were led in triumph round the gardens of the Palais Royal. But how great was the ſurpriſe of

" M. de Launay, who had hitherto kept his eyes caſt down, on hearing this, lifted them up, and ſaid, *Let them put me* " *to death, I prefer that to theſe unmerited inſults*; that in the ſame inſtant, a number of perſons, unknown to the pri- " ſoner, gave M. de Launay many wounds with ſwords and bayonets; that the people ſeeing him, the priſoner, " with the helmet on, called out, *Come, dragoon, cut off his head*; that though monſieur de Launay was now dead, he " felt a great repugnance to do ſo; that he began to do it with a ſword they gave him, but, as it did not cut well, " he finiſhed it with a knife that he had in his pocket; that the head being put on the end of a pike, ſtill preſſed " by the people, he carried it through the ſtreets, and, being joined by the perſon who, in like manner, carried " the head of the Provoſt of the merchants, they went with them to the Palais Royal, and afterwards carried them " to the Morgue*; that far from apprehending any *blame* for what he had done, he addreſſed himſelf to ſeveral de- " puties of the National Aſſembly, expecting to have been rewarded with a medal, *for having freed ſociety of a monſter*; " and that about an hour before he had beheaded M. de Launay, he had drunk a glaſs of *brandy with gunpowder in it*, " which had turned his head."

* A place in Paris where dead bodies were expoſed by the police, in order to diſcover who they were.

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moſt, and the diſappointment, doubtleſs, of many, when it was found, that theſe dreary dungeons, which were ſuppoſed to be crowded with the victims of deſpotiſm, contained only *ſeven* priſoners.

The names of theſe men, were, Tavernier, Pujade, La Roche, the count de Solages, White, La Gaurege, and Bechade.—Tavernier had been repeatedly ſent to the Baſtille for different offences. He ſeemed when the place was taken to be diſordered in his mind, and was afterwards ſent to the public receptacle for lunatics at Charenton. Pujade, La Roche, Gaurege, and Bechade, were arreſted at different places, and committed to the Baſtille, until they could be brought to trial for a notorious forgery of bills of exchange to a great amount, that were accepted by meſſieurs Tourton, Ravel, and Gallet de Santerre, bankers at Paris.

The count de Solages, by his own account, was arreſted at Toulouſe in Languedoc, his native country, in 1782, by an order from the miniſter, monſieur Amelot, granted at the requeſt of his father, for diſſipation and other circumſtances of miſconduct. He did not ſeem to conſider his confinement as unmerited; but he complained of having never received any account of his family from the time he had been arreſted. He was firſt ſent to Vincennes, and was removed from thence to the Baſtille, in February, 1784. Having heard the firing, he enquired of the turnkey, who had juſt brought up his dinner, what it meant. He was told it was occaſioned by a revolt of the people on account of the ſcarcity of bread; but while the turnkey was apologizing for being later than uſual in bringing him his dinner, the room was filled with armed men. It was ſome time before the count thought himſelf in ſafety, or could find any one ſufficiently compoſed to relate the events of the day. He was carried to the diſtrict of the Oratoire, and from thence was eſcorted to an hotel, where he was told, for the firſt time, that there had been two aſſemblies of the Notables, and that the States were then ſitting at Verſailles; of the changes that had happened in the miniſtry; and of the diſorders that exiſted throughout the kingdom. He afterwards received an account of his father's death, and the ſeizure of the property which had devolved to him, by his own creditors.

White was arreſted, and ſent to Vincennes, by an order from M. de Sartine, whence he was transferred to the Baſtille, at the ſame time with Solages. He was born of Iriſh parents at Rochelle, and was a major in the French infantry. It appeared that he was deranged in his underſtanding, though quiet and inoffenſive. After being carried about the metropolis, for ſome days, by the people, and ſhewn at the coffee-houſes, he was ſent to the mad-houſe at Charenton.

It ſhould not be forgotten, that the preſent ſovereign, through his natural clemency and humanity, and in conformity with the moderate ſyſtem of government which he intended

intended to purſue, had early cleared the ſtate-priſons of moſt of their wretched inhabitants, none being retained but ſuch as had been guilty of notorious crimes againſt ſociety, or concerned in dangerous offences againſt the ſtate. It is likewiſe worthy of obſervation, that, with all the odium and deteſtation under which the queen and the count d'Artois laboured, and with all the libels which were hourly written and ſpoken againſt them, not a ſingle victim to their reſentment or juſtice was found in all the priſons of the kingdom [55].

The people, of their own impulſe, had deſtroyed the governor's houſe, and ſome of the other buildings at the Baſtille; but the mayor and committee, at the town-houſe, reſolved that the caſtle itſelf ſhould be demoliſhed. The city architects were appointed to conduct the work, and this immenſe edifice was ſoon levelled with the ground. Many cannon-balls were found in the walls, ſuppoſed to have been lodged there during the war of the Fronde, at the battle in the ſuburbs of Saint Anthony, when the royal army was commanded by Turenne, and that of the Fronde by the Great Condé [56].

During the twelfth and thirteenth, thoſe critical days, on which their own fate and that of their ſovereign ſeemed to depend, and on the firſt of which the ſcale ſeemed to vibrate ſo much, that it was evident a vigorous exertion might have fixed its bias, the miniſters at Verſailles, and the commanders of the army, appeared to be ſunk into a deep lethargy, or a profound ſleep; the former, indeed, when unwillingly rouſed to hear the accounts from Paris, treated them with the utmoſt contempt and ridicule, as matters not worthy of their conſideration; but on the fatal Tueſday, the fourteenth of July, evil tidings arrived ſo faſt from every quarter, that they were overwhelmed with conſternation and terror, and rendered totally incapable, if it had not even been too late, to adopt any meaſures which required deciſion or vigour, either with reſpect to orders or execution. It now appeared, that the defection of the French guards had, with other pre-diſpoſing cauſes and motives, produced a moſt unfortunate effect upon the national troops

55 It is by no means incurious to contraſt with this fact the ſtate of things under the influence, or it may be called, government, of Madame Pompadour, who filled all the priſons of France with the unfortunate victims to her private malice and perſonal reſentments; yet Pompadour was idolized by Voltaire, and by all the poets, wits, and philoſophers of the kingdom, in her days, and was even, at times, a favourite with the people.

56 The demolition of the Baſtille, by a formal reſolution, has been juſtly conſidered, by an Engliſh author, as an ebullition of that deſtroying ſpirit which has levelled all the orders of the ancient monarchy. "It was like the "anger of an ill-brought-up boy, who beats the floor, when by his own awkwardneſs he has fallen, with this dif-"ference, the one is an impulſe of paſſion in a child, the other was the reſult of deliberation in men." The Baſtille had been erected under different reigns at an immenſe expence; it had ſtood above four hundred years, through all the viciſſitudes of tempeſtuous times; it ſeemed calculated to brave the effects of age, and might have been of great utility in a city, perhaps worſe provided with priſons and hoſpitals than any other great town in Europe.—*Hiſtory of the Baſtille*, p. 189, 190.

in

in the army; that they were no longer to be depended on; and that they openly aſſerted the unlawfulneſs of fighting their fellow citizens. Before they had yet time to reflect on the conſequences of this deplorable news, or to conſider what meaſures were proper to be purſued, they were farther confounded by the intelligence, that but little more reliance could be placed on the foreign regiments than on the national troops. The former had ever been unpopular, chiefly upon the idea—excluſive of national pique and vanity—that, being entirely dependent on the crown, they would be found, upon any occaſion that offered, the ready inſtruments of deſpotiſm; but now, to the aſtoniſhment of every body, they ſhewed themſelves very little diſpoſed to engage in national diſputes; and ſeemed very cold and indifferent with reſpect to the cauſe they were called to ſupport. In this diſmal ſtate of things, the only policy which the genius of the miniſters was capable of deviſing, was the fugitive, pitiful, and cowardly expedient of concealment, in keeping the king ignorant of the misfortunes in which he was involved, and of the dangers to which he was expoſed.

But when, on the evening of Tueſday, the news arrived at Verſailles, of the taking of the Baſtille, of a powerful army being formed in Paris, and of the deplorable fate of de Launay, Fleſſelles, and Loſme, the miniſters, all aghaſt, ſeemed as if ſtricken with a thunder-bolt. Still, though their confidence had forſaken them, their policy was preſerved, and it was determined not to reveal the diſmal tidings to their ſovereign. In the courſe of that day, the National Aſſembly, after much and eager debate, and a variety of motions, adopted, with unanimity, the follow reſolutions:

"The National Aſſembly is of opinion, that the public tranquillity may be reſtored "and preſerved, by regularly forming and maintaining the militia that has been raiſed "in the capital. It reſolves, that the king be again conjured to withdraw his troops, "whoſe preſence has been the principal cauſe of the diſorders that now prevail, and "which, by ſhewing the contraſt of a military force that alarms, with a civil power "that protects, puts in oppoſition the privileges of authority with the rights of the ci"tizen. It directs that the deputies lately ſent to the king, go back, and employ the "moſt preſſing inſtances with his majeſty, to engage him to ſend away his troops."

The deputation accordingly repaired to the palace; and, after a conſiderable abſence, the archbiſhop of Vienne, their preſident, who was at the head of the deputation, returned at nine in the evening with the following anſwer:

"I am without intermiſſion employed in the adoption of means for reſtoring tran"quillity in the capital. I had ordered the provoſt of the merchants to come to me, in "order to take meaſures for that purpoſe. Having ſince been informed that a militia "has been eſtabliſhed there, I have given orders to general officers to put themſelves at

" the head of that militia, to aſſiſt it with their experience, and to ſecond the zeal of
" the good citizens. I have likewiſe given orders to withdraw the troops in the *Champ*
" *de Mars*. The concern you expreſs at the diſorders that reign there, is a ſentiment
" that ſhould be in the heart of every one, and moſt ſeriouſly afflicts mine."

While this deputation was with the king, another arrived at the aſſembly from *the permanent committee at the Town Houſe*, to repreſent the ſtate of the city; and to deſire, in the preſent criſis, the eſtabliſhment of a correſpondence between the committee and the aſſembly. One of the members of the aſſembly, the baron de Vens, who came from Paris about the ſame time, gave an affecting deſcription of the ſcene he had juſt quitted. He had been ſeized by the people, and forcibly conveyed to the town-houſe; on his way thither they ſhewed him the mangled bodies of meſſieurs de Launay and de Fleſſelles, and repeatedly threatened him with a ſimilar fate. The aſſembly paſſed over in ſilence this inſult offered by the inſurgents to one of their own body, though even the appearance of *ſlight* on the part of the *king* never failed to incur their ſevereſt reprehenſion; and contented themſelves with ſending another deputation to the palace to communicate the intelligence to his majeſty. The archbiſhop of Paris, who was at the head of this deputation, returned about eleven at night, and told the aſſembly, that he had obtained immediate admiſſion to the king, whom he found with his brothers, and who, on hearing the news, replied, that *his heart was more and more deeply wounded, but that it was not poſſible to believe that orders had been given to the troops capable of producing ſo many calamities*. " Alas!"—exclaims M. de Lally-Tolendal, who was preſent at the time—"it was
" ſufficient to ſee him and to hear him, to be convinced that he ſpoke truth [57]."

On the fifteenth, the king went to the aſſembly, without guards, and pronounced the following ſpeech:

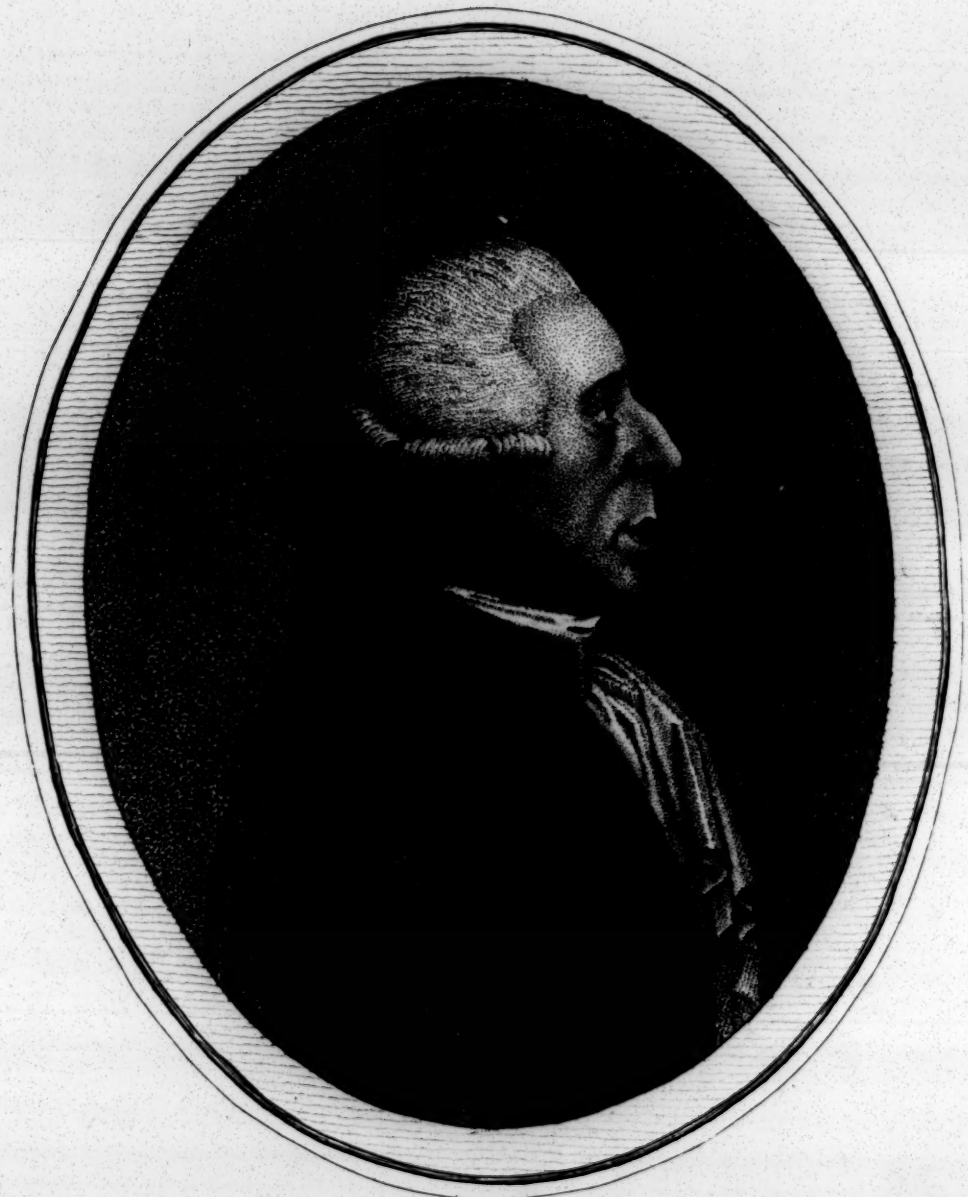
" I called you together, to conſult you on matters of the utmoſt importance to the
" ſtate, and none can be more important than the dreadful diſorders that prevail in the
" capital—None affect me ſo deeply; and the chief of the nation comes with confidence
" among its repreſentatives, to ſhew them his affection, and to invite them to the adop-
" tion of means for the reſtoration of order and tranquillity.

" I know that unjuſt inſinuations have been induſtriouſly diffuſed; I know that ſome
" have dared to publiſh that your perſons were in danger—Is it neceſſary for me to
" diſavow rumours thus criminal, and which I hope are ſufficiently contradicted by my
" character, that is ſo well known to you?

57 Mémoire de M. le Comte de Lally-Tolendal, p. 68.

" I, then

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M.r BAILLY, MAYOR OF PARIS.

Publish'd as the Act Directs by C. Lowndes Drury Lane. April 12.th 1794.

" I, then, who am one with the nation, unite myſelf with you, and deſire you to aſſiſt " me in the adoption of meaſures for the ſafety of the ſtate. I expect this from the " National Aſſembly. The zeal of the repreſentatives of my people, called together " for the public welfare, aſſures me of it: and, relying on the love and fidelity of my " ſubjects, I have given orders for the troops to retire from Paris and Verſailles. I au- " thorize, nay I invite, you, to make my intentions known in the capital."

This ſpeech was received with the loudeſt acclamations; the ſtream of loyalty ſeemed again to return to its natural channel; and as the king roſe to return, the deputies ſtarted from their ſeats, and forming a circle around him, conducted their ſovereign in triumph to the palace. From that inſtant Lewis had in effect reſigned the ſovereignty into the hands of the aſſembly, with little proſpect of his ever again recovering it. From that time alſo the middle, or moderate party, led by Mounier, Lally, Malouet, &c. were reconciled to him, and ſeem to have relied cordially upon his faith; but the friends and patronizers of extreme democracy, either were or affected to be afraid that his known irreſolution would afford the means for throwing him back into the hands of their enemies, and therefore determined to exert their power to its utmoſt extent, in order to fetter him as cloſely as poſſible.

The terror of ſieges and blockades had got ſuch poſſeſſion of the minds of the Pariſians, that they could think of nothing elſe, and they were inceſſant in their preparations of defence. La Fayette was now elected to the command of the new militia, with the title of general. The old office or appellation of provoſt of the merchants, was ſuppreſſed, and M. Bailly, formerly known by his aſtronomical writings, was appointed chief magiſtrate, under the name of mayor of Paris.

That capital was now to be conſidered as a great republic, and it ſoon became ſo ſenſible of its own power, as to give the law, not only to the unfortunate ſovereign, but to the National Aſſembly, and to the kingdom at large. All the arrogance, preſumption, cruelty, ferociouſneſs, and tyranny; all that contempt for the laws, for order, and ſubordination; all that diſpoſition to miſtruſt, ſuſpicion, and revolt, which had invariably marked their conduct in all times of public tumult, from the earlieſt periods of the monarchy to the preſent æra, was now ſtrongly diſplayed by the Pariſians. The National Aſſembly, profiting by the invitation of the king to make known his ſentiments to the inhabitants of the capital, which might eaſily have been done by a letter from the preſident, even now, ſeemed to acknowledge its maſter, by ſending a deputation of eighty-four of its members to the city of Paris, rather to implore than to propoſe, much leſs to order or command, peace. This may be conſidered as one of the many evil conſequences which reſulted from the ill-adviſed and ruinous meaſure of aſſembling the ſtates at Verſailles; for it is not probable that the aſſembly would have ſubmitted to the degrading

grading humiliation of complimenting a band of inſurgents, if they had been out of the reach of that turbulent capital; neither would the factious part of them, in ſuch a ſituation, have had an opportunity of becoming, as they did, parties in their cabals and factions; until at length, alternately acting and being acted upon, they became by turns the inſtruments of each other's purpoſes, though the faction in the aſſembly was not ſeldom obliged to give way, contrary to its own inclination, to the dreaded power of thoſe in the city. The Pariſians were, however, too ſenſible, in the preſent inſtance, of the importance which they derived from this ſingular deputation, not to receive the deputies with every mark of applauſe and reſpect.

The National Aſſembly now haſtened to give that advice which the king had ſo earneſtly aſked in his ſpeech of the fifteenth; but, like men elated with unexpected ſucceſs, they already began to overleap the bounds of moderation, and evinced an eager deſire to ſtrip their ſovereign of thoſe rights which are not only eſſential to the preſervation of monarchical dignity, but highly conducive to the welfare of a ſtate. It became a topic of diſcuſſion with theſe infant legiſlators, whether, as repreſentatives of the people, they had not the excluſive right of chuſing the miniſters of the crown. Mounier, who, with equal energy and eloquence, pointed out the abſurdity and danger of ſuch principles, which tended to veſt an unlimited and deſpotic power in the aſſembly, was accuſed, by Mirabeau, of advancing a doctrine *impious* and *deteſtable*[58]. The voice of moderation, however, prevailed; after very warm debates, a milder and more conſtitutional mode of proceeding was adopted; and an addreſs, propoſed by the baron de Juigné, being agreed to, was preſented to the king. It ſet forth, that in conſequence of the deſire which his majeſty had been pleaſed to expreſs, of conforming his ſentiments to thoſe of the National Aſſembly, they humbly adviſed him to diſmiſs his preſent miniſters and counſellors, and to recall M. Neckar, and thoſe who had lately been removed.

The new miniſters, however, had anticipated the wiſhes of the aſſembly, and voluntarily reſigned their poſts; while the king chearfully complied with their requeſt to recall M. Neckar; and, in order to prevent any poſſible ſuſpicions as to the ſincerity of his conduct, ſent the letter he had written for that purpoſe for the inſpection of the Aſſembly.

But, notwithſtanding theſe conciliatory meaſures, the power and violence of the mob had now riſen to ſuch a height, that it became dangerous to ſuch as were known to entertain ſentiments oppoſite to thoſe of the popular party, to remain within its reach. The count d'Artois withdrew ſecretly in the night, and went to Bruſſels, whither he had already ſent his ſons, the dukes of Angoulême and Berry. The prince of Condé,

[58] Expoſé dē la Conduite de M. Mounier, p. 19.

with

with his ſon and grandſon, the dukes of Bourbon and Enghien, and the prince of Conti, retired thither about the ſame time. The count d'Artois, and the princes of Condé and Conti, had, in the aſſembly of *Notables*, oppoſed the double repreſentation of the Third Eſtate, and had, on all occaſions, profeſſed their attachment to the ancient principles of the monarchy. Thoſe who bore them any enmity, or who thought their preſence might obſtruct their views, were induſtrious to inflame the popular prejudices, and to aſcribe to them a variety of ſayings and counſels, hoſtile to the opinions that now prevailed. Bills had been ſtuck up in the PALAIS ROYAL, *piouſly* recommending their deſtruction, and even *charitably* offering a price for their heads [59]. In theſe bloody proſcriptions were to be ſeen the names of the miniſters who had juſt reſigned, and of a number of perſons, of both ſexes, who had become obnoxious to the people, by having been favourites with the court. In their flight, they were under the neceſſity of diſguiſing themſelves till they reached the frontier. The news of the late occurrences at Paris ſpread with wonderful rapidity; the meſſengers of theſe tidings urged the people to arm; and announcing that the guilty were endeavouring to eſcape, travellers, for months afterwards, were liable to be arreſted and detained at every town throughout the kingdom, unleſs furniſhed with a paſſport from the *permanent committee* in the capital.

Symptoms of the rapid decline of ſetting monarchy were now abundantly perceived. On the night of the ſixteenth, an univerſal gloom reigned throughout the immenſe palace of Verſailles. Not a miniſter remained: and all the princes, with their attendants, were gone, except Monſieur, next brother to the king. No longer were the ſpacious apartments crouded with courtiers; alarmed at the paſt, and doubtful of the future, they had withdrawn; and but few were to be found, except ſuch as were immediately on ſervice. It has been remarked, on this occaſion, that ſome of thoſe who had been accuſtomed to baſk in the ſunſhine of royalty, and whoſe families had riſen to opulence by the bounties of the ſovereign, were the firſt to deſert his cauſe.

The king was adviſed and perſuaded, in the hope of removing the eternal ſuſpicions and jealouſies of the Pariſians, of calming the reſtleſs turbulence of their minds, and thereby of reducing them to a ſtate of good order and temper, to viſit himſelf the city of Paris. This humiliating and deſperate meaſure he carried into execution on Friday, the ſeventeenth of July, under a full conviction, in his own mind, that he thereby encountered the perils of inſtant aſſaſſination. Nor will theſe apprehenſions be deemed unfounded, when it is conſidered, that he was deſtined to paſs though a multitude in arms, moſt of whom were unacquainted with the management of them; and many in a ſtate

[59] There can be no doubts, but that the *maſter* of the Palais Royal would have been glad to purchaſe them at any rate.

of popular delirium, and ſome yet ſtained with the blood which it had madly led them to ſpill.

The National Aſſembly appointed a deputation to accompany their ſovereign, who left his palace, about ten in the morning, without parade, without his uſual guard, and ſurrounded by a body of armed inhabitants of Verſailles on foot, who had inſiſted upon attending him. When this motley, but ſolemn, proceſſion ſet out, many of the ancient ſervants of the court, who had never ſeen their maſter viſit his capital but ſurrounded with the ſplendour of the throne, and amidſt the acclamations of his people, burſt into a flood of tears. At Seve he was received by a detachment of five-and-twenty thouſand of the Pariſian militia. As he approached the gates of the capital, he was met by M. Bailly, the new-choſen mayor of Paris, attended by the municipal officers, and the deputies of each diſtrict. After the mayor had preſented him with the keys of the city, and addreſſed him in a ſpeech, neither remarkable for its eloquence nor its truth, he proceeded to the town-hall between two files of burghers, three deep, who lined the road, to the number of two hundred thouſand men, armed with ſuch weapons as they had been able to procure, and conſequently exhibiting a moſt motley appearance. The cannon that had been taken at the Baſtille and the Hôtel des Invalids were purpoſely placed in his road, while about his coach were thoſe perfidious troops who, a few days before, had enjoyed the diſtinction of being his guards. Throughout the immenſe crowd a profound ſilence prevailed; the uſual exclamation of *Vive le Roi!* with which the air, at other times, would have reſounded, had been prohibited, or was forgotten. The accidents that had been apprehended were now experienced; muſkets were heard to go off; ſeveral perſons were wounded; and a young woman of a decent family, and mother of ſeveral children, was ſhot near the carriage of the king [60].

It was half paſt four in the afternoon, when the king, after having been more than ſix hours in performing a journey of about ten miles, reached the town-hall, where he was again harangued by a M. Moreau de Saint Mery, one of thoſe *revolution-orators*, who, having collected a few ſtale maxims, and hackneyed ſentiments, diſplayed them on all occaſions, without the ſmalleſt regard to fitneſs of time, or propriety of application. With men, vanity has the magic power of giving an appearance of novelty to truths old as the univerſe. M. de Saint Mery concluded his harangue by ſagaciouſly obſerving, that "The throne of a king is never ſo ſolid as when it hath for its baſis the love and *fidelity* of the people," whence he inferred, that the throne of Lewis the Sixteenth (though then tottering to its very foundation) was *immoveable!*

One part of his ſpeech, however, was calculated to impreſs a belief of the real exiſt-

[60] See Mr. Crawford's publication, quoted in a former note, p. 184.

ence

ence of thoſe flagitious and cruel deſigns againſt the city of Paris, which had been ſo induſtriouſly imputed to the court, as a means of exciting the preſent troubles. On this imputation, a denial ſo involuntary, ſo unembarraſſed, and ſo poſitive, burſt from the lips of the king, that it was impoſſible for the by-ſtanders to avoid feeling a conviction, that it was the language of conſcious innocence in an indignant reſiſtance to falſe accuſation; and M. de Lally, who heard it, declares that the mayor of Paris himſelf, who was alſo preſent, muſt, from that moment, have ceaſed to believe that any hoſtile projects had been formed againſt the capital[61].

As Charles the Wiſe had been compelled to accept the badge of faction from the hands of Marcel, ſo was Lewis the Sixteenth, who filled the ſame throne, now obliged to ſubmit to the degradation of receiving from the hands of Bailly, who occupied the ſame poſt, the national cockade. After having heard ſeveral other ſpeeches, the king declared, that the object of his viſit to Paris was to remove any doubts that might be entertained of the ſincerity of his conduct, and to requeſt that tranquillity might be reſtored to the metropolis, and his ſubjects return to their uſual occupations. He approved of the nomination of La Fayette to the command of the Pariſian militia, and of Bailly to the office of mayor; the former was his ſervant, and his conſent for the appointment of the other was not yet thought needleſs. After his majeſty had ſufficiently ſhewn himſelf to the people, at the windows of the town houſe, while the exclamations of *Vive le Roi! Vive la Nation!* were heard from innumerable vioces below, he expreſſed his deſire to return, and arrived at Verſailles about eight in the evening.

The powers, which had hitherto been exerciſed in the capital by the ſervants of the government, were now aſſumed by the mayor and aſſembly at the town-houſe. The maſter of the poſt-office took an oath of fidelity to the nation before the mayor, and the *Hotel de la Police* was changed into the *Hotel de la Mayerie*. The allowances to the mayor and other officers; the expences of the militia, of the police, and all other public diſburſements in Paris, were to be defrayed from the revenue; but for the extraordinary charges, incurred for the defence of the town, contributions were to be demanded from the inhabitants, according to their means, and their zeal for the public cauſe. The barriers that had been deſtroyed were re-eſtabliſhed; the officers of the cuſtoms were again placed at them; patroles marched conſtantly through the ſtreets; and, beſides the uſual mode of lighting them, the inhabitants were obliged to illuminate their houſes at a certain hour; ſo that Paris, for many weeks after the Revolution, exhibited every night the appearance of ſome extraordinary public rejoicing. But, notwithſtanding theſe precautions, it was ſoon ſadly experienced, that whenever the people bent their minds upon, or were excited to, any act of violence, there exiſted no regular force by which

[61] Mémoire de M. le Comte de Lally-Tolendal, p. 75.

they could be reſtrained; and that even thoſe who had been raiſed by their power, might eaſily become the victims of their caprice.

Though the people had diſplayed the moſt unbounded ſatisfaction at the profeſſions of their ſovereign, and a reſtoration of harmony had apparently taken place, they ſecretly cheriſhed a ſpirit of revenge againſt thoſe who had eſpouſed an oppoſite party; which they reſolved to gratify, whenever an opportunity ſhould occur. The firſt victims of their reſentment were M. de Foulon, and his ſon-in-law, M. Berthier, intendant of Paris. The former was accuſed of having treated the people with *diſreſpect* during a ſcarcity of proviſions, by ſaying, that if corn could not be had, its place might be ſupplied with hay [62]. We have before obſerved, that he had declined a place to which he had been nominated under the mareſchal de Broglio; and, being aware of the general indignation which prevailed againſt him, he had, at the commencement of the preſent diſturbances, retired to the country-ſeat of his friend, M. de Sartine; but the vigilance of an enraged populace was not eaſily eluded: he was ſoon diſcovered, and, in the night of the twenty-ſecond of July, ſeized in his bed, by a horde of ruffians, and dragged, though trembling with age, having attained his ſeventy-fifth year, on foot to Paris; where, without any previous interrogation or form of trial whatever, he was put to death, with circumſtances of ſuch peculiar barbarity, as would be painful, and, indeed, indecent to relate;—circumſtances, too, in which the *women* were the principal actors; twice was he ſuſpended to the fatal rope, and twice did the cord break, while the inſults he had received were renewed during the dreadful intervals; and a quarter of an hour was ſuffered to elapſe before the new cord could be procured, that put an end to his exiſtence, though not to the enormities of his ferocious aſſaſſins. His head was ſevered from his body, and, ſome hay being ſtuffed into the mouth, was fixed upon a pole, and paraded in triumph through the ſtreets of the city [63].

M. Berthier, who had been ſeized at Compiegne, was brought to Paris the ſame evening; and, in his way to the town-houſe, he was met by a proceſſion of furies and ruffians, who compelled him to kiſs the lifeleſs head of his murdered father: he had not been long at the town-houſe, before they ruſhed in, and, in ſpite of every effort to allay their ſavage fury, dragged out their devoted victim; and, after cutting off his head, opened his entrails, while they drew his mangled limbs, which they had torn from his body,

62 That he had really uttered this *proverbial* phraſe, no proof whatever was adduced.

63 The mob, alike impious and ferocious, added blaſphemy to their cruelty; they placed *a crown of thorns* upon the head of the wretched ſufferer, and when, ſinking with pain and fatigue, he aſked for ſomething to quench his thirſt, they offered him *vinegar*. *L'Abbe Sabatier*, tom. i. p. 93.

about

about the ſtreets, exhibiting his head on a pole, and his heart on the point of a cutlaſs [64]. This unfortunate man left eight children to deplore his loſs.

Such was the fatal conſequence of debauching the regular troops, and depending for ſecurity on a *Civic* army; though eight-and-forty thouſand men had been regularly embodied in the capital, and ſo diſtributed that, at a ſhort notice, they might all have been eaſily aſſembled, the magiſtrates and officers found it impoſſible to prevent a furious mob from committing the moſt horrid murders, in the face of day, and in the heart of the city. But let it not be ſuppoſed that the mayor and the general—Bailly and La Fayette—diſcharged their duty on this occaſion!—All that their *perſonal* influence and exertions could effect was tried:—but did they ſound the *tocſin?* did they *attempt* to aſſemble the national guards? Did they, in ſhort, adopt any one of thoſe meaſures, for the ſuppreſſion of tumult, and for the prevention of ſuch groſs violations of juſtice and humanity, to which they would have had recourſe, if but a ſingle regiment of Broglio's army had advanced towards the capital; or if their ſovereign, unarmed and unattended, had repaired thither to receive their commands?—No—not *one*. They were thereby guilty of a ſcandalous neglect of their duty; nor could the *ſuddenneſs* of the event be pleaded in palliation of ſuch neglect; for it was notorious that one body of men was gone for the purpoſe of ſeizing M. de Foulon; and a ſecond, headed by an *elector*, to apprehend his ſon-in-law; and the time requiſite to go to Very and Compeigne, and to return from thence, was more than amply ſufficient for the adoption of the neceſſary precautions, to inſure ſafety to the ſufferers, and tranquillity to the capital [65].

[64] The ſame man who had been employed to cut off the head of the marquis de Launay was alſo preſent at this horrid ſcene. In the depoſition, part of which we have quoted in a former note, he ſays—"That he had no part in "the murder of M. Berthier; that he was near him, heard him proteſt his innocence, and ſupplicate the people, "if they thought him guilty of any crime, to carry him to priſon, in order that he might be tried; that M. Ber-"thier was ſtabbed to death by ſome ſoldiers; that a ſoldier of the regiment of Royal Cravate opened his belly "with a ſabre, and one he is unacquainted with pulled out his heart, put it into his (the priſoner's) hand, and in a "furious manner took him by the collar, ſaying, *Come, dragoon, bring it to the Hotel de Ville*; that he accordingly went "with him, accompanied by many other perſons, and, having ſeen M. de la Fayette, came away; that in coming "down the ſtairs, the ſoldier put the heart upon the point of a cutlaſs, and obliged him (the priſoner) to carry it "through the ſtreets to the Palais-Royal; that while he was at ſupper with the ſoldier at an eating-houſe, and "*the heart lying on the table*, the people came and demanded the heart, which they threw out at the window †."

The declaration made by this man was publiſhed in all the daily papers printed in the metropolis, under the article of *Chatelet de Paris*.

[65] It is, indeed, probable, that they had no confidence in the militia, and that they believed, if called upon to act, they would have acted againſt them; but, at all events, this ſhould have been tried, and it was their duty to make the trial.

† Not a word is here mentioned of the *reſentment* of the ſoldiers of the corps to which the monſter belonged who tore out the heart of Foulon; nor of the *duel* which that reſentment is ſaid to have occaſioned, on this very night, and by which the ruffian is ſaid to have periſhed.—It is evidently a tale fabricated by the "*Deux Amis de la Liberté*, and adopted by their tranſlators.

Preparatory

Preparatory to theſe deeds of horror, the moſt barbarous and inhuman popular ſongs—which it was alſo the duty of the mayor to ſuppreſs—ſet to inviting tunes, had been fabricated for the people of Paris, in order, if poſſible, to encreaſe their native ferocity and cruelty. One of theſe, the verſes of which ended with the pious wiſh, that all the ariſtocrats might be hanged at the lanterne, was to be heard, from morning till night, in every ſtreet, and almoſt every houſe, ſung by all claſſes and orders; the fairer part of the ſofter ſex degrading themſelves in this reſpect to the ſame level with the moſt profligate and abandoned. Theſe barbarous words, like the *war whoop* of the ſavages in North America, became afterwards the *death ſignal* in every part of France.

After the departure of the princes of the blood, the diſſenting nobles haſtened to renounce their former proteſt, and held themſelves abſolved by neceſſity from the oath they had taken to their conſtituents. It was agreed to bury the name of *States-General* in oblivion, and the name of *National Aſſembly* was henceforth adopted by all parties. Some reverence ſeemed ſtill to be paid to the word *royalty*, although the ſubſtance to which it related had entirely loſt its eſſence. It was thought that the term royaliſts, applied to thoſe who were devoted to proſcription and popular fury, would yet be too wounding to the ears of Frenchmen to be endured, the term *ariſtocrat*, therefore, of which not one in a thouſand of thoſe who uſed it knew the true meaning and import, was, upon all occaſions, ſubſtituted in its place.

The commotions which had taken place in the capital ſoon extended their fatal influence not only to the neighbouring towns, but even to the moſt diſtant provinces. At Saint Germain and Poiſſy ſome murders had been committed, on the charge or ſuſpicion of a monopoly of corn; attempts of a ſimilar nature were with difficulty prevented at Pontoiſe; in Brittany the ſame diſorders prevailed; nor were Normandy and Burgundy leſs infected with the ſpirit of tumult and ſedition, which ſeemed on the point of diffuſing itſelf all over the kingdom. *Emiſſaries, evidently diſpatched from a central point, went different roads, paſſing through the towns and villages, where they ſtaid only a ſufficient time to cauſe the alarm-bell to be rung; in one place announcing, as the cauſe of alarm, the march of foreign troops; in another, the approach of a band of plunderers; in all, calling the people to arms; while many of them, for the more effectual accompliſhment of their purpoſe, diſtributed money as they paſſed*[66]. The end and object of their deſtructive progreſs, was the pillage of granaries, the burning of houſes, and the aſſaſſination of the proprietors. Whenever the ſoldiers were called upon to ſuppreſs the tumults, thus excited, they made a merit of diſobedience, and joined the mob.

The prevalence of diſorders that ſeemed to threaten a total diſſolution of govern-

[66] Mémoire de M. de Lally-Tolendal, p. 77, 78.

ment

ment naturally called for the attention of the National Aſſembly, in which both the executive and legiſlative authority appeared, at this period, to be excluſively inveſted. The mind of every virtuous member was of courſe impreſſed with ſentiments of indignation at the acts of barbarity which had been committed in the capital, and at the ſanguinary diſpoſition which was ſpreading with ſuch terrific ſymptoms in the country. Lally-Tolendal took the lead in the debate on this momentous point, and was ably ſeconded by Mounier, and ſupported by others of the moderate party; who propoſed a proclamation to warn the people from thus conſtituting themſelves judges and executioners of the law.

But the powerful democratic party entertained ſentiments of a very different nature on this ſubject, and did not by any means wiſh to reſtrain the hands, or to confine the authority of *their uſeful* allies. Some of theſe endeavoured to calm the virtuous indignation of their adverſaries; one of them, thinking, perhaps, that the victims already immolated would be inſufficient to gratify the reſentment of the populace, propoſed the eſtabliſhment of a tribunal for trying thoſe perſons who had been arreſted, and ſuch as ſhould in future be denounced *by the people* as guilty. This propoſal was defended by ſeveral deputies; and many of them, adopting the wiſh of ſome of the diſtricts of Paris, even adviſed the eſtabliſhment of a grand jury in the capital, for the trial of all ſtate criminals. At this very time, too, a liſt of proſcriptions, in which ſeveral members of the aſſembly were included, was circulated among the people of Paris [67].

These dangerous propoſitions were moſt ably combated by M. Mounier, who ſhewed that the creation of laws and tribunals for the puniſhment of *anterior* crimes would be a violation of the plaineſt principles of juſtice; he maintained, that the proſecution of offences againſt the ſtate was the excluſive province of the national repreſentatives; and that it would be a ſcandalous proſtitution of the ſublime inſtitution of juries, to render it ſubſervient to popular rage: he aſked, whether a tribunal, deſtined to try men accuſed by a populace, thirſting for blood, and always prepared, in their ſtupid ignorance, to receive as certain facts calumnies the moſt abſurd, would be at liberty to afford protection to innocence; and whether ſuch a commiſſion would not form a tribunal of blood ſubſervient to the orders of the factious, and a thouſand times more formidable than the ſatellites of tyrants the moſt abhorred?

When the democratic party objected, "That the buſineſs of the aſſembly was to make "laws, and not to attend to a few particular diſorders," Lally-Tolendal replied, that the ſtoicism which could lead them coldly to dictate laws, while murders were ordering around them, appeared to him to be very far from deſerving the name of a virtue. He

[67] Expoſé de la Conduite de M. Mounier; dans l'Aſſemblée Nationale, p. 24, 25.

ridiculed

ridiculed the pretence of valuing ſo highly the liberty of thoſe whoſe lives they did not ſeem to value at all; and that curious ſpecies of generoſity, which induced them to deſpiſe dangers of which they did not partake.

But ſtrong and incontrovertible as the reaſons urged in ſupport of the motion indiſputably were, every ſophiſtical argument, every pitiful ſubterfuge, every daring aſſertion, that the ingenuity of faction could deviſe, or its effrontery advance, was employed for the purpoſe of perſuading the aſſembly to reject it. M. de Lally was told that his ſenſibility had ſeduced his reaſon; that the conflagrations, impriſonments, and aſſaſſinations which inſpired his mind with horror, were *untoward circumſtances, which muſt have been expected, and ſhould be borne with patience.* Another member obſerved to him, *that his imagination had created dangers which had no exiſtence*; and *that there was no danger but in his motion*; it was dangerous to liberty, becauſe it tended to take from the people a *ſalutary inquietude* which they ought to preſerve; dangerous to the public tranquillity, becauſe it would give the people a *falſe inquietude* which they ought not to experience; ſtill more dangerous to the ASSEMBLY, *who would ſee the city of Paris declare againſt it, if they adopted the motion*[68]; dangerous to the legiſlative power, which, after having broken the formidable force of authority, would, by that means, raiſe up another force ſtill more formidable; and dangerous to the executive power, which, all dreadful as it had juſt been repreſented, would be affected by its inability to enforce obedience. So fertile were the brains of theſe orators in the creation of imaginary dangers; and ſo blind to exiſting dangers of ſuch enormous magnitude as to exceed, in their conſequences, all human calculation!

M. Lally, in his reply, obſerved, that a man muſt ſhut his eyes againſt the light, not to ſee dangers which every minute rendered more alarming; that, in a ſhort time, there would no longer be either an executive power, a judicial power, or a coercive authority, in France. He called upon the members of the oppoſite party to explain a contraſt which he was unable to comprehend: "On the one hand, it is inſiſted,"—ſaid he—"that we "ſhould remain tranquil, while two perſons are actually proſcribed at Poiſſy[69]; when "twelve

[68] *This* was the operative motive for the open rejection of the propoſal with the democratic party; they were afraid of loſing their worthy allies of the capital, whoſe aſſiſtance, they knew, was eſſentially requiſite to the ſucceſs of *their* ſchemes; and, to obtain this, they did not ſcruple to render the legiſlative body, as far as they could at leaſt, ſubſervient to the caprice of the *metropolitan* inſurgents.—"*If it were not for theſe Pariſians*"—ſaid one of them—"*whom you blame, we ſhould not now be ſitting here.*"

[69] One of the perſons who fell a victim to the rage of the populace, was *Sauvage*, a miller at Poiſſy: being accuſed of having a quantity of flour in his poſſeſſion, the people entered his premiſes, where ſix or ſeven hundred ſacks of flour were found; this was deemed ſufficient proof, and the mob bade him prepare for inſtant death; but, on the interference of ſome humane perſons, they were with difficulty perſuaded to reſpite the miller, until a proper enquiry ſhould have eſtabliſhed his guilt. He was, therefore, taken to a neighbouring convent, when, after a very minute inveſtigation of the fact, it was clearly demonſtrated, that he was no monopolizer, but had been appointed

" twelve others are threatened; when the lives of ſix inhabitants are demanded at Pon-
" toiſe; when, yeſterday, the *tocſin* was rung at Brie-Comte-Robert, and the inhabitants
" were expelled from their houſes; when the commandant of Burgundy, diſtinguiſhed
" by the purity and moderation of his character, has narrowly eſcaped being cut to
" pieces, and thrown into a well;—on the other hand, a needleſs inquietude is pertina-
" ciouſly kept up, when all the troops are removed, when all the miniſters whom we
" dreaded are diſmiſſed, and when the king has reſigned himſelf up to us."—He aſked, whether they were legiſlators, or *conſpirators?* and, when a citizen-king gave them liberty, and they had nothing to do but *receive* it, why they perſiſted in their determination to *conquer* it, as if it were to be torn from a tyrant [70]?

When Lally enforced his arguments, by deſcribing the horrid deaths of Foulon and Berthier, the celebrated patriot Barnave ironically aſked, " *If the blood he lamented was*
" *ſo very pure* [71] *?*" while Mirabeau told him, " It was a time to *think* rather than to
" *feel.*" To this laſt remark Lally replied, that Tiberius *thought*, and deeply too; and Lewis the Twelfth *felt* moſt acutely; and he aſked his opponents, if they had the choice between the two princes and between the two legiſlators, which of them they would chuſe?

As the debate was continued during three ſucceſſive days, and the tumults rather encreaſed than diminiſhed, one of the members took advantage of that circumſtance to affirm, that the very mention of a proclamation had excited an inſurrection, though its profeſſed object was to enforce reſpect to the laws, and promote the return of public tranquillity; it was objected at the ſame time, that *the perſons to whom it was addreſſed could not read*, though when the *declaration of rights* came to be diſcuſſed, the ſame party diſcovered that every man in France could read; another objection was, that it could not be preſented to the king for his ſanction, becauſe the form of the ſanction was not yet determined, though a fortnight after they loſt ſight of this circumſtance, when they wiſhed the king to ſanction the decrees of the fourth of Auguſt.

A ſenſe of ſhame on one ſide, and unceaſing perſeverance on the other, produced at length, in ſome degree, their effect, and, on the twenty-third of July, the proclamation was iſſued, but not till it had been ſtripped of all the cogent expreſſions propoſed by Lally, ſuch as the following ſentences; that " Whoever excited troubles was a bad citi-

pointed by government to purchaſe corn for the uſe of the capital. The mob, however, reſolved not to be diſappointed of their prey; they again ſeized the unhappy man, and conducted him to the place of execution, where a journeyman butcher ſevered his head from his body.

[70] Mémoire de M. le Comte de Lally-Tolendal, p. 82, 83.

[71] L'Abbé Sabatier, tom. i. p. 98.

" zen; and that the puniſhment of a crime was itſelf a crime, when not commanded by " the law." The motives for preventing the promulgation of theſe evident truths could not be miſtaken.—The propoſal that the proclamation ſhould be preſented to the king, accompanied by a requeſt, that his majeſty would cauſe it to be circulated throughout the provinces, and read in all the churches, was alſo rejected.—The proclamation, as entered on the regiſters of the aſſembly, was this:

" The National Aſſembly conſidering, that, from the firſt moment of its formation, " it has adopted no reſolution but what gives it a juſt title to the confidence of the peo- " ple; that it has already eſtabliſhed the firſt foundations on which the public liberty and " felicity ſhould reſt; that the king has recently acquired a ſtronger claim than ever to " the confidence of his faithful ſubjects; that he has not only himſelf permitted them to " demand their liberty and rights, but that, at the deſire of the aſſembly, he has removed " every ſubject of diffidence capable of alarming the public mind; that he has removed " thoſe troops whoſe preſence or approach had ſpread terror through the capital; that he " has diſmiſſed from about his perſon thoſe counſellors who were objects of uneaſineſs " to the nation; that he has recalled thoſe whoſe return was ſo anxiouſly deſired; that " he has appeared in the National Aſſembly, with the unreſerved confidence of a father " amidſt his children, to requeſt their aſſiſtance in promoting the ſalvation of the ſtate; " that, actuated by the ſame ſentiments, he has returned to his capital to *aſſociate himſelf* " with his people, and, by his preſence to remove every remaining apprehenſion; that, " in this ſtate of perfect harmony between the chief and the repreſentatives of the nation, " and after the complete union of all the orders, the aſſembly is now occupied, and will " never ceaſe to occupy itſelf, in the grand object of the conſtitution; that any diffi- " dence, tending to diſturb the ineſtimable harmony of the preſent moment, would im- " pede the labours of the aſſembly, prove an obſtacle to the execution of his majeſty's " intentions, and, at the ſame time, give a fatal blow to the general intereſt of the na- " tion, as well as to the private intereſts of its component members; that not a citizen, " in fine, but ſhould ſhudder at the idea of troubles, which, in their deplorable conſe- " quences, would produce the diſperſion of families, the interruption of commerce, the " privation of ſuccour from the poor, a ceſſation of labour for workmen and citizens, " and for all ranks a total ſubverſion of ſocial order:—The National Aſſembly, there- " fore, exhort all the nation to peace, to the maintenance of public order and tranquil- " lity, to diſplay that confidence which is due to their ſovereign, and their repreſenta- " tives, and to ſhew that reſpect for the laws without which no liberty can have " exiſtence.

" The aſſembly farther declares, with reſpect to the agents of power, who ſhall have " cauſed, or by their crimes may cauſe, the misfortunes of the people, that they ought to " be accuſed, convicted, and puniſhed, but that only by the law, which ſhould take them

" under

" under its ſafeguard, until the final deciſion of their fate; that the proſecution of all " crimes of *leſe-nation* appertains to the repreſentatives of the nation; that the aſſembly, " in *the conſtitution which it is inceſſantly occupied in forming*, will point out the tribunal " before which every perſon accuſed of ſuch crimes ſhall be proſecuted, that he may be " judged according to the laws, and enjoy the advantage of a public trial."

It here again appears that the Aſſembly had imbibed the idea that they had been convened for the purpoſe of *forming a conſtitution*; this was the grand rock on which they ſplit; the flagrant miſtake which betrayed them into a thouſand errors, into numberleſs exertions of UNCONSTITUTIONAL authority. What idea could be more prepoſterous, or more degrading to the people themſelves [72], than that ſuch a nation as France was, ſo many centuries after its eſtabliſhment, without a conſtitution? Men muſt ſurely have drunk deeply of the waters of Lethe who could entertain ſuch an idea, and forget *that* conſtitution, in virtue of which the States themſelves had been aſſembled, and under which the nation had riſen almoſt to the ſummit of glory and ſplendor. That it was their province and their duty, to remove any corruptions that had crept into the conſtitution; to reſtore, *in conjunction with the king*, the national eſtabliſhments to their primitive purity; and even to modify, correct, extend, and improve thoſe inſtitutions on which the welfare and happineſs of the people eſſentially depended, we are not diſpoſed to conteſt; but to ſuppoſe that becauſe the finances were deranged, the ſtate was to be diſorganized, chaos to come again, and a new creation to take place, would be to harbour a ſuppoſition that all rational men muſt regard as the offspring of inſanity! Nor does it afford leſs ground for aſtoniſhment, that ſome of the very perſons who thus talked of *forming a conſtitution*, not only acknowledged the *exiſtence* of a conſtitution, in the moſt expreſs terms, but ſeemed to conſider its principles as ſacred and inviolable.—M. Mounier, in making his report from the committee charged to regulate the mode of proceeding with regard to the conſtitution, reminded the Aſſembly of ſeveral "fundamental laws " of the monarchy:" he ſaid " We will not forget that the French are not a new peo- " ple, recently emerged from the foreſts to form an aſſociation, but a great ſociety of " twenty-four millions of men, which wiſhes to confirm the bonds that unite its dif- " ferent parts, which wiſhes to regenerate the kingdom, and *which will ever hold ſacred* " *the true principles of the monarchy* [73] "—The fact is, that prompt *definition* and *gradual melioration* were the ſubjects that called for the attention of the Aſſembly, and by a ſtrict

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[73] Expoſé de la Conduite de M. Mounier, p. 12.

" zen; and that the puniſhment of a crime was itſelf a crime, when not commanded by " the law." The motives for preventing the promulgation of theſe evident truths could not be miſtaken.—The propoſal that the proclamation ſhould be preſented to the king, accompanied by a requeſt, that his majeſty would cauſe it to be circulated throughout the provinces, and read in all the churches, was alſo rejected.—The proclamation, as entered on the regiſters of the aſſembly, was this:

" The National Aſſembly conſidering, that, from the firſt moment of its formation, " it has adopted no reſolution but what gives it a juſt title to the confidence of the peo- " ple; that it has already eſtabliſhed the firſt foundations on which the public liberty and " felicity ſhould reſt; that the king has recently acquired a ſtronger claim than ever to " the confidence of his faithful ſubjects; that he has not only himſelf permitted them to " demand their liberty and rights, but that, at the deſire of the aſſembly, he has removed " every ſubject of diffidence capable of alarming the public mind; that he has removed " thoſe troops whoſe preſence or approach had ſpread terror through the capital; that he " has diſmiſſed from about his perſon thoſe counſellors who were objects of uneaſineſs " to the nation; that he has recalled thoſe whoſe return was ſo anxiouſly deſired; that " he has appeared in the National Aſſembly, with the unreſerved confidence of a father " amidſt his children, to requeſt their aſſiſtance in promoting the ſalvation of the ſtate; " that, actuated by the ſame ſentiments, he has returned to his capital to *aſſociate himſelf* " with his people, and, by his preſence to remove every remaining apprehenſion; that, " in this ſtate of perfect harmony between the chief and the repreſentatives of the nation, " and after the complete union of all the orders, the aſſembly is now occupied, and will " never ceaſe to occupy itſelf, in the grand object of the conſtitution; that any diffi- " dence, tending to diſturb the ineſtimable harmony of the preſent moment, would im- " pede the labours of the aſſembly, prove an obſtacle to the execution of his majeſty's " intentions, and, at the ſame time, give a fatal blow to the general intereſt of the na- " tion, as well as to the private intereſts of its component members; that not a citizen, " in fine, but ſhould ſhudder at the idea of troubles, which, in their deplorable conſe- " quences, would produce the diſperſion of families, the interruption of commerce, the " privation of ſuccour from the poor, a ceſſation of labour for workmen and citizens, " and for all ranks a total ſubverſion of ſocial order:—The National Aſſembly, there- " fore, exhort all the nation to peace, to the maintenance of public order and tranquil- " lity, to diſplay that confidence which is due to their ſovereign, and their repreſenta- " tives, and to ſhew that reſpect for the laws without which no liberty can have " exiſtence.

" The aſſembly farther declares, with reſpect to the agents of power, who ſhall have " cauſed, or by their crimes may cauſe, the misfortunes of the people, that they ought to " be accuſed, convicted, and puniſhed, but that only by the law, which ſhould take them

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adherence to thoſe points they might have drawn that deſireable line, which precludes the encroachments of deſpotiſm, on the one hand, and of anarchy, on the other.

What paſſed in the debates on the ſubject of the proclamation, convinced M. de Lally-Tolendal of "one dreadful truth."—"I perceived," ſays he, "a connection between "the troubles without doors and the internal movement of the Aſſembly; I ſaw that "terror would ſubdue thoſe whom ſophiſtry could not ſubdue; that, from time to time, "ſome grand combuſtions would occur to renew the impreſſions of terror; and that, by "this means, a very ſmall number of individuals might render the pure intentions of "the majority uſeleſs; for I muſt ſay, that it appeared to me, and I do not think I was "deceived, that by much the greater number of the deputies were friends to the public "good; that it was the conſtant object of their purſuit; that they often imagined they ſaw "it where it did not exiſt; that they always experienced regret when prevented, by their "fears, from promoting it, and promoted it whenever no perſon had an intereſt in pre-"venting it[74]."

We have already obſerved that Neckar had been recalled by letters from the king, which overtook him at Baſil, he having quitted Bruſſels, with a view to retire to his eſtate in the vicinity of Geneva; on his way to Verſailles he had been informed of the murder of Foulon and Berthier, as well as of the imminent danger of the baron de Bezenval, commander of the Swiſs troops, who had been ſeized, in violation of the freedom of the ſubject, and the orders of the king[75], by the militia of Villenaux, and threatened with inſtant death, on account of an intercepted letter, in which he had ordered M. de Launay to defend the Baſtille to the laſt. Neckar immediately wrote a letter of interceſſion from Nogent to the magiſtrates of Villenaux, in his favour, apprizing them of the permiſſion which the baron had obtained from the king to repair to Switzerland, and attempting to enforce the reſpect that was due to the orders of their ſovereign; but his efforts were ineffectual, for the magiſtrates had ſent to the permanent committee at Paris for orders, by which they were determined to be guided. At Verſailles, Neckar was received with ſuch general demonſtrations of exceſſive joy, as have been compared to the tranſports of the Romans when Cicero was recalled from exile.

After he had paid his reſpects to the king and the National Aſſembly, he repaired to Paris; and the gratifications of vanity were never more amply diſpenſed to any conqueror in ancient Rome, than they were, upon this occaſion, to M. Neckar. Thoſe voices which ſome few days before had found the greateſt difficulty in pronouncing *Vive le Roi!* now filled the air with the univerſal ſhout of *Vive M. Neckar!* He laudably endeavoured to convert this moment of popular applauſe and enthuſiaſm to an excellent pur-

74 Mémoire, p. 95. 75 Idem, p. 98.

poſe;—after ſuitable expreſſions of gratitude for the honour conferred on him, he expatiated largely on thoſe rights of humanity which every member of ſociety is bound moſt religiouſly to obſerve, with that animated eloquence which a knowledge of his private virtues rendered doubly impreſſive; he conjured the aſſembly of electors to put an end to thoſe ſanguinary proſcriptions, at which even juſtice ſhudders, whoſe victims ever merit their fate; and he requeſted, in particular, the releaſe of the baron de Bezenval. He drew a very faithful picture of all the horrors that ſuch lawleſs proceedings would inſpire, and entreated the Aſſembly to exert every precaution in order to prevent a repetition of theſe calamities, which ought, if poſſible, to be conſigned to eternal oblivion; he repreſented, that ſuch ſanguinary executions, without trial, without form, without law, are no leſs an outrage to juſtice than to humanity, ſubverſive of the public order, and fatal to the national honour. Theſe paſſages of his ſpeech were pronounced with ſo much feeling, that they proved irreſiſtible; every heart was moved, and every eye ſuffuſed with tears, while the only words that were heard throughout the hall were thoſe of "Mercy, mercy to the guilty! *a general amneſty!*"—At this moment the populace who were waiting in the Place de Grêve, where the town houſe is ſituated, loudly demanded M. Neckar; and while he went to a balcony, in order to gratify their wiſhes, the count de Clermont Tonnerre, who had accompanied him to Paris, propoſed to the Aſſembly to confirm, by a formal reſolution, the vote of mercy and forgiveneſs which he had framed; this motion was received and ratified with unanimous applauſe; and, on M. Neckar's return to the hall, the count de Clermont Tonnerre read the reſolution, which affected him moſt ſenſibly, and excited his warmeſt approbation.

In conſequence of this reſolution, the aſſembly of electors diſpatched two deputies and a guard to Villenaux, to conduct the baron de Bezenval to the frontiers of Switzerland. But, alas! ſhort was the triumph of juſtice and humanity! the pacific diſpoſition evinced by the electors filled with alarm the minds of thoſe to whom troubles and commotions afforded the means of ſubſiſtance or elevation. At the approach of night the factious aſſembled in their capital—the Palais-Royal;—in that Palais-Royal (to verify the prediction of Lally-Tolendal) where hiſtory is obliged to ſay that the manners of the people were corrupted; the troops debauched; the bodies of the dead dragged about, and the heads of the living proſcribed. There they had ſworn to enforce the revocation of the decrees paſſed at the town-houſe, and they began their march for that purpoſe. One diſtrict, alarmed, had communicated its terror to ſeveral others; the tocſins were rung; the troop encreaſed; and the town-houſe was expoſed to the dangers of a ſiege [76].

Thus ſtimulated, ſeveral diſtricts expreſſed their diſapprobation of the proceedings of the morning; and intimidated the aſſembly of electors, who, far from daring to perſe-

[76] Mémoire de M. de Lally-Tolendal, p. 99.

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vere in a laudable meaſure, haſtened to ſubſcribe the following *explanatory* paper, replete with falſhood and equivocation.

" The Aſſembly, at the requiſition of ſeveral diſtricts, explaining, as far as neceſſary, " the reſolution taken this morning, in conſequence of the ſpeech and requeſt of M. " Neckar, declare, that, in expreſſing a ſentiment of pardon and indulgence towards " their enemies, they did not mean to include thoſe who might be accuſed or convicted " of high treaſon againſt the nation; but, merely, that they would henceforward decide " and puniſh only according to law; and, conſequently, that they proſcribe, agreeable " to the tenor of the reſolution, every act of violence and exceſs that may tend to diſ- " turb the public tranquillity; and this reſolution can bear no other conſtruction, be- " cauſe the Aſſembly from which it proceeded, never ſuppoſed, or could ſuppoſe, it had " a right to pardon[77]."—This curious retractation was ſigned by M. Moreau de Saint Mery,

77 It was peculiarly unfortunate that in this attempt, ſo truly conſonant to virtue and humanity, M Neckar ſhould have fallen into two political errors of ſuch importance, that they ſerved much to weaken the enthuſiaſm of his admirers, and to leſſen the general opinion conceived of his abilities. The firſt of theſe related to the National Aſſembly, and the ſecond to the Pariſians. The former, and by much the greater, was his application to the city of Paris for the liberty or life of an accuſed criminal, and, at the ſame time, for a general pardon, knowing, that, as the National Aſſembly now ſupplied the places both of the ſovereign and parliament, there was no other power exiſting which could lawfully grant either. This was accordingly diſpleaſing to the Aſſembly, in a very great degree. It was, indeed, but too true, that Paris was rapidly haſtening to aſſume the ſhape of an independent republic, and making alarming ſtrides towards the poſſeſſion of abſolute power; and it was no leſs true, that the National Aſſembly, though fully aware and apprehenſive of the danger, yet, whether from want of ſpirit, or from whatever other cauſe, did not venture to attempt confining that turbulent capital within due bounds of ſubjection; but they were by no means pleaſed or ſatisfied that her independence or power ſhould be formally acknowledged by a miniſter of ſtate.

The ſecond error conſiſted in his addreſſing the electors of Paris as a legal body, when their proper functions extended no farther than to the choice of repreſentatives; and the new command, with which they were entruſted by the people on the thirteenth, proceeded merely from the non-exiſtence of any other body of men in whom they could repoſe confidence; but that refractory populace, who abhorred every degree of ſubordination, were already heartily tired of the government exerciſed by the electors, and were extremely diſſatisfied with, and entertained great jealouſy of them, on the very grounds of M. Neckar's ſpeech; ſo that when he probably thought that he was highly flattering and pleaſing the people by the compliments he paid, and the powers he aſcribed to their council at the town-houſe, his eloquent harangue was producing a directly contrary effect. The people conſidered the conduct of the council as a flagrant invaſion of their rights, as an undue reſtriction on their favourite exerciſe of adminiſtering ſummary juſtice; and being now farther irritated by this direct and public appeal,—the conſequences of which were greatly magnified by the arts of the factious—to an authority that was become highly odious, they grew outrageous.

The committee of electors, perceiving that their popularity was gone, and that they were expoſed to the danger of being treated as uſurpers, prudently reſigned their ſeats: the government of the tumultuous capital was then placed in a body that was called the repreſentative body of the commons of Paris, with the mayor, M. Bailly, at its head.

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Mery, the *celebrated* Pariſian *orator*, and by M. Vigne, preſident of the general aſſembly of the electors of the city of Paris.

On the following day, theſe proceedings were taken into conſideration by the National Aſſembly, when ſeveral members ſuffered their zeal ſo far to tranſport them beyond the bounds of juſtice, as to inſiſt that every man *ſuſpected* of harbouring bad intentions towards the nation ſhould receive exemplary puniſhment; by which means a more intolerable ſpecies of deſpotiſm than even that which had prevailed in the reign of the fifteenth Lewis would have been eſtabliſhed. But the *converſation* on this ſubject being interrupted by the arrival of ſome deputies from Paris, the object of whoſe miſſion was, partly to complain of the attempt to procure an amneſty, and partly to warn the Aſſembly againſt adopting or giving a ſanction to ſuch a meaſure, a regular *debate* enſued, in which the ſame influence prevailed that had ſwayed the electors at Paris.

The count de Clermont-Tonnerre courageouſly, but ineffectually, inveighed againſt the manœuvres employed to excite the people to revolt, and to inſpire them with a diſguſting ferociouſneſs [78]. M. Mounier defended, with great energy and eloquence, the principles of perſonal freedom, without which, he juſtly obſerved, political liberty was but an abſurd and dangerous chimera. He aſked, who was the accuſer of M. de Bezenval; what was the charge preferred againſt him; and in virtue of what order the militia of Villeneaux had ventured to arreſt an officer of the king's troops? He maintained, that no man could be impriſoned but by virtue of the law; that the law did not permit the impriſonment of any man, without a regular accuſation and a legal charge, unleſs the culprit were taken in the fact, or apprehended in conſequence of a hue and cry —*clameur publique*—that is to ſay, immediately after the fact was committed, and when purſued by perſons who had witneſſed its commiſſion. He obſerved, that this was the only ſenſe in which the words *clameur publique* could be underſtood; that it only became ſubordinate tyrants to give them a different interpretation; and that, if a popular report, a ſimple ſuſpicion, was to be called a *clameur publique*, no individual could be ſure of his liberty.—Congenial as theſe ſentiments indiſputably were to the true ſpirit of rational freedom, and incontrovertible as were the arguments by which they were enforced and ſup-

In the debates in the National Aſſembly, on the ſubject of the proclamation propoſed by M. Lally, Mirabeau and ſeveral other members broached the dangerous doctrine, that the capital ſhould, in conjunction with the Aſſembly, organize its own municipal government, inſtead of receiving, with obedience, the law that ſhould be given it, on that ſubject, by the legiſlative body. If every man in the kingdom had claimed a ſimilar privilege, what muſt have become of the *unity of the political body*, which M. Mirabeau himſelf ſo ſtrongly recommended?

[78] He particularly reprobated the ſhameful practice of publickly expoſing to ſale, at all the gates of the Palais-Royal, the moſt ſcandalous and libellous prints. There was one print, in particular, he noticed, entitled, The *Calculator*, in which a man was repreſented, forming an arithmetical rule, with four bloody heads lying before him on his bureau, and a paper on which was written—*out of twenty-four pay five, and nineteen will remain.*—Mémoire de Lally-Tolendal, p. 204.

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ported, the orator was, nevertheleſs, interrupted, in the middle of his ſpeech, by the hiſſes of the democratic party. He replied, however, with manly firmneſs—" I do not " deſire applauſe; I do not fear cenſure; nor do I ſeek to obtain the favour of the city " of Paris [79]." His opponents juſtified their conduct in interrupting him by obſerving that he had uttered nothing but *common-place remarks* [80] *!!!*

This curious juſtification called up M. de Lally, who remarked that whenever a member of the Aſſembly yielded to an impulſe of humanity, and deplored the public calamities with a degree of ſenſibility, that would ſcarcely, he conceived, be deemed inconſiſtent with the character of a legiſlator, he was drily recalled to the rigour of principles; and that when the moſt rigorous principles were invoked in favour of liberty, of perſonal freedom, they were rejected in their turn, and ſtigmatized as *common-place remarks*. But all the efforts of the moderate party proved ineffectual; and, after a warm debate, it was reſolved, that, the National Aſſembly, having heard the reports of the deputies of the repreſentatives of the commons of Paris, declared its approbation of the explanation given by the electors of Paris to their reſolution of the thirteenth of July. (Thus did they condeſcend to ſanction the baſe retractation of a commendable act, a retractation, too, founded on falſhood!) They reſolved, alſo, that if a generous and humane people (the Pariſians had, ſurely, by this time, forfeited every juſt claim to ſuch flattering epithets) wiſhed for ever to prohibit all proſcriptions, (they never expreſſed ſuch a wiſh!) it became the repreſentatives of the nation to try and puniſh thoſe who were accuſed and convicted of having made any attempt againſt the ſafety, liberty, and tranquillity of the public;—(it became them to act with propriety and juſtice, to regulate trials and convictions by the laws which exiſted at the time when the crime was committed, and not to inflict arbitrary puniſhments, warranted only by *ex poſt facto* laws; moreover, if it became them to ſlight the dictates of mercy, and to puniſh thoſe who made any attempt againſt the liberty and tranquillity of the ſubject, the inhabitants of Paris ſhould moſt certainly have been the firſt objects of puniſhment!)—That, conſequently, the National Aſſembly perſiſted in its former regulations reſpecting the reſponſibility of miniſters and thoſe entruſted with the executive power, and the eſtabliſhment of a tribunal to decide on, and a committee to receive, informations, inſtructions, and intelligence. They concluded their reſolutions with an order, that Bezenval ſhould be kept under a ſafe guard at Brie-Comte Robert, the town where he was then confined. This laſt was to him the moſt fortunate clauſe that could poſſibly be deviſed; for the writers, on both ſides, acknowledge or declare, that no human power could have prevented another pub-

[79] Expoſé de la Conduite de M. Mounier, p. 27, 28.

[80] If all the members had been debarred the utterance of *common-place remarks*, the number of orators would have experienced a diminution ſo conſiderable, that the Aſſembly muſt have rather reſembled a meeting of Quakers, than a convention of Frenchmen.

lic murder if he had been brought to Paris. This opinion was, indeed, fully confirmed by the following fact, that thirty thouſand frantic Pariſians waited for him a whole day at the Place de Grève, and had, with ſavage pleaſure, all the inſtruments of inſult and death prepared for his reception [81].

About the ſame time, M. de Clermont Tonnerre claimed the protection of the Aſſembly for one of his uncles, whoſe life, among many others, had been threatened by the mob. The Aſſembly was on the point of granting his requeſt, when the viſcount de Noailles objected to any exception being made in favour of an individual; and his objection was ſupported by M. de Lally-Tolendal, who juſtly obſerved, that, inſtead of confining their intention to the preſervation of a ſingle perſon, it was high time they ſhould make a general law for the effectual protection of all citizens againſt attempts that were daily multiplying; that the Aſſembly would ſhudder, were he to read the heap of letters he held in his hand, which he had recently received from Franche-Comté, Burgundy, Champagne, and Alſace, and which he would deliver to their committee; and that he would never ceaſe to inſiſt on the eſtabliſhment of a public force for the prevention or ſuppreſſion of ſimilar outrages, until his demand ſhould be complied with. This manly conduct excited a violent clamour on the ſame ſide of the houſe whence the hiſſes proceeded during the ſpeech of M. Mounier; and the debate, on a ſubject thus ſerious, was, by the ſame party converted into ridicule [82].

[81] The baron de Bezenval was afterwards proſecuted at the ſuit of the *Procureur-Syndic* of the capital, in direct violation of a decree of the National Aſſembly, by which it was enacted, *that the proſecution of all crimes of leze-nation appertained to the repreſentatives of the nation.* It was the duty of the Procureur-Syndic to denounce the culprit to the Aſſembly, and that of the Aſſembly to proſecute him, if the accuſation proved to be juſt.

[82] M. de Lally, in his account of this debate (*Memoire, p.* 104, *note*) tells us, that M. de Mirabeau reproached him, at the time, with having denounced a few untoward circumſtances *(Contrarietés)* of a private nature as horrible calamities, and a few precautions ſuggeſted by miſtruſt as acts of ferocity. But he aſks, whether the devaſtations, conflagrations, and murders which had deſolated almoſt every part of the kingdom; whether ſix-and-thirty country-ſeats, of which he had the liſt in his pocket, either burned, demoliſhed, or plundered, in a ſingle province, could be called *private calamities?* and as to the *precautions of miſtruſt*, he cites a few of the acts to which that appellation had been applied: among others, he mentions a M. de Barras, of Languedoc, cut into pieces, in the preſence of his wife, who was on the point of lying-in, and who died in conſequence of the ſhock occaſioned by the horrid ſight; at Mons, M. de Monteſſon, ſhot, after ſeeing his father-in-law maſſacred before his face; in Normandy, a man afflicted with the palſy thrown into a fire, whence he eſcaped with the loſs of his hands; a gentleman's ſteward, whoſe feet were burned off to make him deliver up his maſter's title-deeds; and M. de Belzunce, whom, after he had, with more generoſity than prudence, reſigned himſelf up to the populace, they were ſo eager to aſſaſſinate, that they fired at him from different places at the ſame time, and, by that means, deſtroyed ſome of their own party; in Franche-Comté, Madame de Battilly, forced, in order to ſave her life, the fatal axe being holden over her head, to give up not only her title-deeds, but her eſtate alſo; Madame de Liſtenay, compelled to make a ſimilar ſacrifice, while a pitch-fork was holden to her neck, and her daughter lay, in a ſwoon, at her feet; the marquis d'Ormenan, a reſpectable old nobleman, expelled from his houſe in the night, though afflicted with the palſy, and purſued from town to town, till he arrived at Baſil in a dying ſtate, accompanied by his daughters driven to deſpair; the

At this conjuncture, too, a very warm debate was occaſioned by the ſeizure of ſome letters, on the perſon of the baron de Caſtelnau, the French reſident at Geneva, among which, was one from the duke of Dorſet, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Verſailles, to the count d'Artois; which, as the preſident of the aſſembly had returned the packet to the mayor and permanent committee of Paris, without reading it, gave riſe to various reports not very favourable to England. When this matter was taken into conſideration, very different opinions were entertained as to the moſt proper mode of proceeding. Many of the members expatiated on the flagrant inconſiſtency of violating epiſtolary correſpondence at a moment when the repreſentatives of the nation were expreſsly inſtructed by their conſtituents to provide a remedy for that abuſe in future. In the midſt of theſe debates a letter was received by the preſident, from the baron de Caſtelnau, informing him, that as ſoon

the count de Monteſu and his wife, who after a piſtol had been holden to their breaſts for three hours, during which time they aſked for death as a favour, were dragged from their carriage and thrown into a pond, where they muſt have periſhed but for the aſſiſtance afforded them by a regiment that happened to march that way; the baron de Montjuſtin, ſuſpended in a well for an hour and a half, while the mob were deliberating whether they ſhould let him fall into the water, or put him to death in ſome other way; and the chevalier d'Ambli, ſeized at his country-ſeat, dragged naked through the village, and buried in a dunghill, after having had his eye-brows and hair plucked out, while the mob, like a horde of ſavages, danced around him!

After alluding to ſeveral other facts, of a ſimilar nature—"There," ſays M. de Lally, "is an *abridged* liſt of "thoſe *precautions of miſtruſt* which I have calumniated by calling them *acts of atrocity!* and whence proceeded this "*miſtruſt?* *Who* has excited the people of the country and the towns to revolt? *Who* wrote to Veſoul to ſay that the "nobles of the aſſembly intended to blow up the hall at a time when none but the members of the Third Eſtate "ſhould be preſent? *Who* perſuaded the peaſants of Franche-Comté that the nobles were againſt the king? *Who* "forged orders from the king to attack the nobles, and deſtroy their poſſeſſions? Why was that infernal fable, "which at firſt inſpired all the horror againſt M. de Meſmay that it was calculated to produce, conſigned to oblivion "the moment it was perceived that horror muſt be turned againſt his calumniators*? And ſhall the indignation I "experience at theſe crimes, and the impunity with which they are ſuffered to paſs, be conſidered, alternately, as "weakneſs of diſpoſition, and as coolneſs in the cauſe of liberty? Ah! I feel myſelf influenced by the example of "the modern Americans, or of the Dutch of former times, when I ſee them ſhedding ſtreams of blood in fighting "for that liberty. But thefts juſtified by ſophiſtry! Conflagrations excited by Forgers! Aſſaſſinations urged by "Rhetoricians! At a time, too, when there was no reſiſtance—when the nobles conſented to every thing;—when a "part of them had devoted themſelves to the popular cauſe; when they had all renounced their privileges!— "Such circumſtances muſt appal the ſtouteſt heart, if it has not abjured every ſentiment of morality and "humanity!

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* The object of this calumny was to fix upon M. de Meſmay, lord of Quercy, and one of the judges of the parliament of Beſançon, the guilt of having invited a number of perſons to a feaſt at his country-ſeat, under the pretext of celebrating the union of the Three Orders, but, in fact, with a view to blow them up by means of a mine. It was, probably, invented, for the purpoſe of palliating, or rather juſtifying, the conduct of the populace, who reduced the houſe of M. de Meſmay to aſhes, and committed every kind of exceſs.

This *infernal fable*—as M. de Lally, very properly, terms it—is related by the "Deux Amis de la Liberté" as an *hiſtorical fact*. See tom. ii. p. 150.

as he knew the letters found on him, had been laid before the preſident, he had written to the duke of Dorſet, entreating him to requeſt they might be opened. The baron added, that, on receiving the miniſter's order for his return to Geneva, he aſked for a delay of twelve days, with the view of paſſing through Hainault, to pay his reſpects to the count d'Artois, to whoſe perſon he was attached by his office—he had a place in the count's houſhold—as well as the ties of gratitude; and he concluded by declaring, that the letters contained nothing but compliments on the part of the duke of Dorſet, and congratulations on the count's ſafety. The preſident added, that he, himſelf, had received a letter from the duke of Dorſet, requeſting an interview, which he had thought proper to decline. This ſingular debate was, at length, terminated by the count de Clermont Tonnerre, who aſſured the aſſembly, that he had read the letter in queſtion, at the town-houſe in Paris, and that it did not contain one ſyllable capable of being conſtrued as injurious to the national intereſt.

But though this declaration was ſufficient to convince the aſſembly of the futility of their ſuſpicions, it did not produce the ſame effects on the Pariſians, the reſult of whoſe meditations and diſcuſſions was a ſagacious diſcovery, that England had entered into a treaty with the ariſtocratic party, and that the duke of Dorſet and the count d'Artois were to negociate between them.

This idea being once adopted, a thouſand circumſtances were ſpeedily produced to ſanction and confirm it. A pamphlet, falſly aſcribed to an Engliſh nobleman—by M. de Saint Mery, who had found ſuch an imputation neceſſary for the embelliſhment of one of his patriotic harangues,—had been recently publiſhed in order to prove that the claims of the people were in *many* inſtances unreaſonable;—a proof not very difficult to eſtabliſh: this was deemed amply ſufficient to ſhew that the ſentiments of the Engliſh nation were hoſtile to the popular cauſe; and every poſſible doubt on the ſubject was removed when they heard of the equipment of a ſmall ſquadron, then fitting out at Portſmouth, for the purpoſe of obſervation. It was poſitively aſſerted, the ariſtocratic party had agreed to deliver the port of Breſt to the Engliſh; in return for which, England was to aſſiſt them in diſſolving the National Aſſembly.

The duke of Dorſet ſoon found an evident alteration in the conduct of the Pariſians towards him, and, when he was informed of the cauſe, he deemed it requiſite to write to the count de Montmorin, one of the miniſters, in order to contradict a report which he juſtly conſidered as injurious to his honour; and as he was debarred from any direct communication with the National Aſſembly, he requeſted the count would take upon himſelf to communicate to them the ſubſtance of his letter. This requeſt was accordingly complied with; and in his letter the duke ſet forth, that he had heard reports from divers quarters, inſinuating, that the court of England had aſſiſted in fomenting the troubles which had afflicted the capital for ſome time paſt; that ſhe had taken advantage

of the preſent opportunity to take up arms againſt France; and that even a fleet was on the wait to co-operate coaſt the diſcontented party; that, though ſuch rumours were totally deſtitute of truth, he underſtood they had reached the National Aſſembly; and the *Courier National*, in its account of the ſittings of the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of the month, had left ſuſpicions, which were the more painful to him, as the count de Montmorin well knew how little the conduct of the Engliſh court had deſerved them.

He reminded the count of ſeveral converſations which had paſſed between them at the beginning of June; of the horrid plot which had been propoſed relative to the port of Breſt; the anxiety which he evinced to put the king and his miniſters on their guard; the anſwer of his court, ſo truly correſpondent with his own ſentiments, and ſo expreſſive of horror at the baſe propoſal which had been made.

His grace farther obſerved, that the court of England was earneſtly bent on preſerving the perfect harmony which ſubſiſted between the two nations; and in order to remove any ſuſpicions of a contrary tendency, he entreated the count to ſubmit his letter without delay to the preſident of the National Aſſembly. He dwelt on the neceſſity of juſtifying his own conduct and that of his court, and of doing his utmoſt to deſtroy the effect of the inſidious inſinuations, which had been ſo induſtriouſly propagated. He remarked, that it was of infinite importance to him, that the National Aſſembly ſhould know his ſentiments, that they ſhould do juſtice to thoſe of his nation, and to the conduct which ſhe had invariably obſerved towards France, ſince he had enjoyed the honour of being her organ.

The duke concluded by ſaying, that he was the more deſirous that the contents of his letter ſhould be communicated without a moment's loſs, as he not only owed this explanation to his perſonal character, but to his country, and to the Engliſh reſident at Paris, that they might be protected from the conſequences of miſrepreſentation.

This letter having been read to the aſſembly, the preſident wrote to the count de Montmorin, deſiring him to inform the duke of Dorſet, that the National Aſſembly had expreſſed the greateſt ſatisfaction at his conduct, and returned him thanks for the anxiety he evinced, in the quality of ambaſſador, to have his own ſentiments, as well as thoſe of his nation, communicated to them.

Some few days after this explanation took place, the duke of Dorſet ſent a ſecond letter to the count de Montmorin, to inform that miniſter that he had juſt received from his court an expreſs approbation of his conduct, and a ſpecial authority to expreſs, in the moſt poſitive terms, the ardent deſire of his Britannic majeſty, and the Britiſh miniſtry, to cultivate and encourage the friendſhip and harmony, which ſo happily ſubſiſted between the two nations; that the communication of theſe aſſurances afforded him the greater pleaſure from the conſideration that the eſtabliſhment of a permanent friendſhip between the

the two powers, would be attended with the moſt ſignal advantages to both, and their co-operation contribute, in a great degree, to the reſtoration of tranquillity in Europe: this letter was ordered, by the National Aſſembly, to be printed and publiſhed, that every remaining prejudice againſt the Engliſh might be removed from the minds of the people.

But though the aſſembly had thus amicably terminated this delicate tranſaction, it was attended with ſerious conſequences in the province of Brittany. The plot, mentioned in the duke of Dorſet's letter againſt the port of Breſt, was, by the Bretons, immediately laid to the charge of the nobility; and the enemies of ſome of that body, who had ſhewn themſelves averſe from the revolution, induſtriouſly repreſented them to the people as the criminals. Several of them were accordingly arreſted and committed to priſon; when the nobility of the province appealed to the juſtice of the National aſſembly, and entreated that the duke of Dorſet might be requeſted to give more preciſe documents, that the criminality ſhould no longer be extended to all the ancient families of a reſpectable quarter of the kingdom, but might attach to thoſe only who were really concerned. The inveſtigation of the fact was referred to the executive power, but the Aſſembly at the ſame time expreſſed their conviction, that the evidence was ſo vague and indirect, that the gentlemen ought to be liberated.

The month of Auguſt was the period deſtined by the National Aſſembly for the commencement of thoſe important labours which they repreſented as the grand object for which they had been convened. But before we enter into a detail of their proceedings on points of ſuch infinite magnitude, it may not be amiſs to take a view of the real ſtate of the kingdom, and particularly of the capital, at this criſis, which had evidently no ſmall influence on the conduct of the members.

In the courſe of little more than three weeks, that vaſt and turbulent metropolis, which was deſtined to give the law to a whole empire, had undergone no leſs than three revolutions in its own conſtitution of government. Having, in the firſt inſtance, thrown off all eſtabliſhed authority, whether derived from the ſovereign, or from its own municipal inſtitutions, the capital ſeemed expoſed a prey to every ſpecies of diſorder, violence, and of the moſt unbounded anarchy. In this alarming and dangerous ſtate, it happened moſt fortunately for that city, and, probably, ſaved it from continual ſcenes of plunder and maſſacre, that the better claſs of citizens perceived within their reach the means of eſtabliſhing, at leaſt, a temporary authority, which might tend to preſerve order, and to afford ſecurity. The body of conſtituent electors, who returned the deputies from Paris to the States, were, of courſe, compoſed of the principal citizens in their reſpective diſtricts; they amounted to about three hundred, and, fortunately for the capital, poſſeſſed, in a high degree, the good opinion and confidence of the people. On theſe the moſt opulent and reſpectable part of the citizens immediately caſt their eyes, as

capable of forming a central, effective, and what, with any other people to manage, might well have proved a permanent body of magiſtracy; for the electors were, in fact, in their ſeveral diſtricts, the direct repreſentatives of the people, being immediately elected by them, which the deputies at Verſailles were not, they being created by the three hundred, and having a very remote connection with the people at large, to whom they were but little known, and to whom they were not bound by any obligation. It was, however, fortunate, that theſe conſiderations operated powerfully upon the bulk of the people in the firſt inſtance, by which means the government of the capital was for ſome days carried on ſmoothly enough, and the authority of the new magiſtracy would have ſeemed complete, if it had not been for thoſe occaſions of murder and maſſacre which called forth the ferocity of the rabble, when all laws, government, authority, and reſpect to perſons, were trampled under foot.

The electors were too ſenſible of the critical ſituation of affairs, and too well acquainted with the diſpoſition of the people for whom they were to act, to be at all ſolicitous for the pre-eminence to which they were called, and which was attended with none of thoſe *ſweets* of office which could operate as a compenſation for the dangers of uſurpation; on the contrary, it was at the earneſt ſolicitation and repeated entreaties of the beſt part of their fellow-citizens, that they ventured upon the arduous taſk of governing the capital. Their conduct was ſuch, during the ſhort continuance of their power, as to gain the approbation of all the ſober part of the citizens; and, for a few days, the applauſe which they received even from the rabble was boundleſs, and the merit and importance of their ſervices were univerſally acknowledged.

But the natural levity and inconſiſtency of the Pariſians, their groſs ignorance, their mortal abhorrence of ſubordination, and, above all, that horrid ſuſpiciouſneſs of temper, which induces them to imagine treachery or villainy in actions the moſt indifferent, the moſt innocent, or the moſt laudable, rendered it impoſſible for any man, or ſet of men, long to preſerve their favour, or to conduct their buſineſs in any manner which could afford ſatisfaction, and which would not even in the concluſion be attended with imminent danger. It has been ſeen what a narrow eſcape the electors had from the ſuſpicious rage of the multitude, when, coinciding with the humane views of Neckar, and wiſhing to heal the bleeding wounds of their country by a general amneſty, the rabble conceived theſe acts of wiſdom and virtue to be ſo flagrant an invaſion of their new ſovereignty, and, like other deſpots, not enduring any partners in power, that they were on the point of making them *feel* the effects of their reſentment. Indeed, it ſeemed clear, that nothing leſs than the conſciouſneſs of their danger, and the conſequent and immediate dereliction of their ſeats and authority, was likely to preſerve the perſons of the electors from the ſummary execution of the lanthorn, or their houſes and property from deſtruction.

It

It ſeemed, however, as if the body of the electors had either ſome previous notice that the tide was beginning to turn, or that they had ſo perfect a knowledge of the temper and diſpoſition of their new maſters, that they foreſaw, to a degree of certainty, the event which was to take place; for, ſome days before this final iſſue, while they were yet loaded with praiſe, and that all appeared to acknowledge the importance of their ſervices, they called a meeting of the ſeveral diſtricts, and ſubmitted to them a propoſition—which was accepted—to elect one hundred and twenty deputies, who ſhould conſtitute a temporary adminiſtration, and who might, in the mean time, form a ſcheme for a future permanent municipal government. Nothing could have been more judicious or more fortunate than this meaſure. When the day of evil and danger arrived, the new adminiſtration filled up the chaſm which their ſudden reſignations would have occaſioned, and, by obviating the confuſion which muſt otherwiſe have taken place, afforded the electors an opportunity to retire with the leſs notice or obſervation, and to ſeek for ſhelter or oblivion in the maſs of the people. But neither their prudence, caution, nor the timely and ſignal proof they had given of their diſintereſtedneſs, were ſufficient to preſerve them from the moſt virulent invective and abuſe, nor from the dangerous charge of ambitious deſigns, directed to the prolongation and increaſe of their power.

Among the novelties which the late election of deputies to the States had introduced, one of the moſt eſſential, and which was, indeed, productive of conſequences, that were, at the time, little thought of, was the new diviſion of Paris into ſixty diſtricts;—a meaſure which preſented an outline of form and order that could not be overlooked, and that was turned to great account in the ſucceeding convulſions. In each of theſe diſtricts, general aſſemblies were holden, at which every inhabitant was permitted to ſpeak and vote; and each formed permanent committees of police and adminiſtration. Theſe aſſemblies framed reſolutions, which had the force and effect of laws in their individual diſtricts, and in as many others as they could induce to coincide with them: they likewiſe iſſued proclamations, granted paſſports, ſtopped and examined carriages and paſſengers, opened packages, and were beyond meaſure anxious and vigilant in the exerciſe of a moſt haraſſing and vexatious inquiſition, which extended to every thing, and which nothing could evade or reſiſt.

But the abſence or loſs of influence of the electors was ſoon followed by the departure of every degree of decency and decorum from theſe meetings. It has been aſſerted, by obſervers worthy of credit, that it would be impoſſible for a native of any other country to form even a remote conception of the noiſe and tumult which prevailed in theſe aſſemblies; and that the foreigner who could, for any length of time, withſtand the preſſure of the former upon his ſenſes, need never give any other demonſtration of the ſoundneſs of his head, or the firmneſs of his nerves. All the boldeſt and moſt impetuous of the ſpeakers, to the amount ſometimes of a hundred, were to be ſeen at the

ſame inſtant ſtraining their lungs together, each endeavouring to drown the voice of his competitors, and to monopolize the attention of the aſſembly. Yet this contention of noiſe, this confuſion of voices, ſo totally unintelligible to all ſtrangers, was ſo far underſtood by the ſurrounding crowd, whoſe organs of hearing and perception ſeemed endued with powers calculated for the purpoſe, that the general clamour was frequently increaſed, or the jarring diſcord of the orators totally interrupted, by the loud ſhouts of approbation, or the deep roar of execration and threat, which they occaſionally drew forth [83].

In this ſtate of things Paris might rather be conſidered as a confederacy between ſixty diſtinct democratical republics, than as one commonwealth, or as acting under one ſimple form of government. Each individual diſtrict was independent in its own adminiſtration, and allowed no ſuperiority of diſtinction or authority to any other. Upon ſending deputies from one of theſe departments to confer with or make any propoſal to another, it was laughable to behold the mimick forms of ſtate ceremonial which were obſerved on both ſides, the deputies being treated with all the obſervance and honours which could have been ſhewn by one ſovereign power to the ambaſſador from another. In proceſs of time, a few of the moſt turbulent, noiſy, and, generally, the moſt profligate, demagogues, became the leaders in every aſſembly, and guiding the multitude at their pleaſure, all power, in every department, came, by degrees, to be virtually lodged in their hands; while the ſerious and better part of the citizens abſtained from attending theſe tumultuous meetings, where, independent of the inconvenience they ſuſtained from the noiſe and clamour, they were expoſed to the groſſeſt inſults from the loweſt of the rabble.

Thus, by degrees, the government of a million of people, who, having thrown off all eſtabliſhed authority and ſubordination, fancied themſelves free, and who might almoſt be ſaid to have gone mad in their purſuit of liberty, became placed in the hands of a few hundreds of the moſt worthleſs among themſelves; men equally deſtitute of character, property, principle, and the moſt common portion of moral, political, or general knowledge. Theſe, however, naturally became the inſtruments of men of much greater knowledge and capacity, but equally deſtitute of all public or private virtue. The new republican clubs, of which the *Jacobins* became the moſt noted, and who had their de-

83 The ingenious device of one of the preſidents of theſe aſſemblies will, perhaps, afford a clearer idea of the diſorder which prevailed in them than any deſcription. This man had a drummer conſtantly ſtationed at the back of his chair, and when the noiſe and tumult roſe to ſuch a pitch as to be inſupportable, and that all his efforts to produce order and ſilence were totally diſregarded, he gave the ſignal for beating the drum, which was done with ſuch vigour and effect, as ſoon to overpower all other noiſes; and this was continued until the people ſhewed ſome ſigns of recovering their temper and reaſon.

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pendent ſocieties, ready to exccute their orders upon the ſhorteſt notice, in every town in France, were compoſed of the moſt turbulent, daring, and hot-headed men in the kingdom, or perhaps that exiſted in any country. Many of theſe were adepts in the new philoſophy, and all of them ſufficiently learned in the new viſionary theories of government, to be capable of ſpreading confuſion and anarchy wherever their influence or communication could extend. All the republican party, the moſt viſionary theoriſts, and the boldeſt innovators in the National Aſſembly, became members of this club; and it ſoon became the faſhion that all laws, all meaſures, and all buſineſs, brought forward in that body, were firſt diſcuſſed, prepared, and digeſted by the Jacobins, whoſe ſanction was the ſure paſſport to ſucceſs. Being thus doubly fortified, ruling the tumultuous rabble in the ſixty departments of Paris, through the means of their inſtruments, the demagogues, who excited them to whatever pitch of outrage and violence they were directed, on the one hand; and governing the National Aſſembly itſelf, on the other, by a decided majority, procured, in a great degree, by the grand *revolutionary engine*, TERROR[84], their power ſeemed to be unbounded; the more eſpecially as it was extended through every part of the nation, by their deputies and emiſſaries. Thoſe of the club, whether members of the aſſembly or not, who were the moſt violent in their republican principles, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed for their invincible animoſity to monarchy in all its forms and relations—which they deteſted ſo much as not to endure even the name of king, but ſubſtituted the terms deſpot and tyrant in its ſtead—held the firſt place among the Jacobins, and gave the tone to all the reſt.

It appears from the letters publiſhed under the name of Groenvelt, who ſays he was preſent when many of the tranſactions which he relates took place, (and who, though profeſſedly a German, was a great admirer of the Revolution, as well as a ſtrong democrat in principle) that falſhoods and forgeries were the conſtant reſources and favourite weapons of the cabals in Paris. Some of the inſtances which he adduces in ſupport of this aſſertion are ſo curious, and at the ſame time throw ſo much light upon the hiſtory of the time, that it becomes neceſſary to inſert them. In writing to his ſuppoſed friend, he ſays—"You cannot form an idea of the impudence with which the moſt palpable "lies are publiſhed and propagated among the people. The moſt poſitive aſſertions, "the moſt minute details of facts, the ſtrongeſt appearances of probability, are made to "accompany the groſſeſt falſhoods. Fleſſelles was the victim of a pretended letter

[84] The influence of *terror* over the National Aſſemblies of France is confirmed by men of different parties, by men, too, who were themſelves members, and who could not, therefore, poſſibly be *miſtaken*. We have already cited the authority of M. de Lally-Tolendal on this ſubject, with regard to the firſt aſſembly; M. Mounier corroborates the fact; and *Briſſot* himſelf gives a decided confirmation to the aſſertion, which he extends to all the three aſſemblies, that have been convened, ſince the year 1788. He ſays "*With one ſingle word you might compoſe the greateſt* "*part of the hiſtory of* THREE *aſſemblies. This word is* FEAR." See Briſſot's letter to his conſtituents, *Engliſh tranſlation*, p. 15.

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" which every body could repeat by heart, but which nobody has ever ſeen. Of the " letter, which is the only evidence againſt Bezenval, there are in Paris a thouſand co- " pies, but no original. No ſooner is it whiſpered in ſome obſcure corner, that a certain " monaſtery is a magazine of arms, or of corn, than the report ſpreads with rapidity, " gathers ſtrength, becomes matter of certainty, and yet, the moment the houſe is exa- " mined, the whole is found to be groundleſs. The convent of Montmartre has been " twice beſet by twenty or thirty thouſand men, who threatened it with deſtruction, for " having engroſſed the provender of Paris; but no ſooner was it ſearched, by commiſ- " ſioners appointed for the purpoſe, than it appeared that it had barely proviſion enough " to ſupply the houſe."——" At one moment it is affirmed that the ariſtocratical con- " ſpirators have thrown a vaſt quantity of bread into the Seine; at another, that they " mowed the green corn: a party of the national guard is immediately ſent to the field, " where the crime is ſaid to have been committed, and finds the corn ſtanding, and af- " fording the proſpect of an abundant harveſt. In ſhort, the public is overwhelmed " with lies and calumnies, and a prudent man can ſcarcely give credit to any thing that " he has not ſeen himſelf."

And again—" Many of theſe falſhoods have certainly been deliberately fabricated to " ſerve party purpoſes; and ſome men, who probably miſtake a diſregard of all moral " obligations for profound policy, have been audacious and infamous enough to pub- " liſh falſhoods with the ſolemnities of laws. Letters have been forged in the name of " the National Aſſembly, and edicts in that of the king, exhorting the peaſants to de- " ſtroy the patents and pedigrees of the nobility, and to burn their caſtles. The effect " of theſe forgeries is already ſeen in the ruins and aſhes to which ſome of the fineſt " buildings in Dauphiny, Franche Compté, Brittany, and Burgundy, have been " reduced[85]."

The Pariſians had ever been noted, for uniting in their minds two qualities of a nature ſo directly oppoſite that their union ſeems ſcarcely credible—credulity and ſuſpi-

[85] See Groenvelt, (Engliſh tranſlation) p. 209 and 211; letter dated Auguſt 15th, 1789.

The ſcandalous and abominable propagation of falſhood and forgery, which Groenvelt here reprobates, continued at a much later period of the Revolution, and was even encouraged, promoted, and ſanctioned, by members of the National Aſſembly. On the ſixth of July 1791, the marquis de la Queuille, who had himſelf been elected a repreſentative of the nobility of Auvergne, but who had emigrated to Bruſſels before that period, wrote a letter to M. Merlin, a member of the Aſſembly, (which appeared in the *Gazette de Paris*) of which the following is an extract:

" You advanced an atrocious falſhood, Sir, when you read to the Aſſembly a pretended letter, in which the " king is accuſed of having authorized the army to deſert: you compoſed it yourſelf, in the ſame manner, as all thoſe " which *I have compoſed*, in the committee-rooms of the Aſſembly, and which I afterwards heard read in the houſe, " as coming from Brittany, Provence, and other places.—I here give you the *lie direct*."

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cion. While they had always been accuſtomed to ſwallow, and ſeemed nearly to live upon, an eternal ſucceſſion of the moſt abſurd and improbable tales and ſtories, plain and undiſguiſed truth was ever received with caution and doubt, and ſuppoſed to conceal ſome guile, deception, or danger. The extreme ignorance of theſe people, with reſpect to every thing beyond their own walls—an ignorance ſo *inveterate* as to be unexampled in any country of equal civilization, and ſo productive of men eminent in arts, ſciences, and learning, as France—had long afforded matter of obſervation to travellers, and of ridicule to poets and ſatyriſts. A conſideration of theſe circumſtances will tend much to account for and throw light upon many parts of the conduct of that extraordinary people, which would otherwiſe have appeared inconſiſtent or unintelligible.

The unbounded licentiouſneſs of the preſs, which was carried to an extreme before unknown under any government, was a moſt potent inſtrument of the Revolution. And, from the example of France, nations may learn this important truth, that as the freedom of the preſs is eſſential to the exiſtence of civil liberty, ſo its licentiouſneſs is wholly deſtructive thereof. Nor was that more extraordinary than the unceaſing induſtry with which it was eternally ſupplied with an inexhauſtible ſource of the moſt dangerous and inflammatory matter, ſubverſive of all order and government, was aſtoniſhing. For, amidſt the general darkneſs and ignorance which involved the people at large, there was a numerous portion of men who dedicated, or ſeemed to dedicate, their lives to the purſuit of literature. Of theſe the capital alone was computed to contain *twenty thouſand*; including, doubtleſs, a conſiderable number of perſons who aſſumed the name of literati, becauſe they had nothing to do, and could not claſs under any other deſcription. This twenty thouſand, however, from the advantage of their being concentrated in the capital, gave the law in matter of opinion, or at leaſt in whatever related to government and the new philoſophy, to the whole nation.

The theories now publiſhed were derived from the tenets of thoſe philoſophers who were ſo aptly characterized by the illuſtrious father of Lewis the Sixteenth[86]. They were, in general, abſtract, viſionary, unintelligible, or impracticable; and the authors ſeemed to run wildly in the purſuit of an imaginary phantom of perfection, which neither had nor could have exiſtence. They went not to the definition of the fundamental laws of the monarchy; not to the correction of errors, the removal of corrup-

[86] See vol. iv. p. 715. of this Hiſtory.—Nor could the tenets of theſe theoriſts be better deſcribed than they were by M. Seguier, in his ſpeech to the parliament, in September, 1775.—"*Falſe philoſophy*"—ſaid that magiſtrate—"which ſeeks but *to deſtroy*, under pretence of inſtructing; that body, ever active, though concealed, which ſeems "only occupied in preparing in darkneſs the means of effecting *a ſudden revolution in religion, in government, and in manners*;" &c.—Never did man diſplay greater judgment in appreciating the merits of a ſect, or greater penetration in foretelling the conſequences of their tenets!

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tions, or the adoption of ſalutary improvements, but to the abſolute ſubverſion of government under all its known forms, and to the looſening of all bands of civil ſociety, and the deſtruction of its harmony, beauty, and order. All the wiſdom of paſt ſages, philoſophers, and legiſlators, which had commanded the reſpect and veneration of all ages and of all nations; all that could be derived from the practical experience of ancient and modern times, in their exertions to promote or ſecure the felicity of mankind, were now holden out as objects of contempt and deriſion, and ſet wholly aſide to make way for the reveries of the new illuminators, who deſpiſed all experience, and diſdained all wiſdom but their own. It ſeemed as if the tranſactions of paſt ages had been conſigned to eternal oblivion, or that a new generation of men was juſt created, who were to mould every ſublunary thing anew [87].

Among the numerous inſtances of neglect in the conduct of the miniſters, none was attended with more fatal conſequences, than the ſhameful and unaccountable ſupineneſs with which they beheld the flame which was ſpreading from the licentiouſneſs of the preſs through every part of the kingdom, without their uſing a ſingle exertion to correct the cauſe, or to counteract the effect.

The enormity was accordingly carried to an extent beyond all example in any country. The numerous preſſes in Paris hourly groaned under the number of ſeditious and levelling pamphlets which they were continually bringing forth. Indeed their number almoſt exceeded belief; thirteen, and even ſixteen different pamphlets, in one day, were no matter of ſurprize; and ninety-two came out in one week; while the avidity for reading and procuring them was ſo great, that it was a matter of ſome difficulty to enter

87 Le Mercier, one of theſe literary peſts, who flattered himſelf that he had eſſentially contributed to bring about the Revolution, has publickly avowed the object, and gloried in the ſucceſs, of publications of this deſcription. To one of his works, in which he has *calumniated* Rouſſeau, by beſtowing on him praiſes which he certainly did not deſerve, and by aſcribing to him motives which he certainly never had harboured, he has adopted this motto—"They have deputed men to the States-General, we—*Men of Letters*—have deputed WORKS; and to thoſe works "are the National Aſſembly indebted for their original exiſtence, and their ſubſequent proſperity."

Speaking of the neceſſity of finding a counterpoiſe to the power of the military, whoſe ſole virtue, he ſays, conſiſted in a blind obedience to the orders of their ſuperiors; whoſe profeſſion it was to ſhed blood "for a geſture or a "word;" and who would have made no ſcruple to ſhed the blood of "*rebels*;" he tells us, that a counterpoiſe was ſupplied by "the general diſpoſition of men's minds,"—a diſpoſition entirely owing to the *generous writings*, to the *courageous harangues*, to the *bold thoughts*, to the *profound reaſoning* † of thoſe writers, who, for twenty years paſt, had employed (either anonymouſly or openly) all their faculties, all their talents, all their ſtrength, in combating *deſpotiſm*; for it is not to a few arms, to a few muſquets, that the preſent formidable Revolution is owing, but to the *works of literary men*. In this point of view, I congratulate myſelf on having publiſhed "The Year 2440," in 1771; "The Picture of Paris," in 1782; and "Notions upon Government," in 1787."

† A man who can thus ſpeak of *himſelf* muſt be endued with no common portion of *modeſty*!

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the bookſellers' ſhops, they were ſo conſtantly crowded. The price of printing had accordingly riſen in the capital to almoſt three times its cuſtomary rate per ſheet; and yet the preſſes in every part of France were ſaid to be at the ſame time equally occupied. But the moſt extraordinary circumſtances were the amazing diſpatch with which theſe innumerable productions were ſpread from the capital through every part of the kingdom, and the unknown fund by which the vaſt expences of the diſtribution were ſupported; the great body of the people being furniſhed with them *gratis*.

While theſe poured forth an unceaſing torrent of abuſe upon government, and were continually diſſeminating principles equally calculated to promote the overthrow of the monarchy, and the utter annihilation of the two firſt orders of the ſtate, the three parties whoſe exiſtence was at ſtake, the court, the nobles, and the clergy, betrayed an inattention to their own intereſt and ſafety, ſo wholly unaccountable, as to wear the appearance of downright inſenſibility. Not a ſingle writer of ability or eminence was engaged to refute the doctrines which were thus aſſiduouſly ſpread, or to counteract the poiſon which they ſo widely diffuſed. The few ſolitary volunteer pamphlets which appeared on that ſide, being written—with not more than three or four exceptions—by men without parts or information, poſſeſſed neither intereſt nor ſpirit to allure readers.

The famine which was ſorely felt, though not in an equal degree, in every part of the kingdom, may be conſidered as a main ſpring in accelerating all the movements of this ſingular revolution. Men in want of bread neceſſarily execrate and abhor that ſtate of things which produces their miſery. They are little diſpoſed to enquire into natural, or to trace remote cauſes, as the ſource of their diſtreſs; they find leſs trouble in charging it directly upon their rulers, and fancy ſome alleviation to their miſery in venting their indignation againſt them, even in words. The preſent ſtate of things in the other countries in Europe having prevented thoſe ſupplies from without, which might, in other caſes, have been procured, and the internal ſtock of proviſion being deemed inſufficient for the ſubſiſtence of the inhabitants, the moſt alert and wiſeſt government, ſuppoſing it to be in other reſpects at eaſe, and unembarraſſed by faction or danger, would have found it a matter of great difficulty to apply any effective remedy to the evil. But in the preſent ſtate of affairs, the haſty ill-judged regulations, founded upon miſtaken notions of a ſubject generally ill-underſtood, which were adopted, inſtead of good, produced the moſt unfortunate effects. Theſe, however, might have been palliated, if the ungovernable violence of the people, in obſtructing the free ſale of the markets, and compelling the proprietors to ſell their grain at whatever price they pleaſed to give, and the inſidious machinations of thoſe who ſought the accompliſhment of their own ſchemes in fomenting the ſpirit of popular diſcontent, had not completed the evil, and occaſioned an artificial famine while plenty ſtill ſubſiſted. It has even been aſſerted, that the ſtock of corn produced this year in the kingdom would have been ſufficient, under due regulation, management, and diſtribution, if not to afford abſolute plenty, at leaſt to prevent any great want.

In the general ill-temper of the people, continually goaded and irritated by the moſt urgent and inſupportable of all wants, it will be eaſily ſeen what advantages the emiſſaries of the factious poſſeſſed in working upon their paſſions; and ſpread as they were, like the preachers of a new religion, in every part of the kingdom, it will not be wondered at—the ignorance of the multitude being always kept in ſight—that they ſhould have ſucceeded in prompting them to the greateſt acts of outrage and violence.

But the great promoter of the Revolution, and, in ſuch a material degree as to render the appellation of "Author of the Revolution" not wholly inapplicable to him, was the duke of Orleans;—that man, who, deſtitute of ſpirit in himſelf, poſſeſſed and applied the means of communicating energy to millions, and of infuſing diſaffection and diſloyalty into every order of men, through that vaſt and populous kingdom. His immenſe fortune, which, under the guidance of wiſdom and virtue, might have been devoted to the accompliſhment of ſchemes the moſt ſalutary and beneficial, was now directed to the ruin of his country, to the ſubverſion of its government, and to the extermination of that royal family to which he was ſo nearly related[88].

In the conduct of this profligate prince is to be found a ſolution for many things which would otherwiſe appear unaccountable, or remain involved in the moſt impenetrable obſcurity. From hence it was that the gardens of the Palais Royal, and all the open places of Paris, were ſtocked with hungry, ignorant, and abandoned orators, and covered with riotous mobs, who ſucked in from theſe preachers every thing that could corrupt and poiſon the mind, and not only eradicate every moral principle, but deſtroy all the native feelings of humanity. Thus likewiſe was the ferocity of the Poiſſardes, and of all the other female furies of the capital, called into action; until the ſex, ſeeming to have totally changed its nature and character, was degraded and ſtained by atrocities, unequalled in any civilized country. And thus a numerous army of *Sans Culottes*, of ruffians from the gallies, and from every part of the kingdom, being incorporated with the no leſs ferocious brood of natives, were maintained and kept in readineſs for the purpoſes of rebellion, anarchy, and murder, as time and occaſion ſhould call forth their ſervices.

From the ſame abundant ſource of evil, crowds of couriers were diſpatched—as has before been obſerved—from the metropolis to every part of the kingdom, conveying every where the falſe intelligence, as if proceeding from the firſt authority, that the ariſtocrats were raiſing troops or armies of *Brigands*, in order to deſtroy or maſſacre the peaſants; and calling upon the latter to prevent the danger, by immediately taking up

[88] He was next in ſucceſſion to the crown, in the caſe of failure of iſſue male in the immediate reigning family.

arms

arms and deſtroying their enemies, the nobility, in the firſt inſtance; an injunction which they moſt willingly, and, in many places, moſt effectually, complied with. In the ſame manner was the prodigious expence ſupported, of ſo long diſſeminating throughout the kingdom thoſe innumerable ſeditious publications, which were daily preſented to the people. By the ſame means majorities were ſecured, and ſeveral of the principal orators and moſt popular demagogues in the new clubs were retained; and theſe clubs, as we have ſeen, by their dependent and correſponding ſocieties, which were eſtabliſhed in all the provincial towns, gave law to the whole nation. Nor was the National Aſſembly by any means exempted from the ſame influence, nor was the effect it produced on many of its members leſs known.

As the duke's annual revenues, extenſive as they were, were ſtill unequal to the ſupply of theſe numberleſs drains, he deemed it neceſſary to apply to other ſources. Indeed, with ſuch vaſt objects in view, and after the ſacrifice of ſo much wealth as was already expended, it ſeemed upon the principles of gaming that it was better to encounter any riſque of future evil, than to ſtop ſhort in ſuch a ſtate of things, and when ſo much was already ſtaked. Holland always affords money, as well as numberleſs ſpeculators who wiſh to make the moſt of it, and the duke's vaſt eſtates ſeemed to hold out ample ſecurity for a loan. The amount of the ſums he borrowed is uncertain, and has been rated from three hundred thouſand pounds to half a million ſterling [89].

It is evident, however, that the duke not only totally miſtook his own abilities, but that he was as little ſenſible of the ill-effects which his unfortunate character could not but produce, when he adopted the wild idea of being able to ſubvert or circumvent all other factions, and of being able to riſe on the ſhoulders of men, poſſeſſing talents infinitely ſuperior to his own, and of rendering them the inſtruments to the accompliſhment of his ambitious views. The natural deficiency of reſolution and courage, with which every body knew he was curſed, was, independent of all others, an inſeparable bar to his ever becoming, under any change of circumſtances, or in any courſe of events, the ruler of ſo ungovernable and ſo outrageous a people. Yet in this blind purſuit he laviſhed treaſures, which, in many paſt periods, might, by proper application, have amounted in effect to the requiſition of a kingdom.

An opinion was advanced by many, even at an early period of the Revolution, which, illiberal as it may at firſt appear, and unpleaſant as the ſenſations are which it muſt naturally excite in a liberal mind, ſeems to have acquired a conſiderable degree of ſtrength and confirmation from the courſe of ſubſequent events; viz.—That the French, as a

[89] It has been obſerved, that the niceſt and moſt difficult calculation would be to eſtimate the exact quantum of moral and political evil which ſuch a ſum, in ſuch hands, was then capable of producing in France.

nation, were not yet in a ſtate capable of receiving liberty; and that many intermediate preparatory ſteps would have been neceſſary to qualify them for ſo great a bleſſing. Even Rabaud de Saint Etienne, the apologiſt for, and advocate of, the Revolution, amidſt all his ſins of ſuppreſſion aud miſrepreſentation, and all the artful colouring which he has given to facts and circumſtances, acknowledges, "That the people, aſtoniſhed at "ſeeing their chains broken with ſuch facility, and at feeling their own ſtrength, "abuſed that ſtrength in taking vengeance of their oppreſſors; and their new liberty "was, as yet, but licentiouſneſs. General hatred, in its blind rage, ſought every where "to puniſh enemies, pointed out to it by chance or by prejudice. A never-ceaſing in-"quietude tormented theſe freemen born of yeſterday; in their neceſſity for a new or-"der of things, and for a ſovereign juriſdiction, they ſeized and engroſſed all juriſdiction "to themſelves; and ſeveral tumultuous aſſaſſinations were the fruit of this delirium." And, again, in his remarks on the two parties which divided the National Aſſembly, he ſays, "One ſentiment, however, predominated there, and that was the dread of the ef-"fects which anarchy, *too long continued*, might occaſion."—The *too long* continuation of anarchy muſt apply to the well-founded charge preferred againſt ſeveral members of the Aſſembly, that they had been the inſtigators and authors of many of the diſtractions and enormities which took place in the provinces.

The outrages, conflagrations, and maſſacres, which were ſpreading deſolation through various parts of the kingdom, had, in a ſhorter ſpace of time than could well have been conceived, riſen to ſuch a pitch of enormity, as at length to communicate alarm and diſmay even to the National Aſſembly, fortified as it was by the ſuffrages of the nation, and ſupported by the numerous army formed in the capital. For in conſequence of the forged orders and falſe intelligence which had been ſo villainouſly conveyed to the peaſantry, the whole nation was inſtantly in arms, and theſe operating upon the evil diſpoſition of the people, and the abhorrence in which they now held their ancient maſters, it ſeemed as if no bound could limit their violence, and no exceſs of cruelty ſatiate their revenge. Thus the nobility were, in many places, hunted down like wild beaſts, their family ſeats or caſtles demoliſhed, and their patents, pedigrees, title-deeds, family ſettlements, court-rolls, and all records of paſt tranſactions, deſtroyed by fire. Happy were thoſe who, even in this ſtate, plundered of every thing, could eſcape half-naked from the flames, without perſonal injury. But in too many inſtances ſuch acts of atrocity were committed that humanity ſhudders at the recital. Some few of theſe we have quoted from the count de Lally-Tolendal; but, ſhocking as many of them were, they fall ſhort, in point of enormity, of many others, the recital of which great pains have been taken to ſuppreſs. In many inſtances, it has been aſſerted, by men whoſe veracity we are not permitted to doubt, the wives of the nobility were violated, and their daughters deflowered, in the preſence of the unhappy fathers and huſbands; and the horrid tragedy frequently concluded by the moſt inhuman murders, aggravated by circumſtances of deliberate and almoſt unexampled cruelty, without regard to age or ſex. Nor—dreadful to relate!

—were

—were theſe cruelties, in any degree, confined to ſuch perſons as had previouſly rendered themſelves odious by their pride or oppreſſion; but, on the contrary, the moſt kind and benevolent landlords and maſters, the moſt humane and charitable to their neighbours and the poor, were expoſed to the ſame fate with thoſe of the moſt oppoſite diſpoſitions.

Although the ſpirit of revolt appeared in various and remote parts of the kingdom at nearly the ſame inſtant, yet the degrees of violence and cruelty with which it was attended were widely different in different parts. The northern provinces were much more temperate than the central and ſouthern. The exceſſes at Lyons and in the Lyonnois rivalled thoſe of Paris in violence and fury. The province of Dauphiny was in the moſt violent ferment, the whole people being up in arms. Franche-Compté and part of Burgundy ſeemed particularly marked as ſcenes of deſolation. The Bretons, long trained in hoſtility with their lords, were in a ſtate of abſolute rebellion and anarchy. At Straſburgh, the town-houſe was totally demoliſhed by the mob, being firſt plundered of all that appeared to them valuable, the court-papers, records, and public archives being carefully deſtroyed, to the future diſtreſs and ruin of numberleſs families in the ſurrounding country, as well as in that city.

In a few places, the gentlemen and other proprietors of land had the ſpirit and ſenſe to unite and ſtand ſucceſsfully on their defence. This was the caſe, though too late, in the Maçonnois and Beaujolois, where the banditti, amounting to ſix or ſeven thouſand, and headed by a village attorney, had already ſpread deſtruction along the fertile banks of the Saone, having, in a few days, burned ſeventy-two gentlemen's houſes, and plundered all the churches and ſmall towns in their way. A battle took place, in which the enraged proprietors, with their friends and ſervants, defeated the plunderers with great ſlaughter. They then inſtituted a kind of temporary tribunal at Maçon, for trying the ringleaders of the banditti, twenty or thirty of whom were condemned to ſuffer death. The democratic publications in Paris cried out loudly againſt this proceeding, as being highly illegal and arbitrary, although not a word of condemnation had been uttered againſt the ruffians who had plundered and burned ſo many gentlemen's houſes, nor of pity for the inhabitants of that beautiful country which they had deſolated. The National Aſſembly received the impreſſion intended by theſe publications, for in a ſhort time, they interfered, by putting a ſtop to the proceedings at Maçon, while a number of atrocious criminals ſtill remained to be tried. Their interference, indeed, would have been highly proper, had it not been *partial*, and had it been accompanied by proper regulations for enforcing a rigorous adminiſtration of criminal juſtice.

Such was the ſtate of things, at the beginning of the month of Auguſt, the period fixed by the Aſſembly for the commencement of that important taſk which they choſe to

to take upon themſelves, of giving a *new* conſtitution to a kingdom that had ſubſiſted, as a monarchy, for upwards of fourteen centuries. Inauſpicious as the general aſpect of affairs undoubtedly was, the proceedings of the Aſſembly itſelf at this period were by no means calculated to diſpel the gloom which it had caſt over the minds of all rational men. On the firſt of the month, M. Thouret, an advocate of Rouen, was elected, by a conſiderable majority, to ſucceed the duke de Liancourt in the preſident's chair. As M. Thouret had *hitherto* diſplayed the moſt moderate principles, he had rendered himſelf odious to the democratic faction, who had marked him as an *ariſtocrat* [90]; and the deciſion of the majority was no ſooner declared than the moſt violent and indecent ſymptoms of diſapprobation were exhibited on the oppoſite ſide of the houſe. The democrats aſſerted that his nomination was a triumph of ariſtocracy that ought not to be tolerated; their diſcontent was ſpeedily communicated to the Palais-Royal, where not only murmurs were increaſed, but *threats* were multiplied; and ſuch was the tumult this matter was expected to produce, that M. Thouret, with more prudence than fortitude, reſigned the ſtation he had been choſen to fill, and thereby gave encouragement to a deſperate faction, who from that moment plainly perceived that, by the operation of *terror*, they could at any time bias the majority of the Aſſembly, and ſuperinduce the adoption of their own propoſitions:—under ſuch auſpices, the *conſtitutional* labours of the Aſſembly began [91].

Had every member entertained the ſame ideas on this weighty buſineſs as ſeems to have been entertained by the count de Lally-Tolendal, and ſome others, the Aſſembly could never have committed thoſe groſs errors, which led to a violation of the fundamental principles of the monarchy. The count tells us [92], that hearing a great number of the deputies declaring that the Aſſembly was a *National Convention*, and concluding from thence that *they were empowered to act in the ſame manner as at the firſt inſtant in which a ſociety is formed, and as if there was nothing exiſting previous to the eſtabliſhments they were about to make*, he was induced to examine the principle whence ſuch a conſequence was deduced. With this view he firſt endeavoured to define the word *Convention*; and as the French took the expreſſion from the Engliſh, he was naturally led to adopt the definition of Hume, who calls it—a parliament aſſembled without the uſual forms. He then adverted to the Scotch Convention in 1637, and to the Conventions holden in England on the reſtoration of Charles the Second, and after the abdication of his ſucceſſor, in which caſes, he found—to uſe his own expreſſion—that the bonds of government had been broken.

[90] Expoſé de la Conduite de M. Mounier, p. 31.—Mémoire de M. de Lally-Tolendal, p. 107.

[91] Rouſſeau, in ſome one of his political writings, has obſerved, that a conſtitution formed in times of anarchy and tumult bears within it the principles of its own deſtruction!

[92] P. 108, et ſuiv.

"Thank

"Thank heaven"—ſays the count—"we were not in ſuch circumſtances. At the "period of our convocation, the government was not diſſolved; the national parliament "of France had been aſſembled with the uſual forms; it had been convened by the "king, in the ſame manner as all the national aſſemblies which had been holden ſince "the time of Charlemagne. Therefore we were not a *National Convention*.

"If by that title was meant an aſſembly of plenipotentiaries, to whom the nation had "delegated the taſk of giving it a government, and of dictating ſuch laws as they ſhould "deem expedient, it was a queſtion of *fact*:—Where were our powers? We had only "to read them: they certainly told us no ſuch thing. Therefore, we were not a *Nation-"al Convention*.

"The ſupporters of this doctrine had recourſe to a variety of abſtract arguments, which "were literally reduced to this,—*That the conſtituting power had conſtituted us a conſtitu-"ting power with regard to the conſtitution, but conſidered us as conſtituted with regard to "the laws*[93]. Before it was neceſſary to take the trouble of comprehending this, there "was fortunately a fact to be eſtabliſhed. Were theſe definitions; theſe diſtinctions "to be found in our powers? Aſſuredly not. Therefore we were not a *National Con-"vention*.

"The abbé Seyes himſelf, when he propoſed to us to reduce to practice that brilliant "theory which made the world young again for the purpoſe of regenerating France, "warned us, that we could only decree it *proviſionally*; and that, in order to render it "definitive, a new extraordinary convocation would be neceſſary. Therefore we were "not a *National Convention*.

"In ſhort, we had mandates, inſtructions, which, while they left us to exerciſe our "diſcretion on other objects, were imperative and obligatory on conſtitutional points. "As to the propriety of receiving inſtructions generally, that was a queſtion which "was open to diſcuſſion; but the fact was that we *had* inſtructions[94], and the ſtrongeſt "argument adduced in oppoſition to them was here of no avail, for, *on the ſubject of the*

[93] Unintelligible as this may appear to the Engliſh reader, it is certainly no leſs ſo in French—*Le pouvoir conſti-tuant nous avoit conſtitués pouvoir conſtituant quant a la conſtitution, et pour conſtitué quant aux lois.*

[94] The policy or expediency of compelling members to follow implicitly the inſtructions of their conſtituents, is a queſtion on which much ſound argument may be adduced on either ſide. But, as far as it regarded the members of the National Aſſembly, it was a ſettled point: for we have ſhewn, in a former part of this Hiſtory, (*See* vol. ii. p. 282. *note*) that the members of the States-General were invariably conſidered as the mere organs of the people, whoſe mandates they were bound to receive, and to whoſe inſtructions it was their duty literally to adhere. We there ſhewed, too, that deputies who had ventured to act, *without* orders, were *diſowned* by their conſtituents.

"*conſtitution*

" *conſtitution they were almoſt unanimous.* It was difficult to maintain that thoſe who had " given us the right of exerciſing a general will, could not have had a ſingle will of " their own. In fact, they had manifeſted their will; they had entruſted the execution " of it to us, and we had taken charge of it. Therefore, we were not only not a *Na-* " *tional Convention*, if we followed our inſtructions *(Cahiers)*; but, if we did not follow " them, on conſtitutional points, *we were nothing*; *for he who infringes upon, who anni-* " *hilates, the title by which he holds his power, remains without title and without power.*"

The majority of the Aſſembly, unfortunately, were of a different opinion; but while they were engaged in preliminary diſcuſſions on their memorable declaration of rights, they were ſuddenly interrupted by the arrival, in one day, (the fourth of Auguſt) of expreſſes or letters from every part of the kingdom, with details of the dreadful devaſtations which were laying waſte the face of the country, and which, from their preſent appearance and violence, ſeemed to threaten nothing leſs than ſpeedy and general deſtruction.

All the landed proprietors in the Aſſembly were, in a greater or leſs degree, involved in the calamity; with the material difference, that while many had to lament the deſtruction of their houſes, and the plunder of all their moveable property, others had as yet no farther cauſe of complaint than the general refuſal of the tenantry to pay their rents, or to fulfil any of their other cuſtomary duties. The terror was, however, general; and having had leiſure, during the ſeaſon allotted for dinner, to ruminate upon the dreadful details which they had received, conflagrations, murders, and maſſacres, were the only ſubjects of their thoughts or converſation. Nothing could accordingly be more gloomy than their appearance in going to the evening ſitting; and before the commencement of buſineſs, an unuſual and extraordinary degree of agitation was viſible throughout the Aſſembly. " Upon the ſame principle on which mariners, under the immediate danger of " a tempeſt, will throw much valuable property overboard, in the hope of ſaving the re- " mainder; ſo it would ſeem upon this occaſion, that the great land-owners were ſeized " with a ſudden impulſe of voluntarily ſacrificing a large portion of their rights and " poſſeſſions, in the hope of retaining thereby quiet and permanent ſecurity for what was " left." They ſeemed alſo to have adopted the idea that a ſincere coalition with the Third Eſtate was become indiſpenſably requiſite to their preſervation.

It was eight o'clock when the Aſſembly met, and the ſitting opened by the peruſal of the following decree, propoſed by the committee of reports, and intended to ſecure the country from any farther depredations of the populace.—" The National Aſſembly, " conſidering that, while it is ſolely occupied in eſtabliſhing the happineſs of the peo- " ple on the baſis of a free conſtitution, the troubles and violences which deſolate dif- " ferent provinces fill the minds of men with alarm, and violate, in the moſt fatal man- " ner

" ner, the ſacred rights of property and perſonal ſafety; that theſe diſorders cannot " fail to retard the labours of the Aſſembly, and to promote the criminal deſigns of the " enemies to the public good; declares, that the ancient laws ſhall ſubſiſt, and ought to " be executed, until ſuch time as the authority of the nation ſhall have abrogated or " modified them; that the collection of the old taxes ought to be continued agreeably " to the terms of the decree of the National Aſſembly of the ſeventeenth of June laſt, " until it ſhall have eſtabliſhed contributions and forms leſs onerous to the people.

" That all quit-rents, and other cuſtomary dues, ought to be paid as formerly, until the " Aſſembly ſhall have otherwiſe ordained.

" That, laſtly, the laws eſtabliſhed for the ſafety of individuals, and the ſecurity of " property, ought to be univerſally reſpected.

" The preſent declaration ſhall be ſent into all the provinces; and the pariſh prieſts " ſhall be invited to make it known to their pariſhioners, and to recommend the obſer- " vance of it."

Immediately after this decree had been read, the viſcount de Noailles, ſeconded by the duke d'Aiguillon, opened that extraordinary ſcene, which has rendered the night of the fourth of Auguſt ſo memorable in the annals of this extraordinary revolution. The firſt of theſe noblemen ſaid—" The object of the decree which you have juſt heard, is to " put a ſtop to the effervеſcence which prevails in the provinces, to confirm the public " liberty, and to ſecure to proprietaries their lawful rights. But how can we hope to " accompliſh this object, without knowing the cauſe of the inſurrection which appears " in the kingdom; and how can we expect to ſuppreſs it, without applying a remedy to " the evil which occaſions the convulſion?

" The communities have preferred certain demands; it is not a conſtitution which " they have deſired; the bailiwicks alone have expreſſed a wiſh for that. What then " have they aſked?—the ſuppreſſion of *aides* and ſubdelegates; and the diminution or " exchange of ſeignorial rights.

" The communities have ſeen their repreſentatives occupied, for more than three " months, with what we call, and what is in fact, the public welfare *(la choſe publique)*; " but the public welfare appears to them to call, in a particular manner, for the comple- " tion of their deſires, which they are ſo anxious to obtain.

" In conſequence of the differences which took place between the national repreſen- " tatives, the inhabitants of the country had been taught to diſtinguiſh only two de-

" ſcriptions of men—thoſe whom they themſelves had armed, and who were ſolicitous " to *promote* their happineſs;—and the powerful perſons who *oppoſed* it. In this ſtate of " things, what has happened?—They deemed themſelves juſtified in oppoſing force to " force; and now they ſcorn all reſtraint. The conſequence is, that, at this moment, " the kingdom is reduced to the alternative of ſuffering a total diſſolution of ſociety, or " of eſtabliſhing a government which will be an object of admiration and *imitation* to " all Europe. How is this government to be eſtabliſhed?—By the reſtoration of public " tranquillity. How is public tranquillity to be reſtored?—By calming the people, " by ſhowing them that we only reſiſt their efforts to deſtroy what it is their *intereſt* to " preſerve.

" To obtain this tranquillity, ſo eſſentially neceſſary, I propoſe;—1. That the decla- " ration projected by the committee be preceded by a reſolution, that the repreſentatives " of the nation have decided that all taxes ſhall in future be paid by every individual in " the kingdom, and in proportion to the income he enjoys;—2. That all public burdens " ſhall be equally borne by every member of the ſtate;—3. That all feudal rights ſhall " be redeemable, by the communities, in money, or exchanged, after a fair valuation, " ſettled on the average produce of ten years;—4. That all obligations to work for the " lord on the roads, rights of *main-morte*, and other perſonal ſervices, ſhall be aboliſhed " without any ranſom."

The duke d'Aiguillon, when he roſe to ſecond this motion, ſaid—" There is no man " but ſhudders at the ſcene of horror which France now exhibits to his ſight. This " effervеſcence of the people, which tended to confirm freedom when guilty miniſters " wiſhed to deprive us of the bleſſing, is become an obſtacle to the progreſs of that free- " dom, now that the views of government ſeem to accord with our deſires for the pub- " lic happineſs. The provinces are not only over-run by a horde of armed plunderers, " who ſeek to enrich themſelves in the midſt of calamity; but in many of them the " whole body of the people form a kind of league for the deſtruction of gentlemen's " ſeats, for the deſolation of their eſtates, and eſpecially for the ſeizure of their title- " deeds. They endeavour, in ſhort, to throw off a yoke under which they have la- " boured for ages; and it muſt be acknowledged, gentlemen, that this inſurrection, al- " though criminal—for every violent aggreſſion is ſo—may find its excuſe in the vexa- " tions which gave riſe to it. The proprietors of fiefs and lordſhips are very ſeldom " guilty of theſe exceſſes of which their vaſſals complain; but their agents are often de- " void of pity; and the wretched farmer, ſubjected to the barbarous relics of the feudal " laws ſtill ſubſiſting in France, becomes the victim of oppreſſive conſtraint. Theſe " rights, it cannot be denied, are a *property*, and all *property is ſacred*; but they are " onerous to the people, and every body muſt allow they are productive of continual " reſtraint.

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" In this *enlightened age*, in which *ſound philoſophy* has recovered her empire; at this " fortunate epoch, when, united for the public good, and diſengaged from all perſonal in- " tereſt, we are about to *regenerate* the ſtate, it appears to me, gentlemen, that we " ſhould, previous to the eſtabliſhment of that conſtitution which the nation ſo an- " xiouſly expects from us, prove to all the citizens, that it is our intention, our wiſh to " anticipate their deſires, and to eſtabliſh, with all poſſible ſpeed, that equality of rights " which ought to exiſt between all men, and which can alone render liberty ſecure. I " have not a doubt but that the proprietors of fiefs, and the lords of manors, far from " denying this truth, are diſpoſed to ſacrifice their rights to juſtice. They have already " renounced their privileges, their pecuniary exemptions, and, at this time, they cannot " be required to make a ſimple and unconditional renunciation of their feudal rights. " Thoſe rights are their property, they conſtitute the whole fortune of many indivi- " duals; and equity forbids to exact the reſignation of any property, without granting a " juſt indemnity to the proprietor who ſacrifices his convenience to the public good. " From theſe potent conſiderations, and to convince the people that you are efficaciouſly " employed in promoting their deareſt intereſts, it is my wiſh that the National Aſſem- " bly ſhould declare that taxes ſhall in future be borne equally by every claſs of citi- " zens, in proportion to their incomes, and that all the feudal rights attached to fiefs and " lordſhips ſhall be redeemed by the vaſſals of thoſe fiefs and lordſhips; and it is my " opinion that they ought to buy them at thirty years purchaſe.

There is no nation on the globe ſo ſuſceptible of ſudden impreſſions, and ſo ſubject to the moſt impaſſioned emotions, as the French are, and ever have been. Whether the object of their purſuit be a trifle the moſt inſignificant, or a matter the moſt important, the ardour and enthuſiaſm of the moment always appear to be the ſame. It would be vain, therefore, to attempt by deſcription to convey any idea of the tranſports which theſe ſpeeches excited both in the Aſſembly and in the galleries. The very large poſſeſſions and extenſive royalties of the duke d'Aiguillon added ſurpriſingly to the effect, and inſpired every body with a wiſh to be able, in ſome degree, to emulate the *apparent* magnanimity of his conduct. The contagion quickly ſpread through the two orders of the nobles and clergy, and the contention was only which ſhould be the firſt to offer, and which ſhould make the greateſt ſacrifices to the public welfare. The commons ſeemed loſt in admiration at this ſudden and unexampled fit of patriotiſm, and frequently burſt into loud and involuntary acclamations of praiſe and gratitude for the benefits which were thus ſo unexpectedly and generouſly conferred on the people. This was particularly the caſe when the biſhop of Chartres, who was himſelf poſſeſſed of very extenſive foreſts, propoſed the abolition of the excluſive rights of the chaſe; which, from the extreme cruelty of the laws by which they were protected, as well as the miſchief done by the ſtags, boars, and other game, to the farmers, had ever been deemed a grievance of the firſt magnitude.

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The commons conducted themſelves with great art upon this occaſion,[95] not ſuffering their admiration to overcome their temper, or their judgment to be ſunk in their applauſe. They coolly perceived all the advantages to be drawn from the preſent fervour, and determined not to let any of them eſcape, but to obtain every poſſible conceſſion while it laſted, well aware of the change which the cool conſideration of a few hours might produce in many of thoſe whoſe enthuſiaſm appeared the moſt ardent. The deſign was ſo well conducted that it was attended with the fulleſt ſucceſs; and, ſtimulated by emulation, and blinded by applauſe, nothing that was demanded could be withholden. The conteſt between the nobles and the clergy, now ſeemed to be, who ſhould be foremoſt in ſacrificing the rights of chaſe, of fiſhing, of warren, and of dove-houſes. The pariſh-prieſts, feeling the general impreſſion, and eager to emulate, as far as they were able, the example of their ſuperiors in rank and fortune, ruſhed forward to make a free offering of their cuſtomary perquiſites; while the beneficiaries, diſdaining to be left behind in the race for glory and popularity, diſclaimed all pluralities, and bound themſeves never to hold more than a ſingle benefice.

But amidſt the heat of enthuſiaſm, one member, M. Dupont, of Nemours, cauſed the cool voice of reaſon to be heard. He took a curſory view of the dreadful diſorders which prevailed in the kingdom, which he very juſtly aſcribed to the inactivity of all the agents of power: he demonſtrated, that no political ſociety could exiſt without laws, and without tribunals for the ſecurity of freedom, the ſafety of perſons, and the preſervation of property: he inſiſted upon the neceſſity of maintaining the laws, imperfect as they were, which had for their object the preſervation of general order: he repreſented, that the ancient tribunals exiſted both in law and in fact, and muſt exiſt until they ſhould be legally ſuppreſſed; that it was not poſſible for the repreſentatives of the nation to reform the legiſlation, until they ſhould have firſt determined, by the conſtitution itſelf, in what manner the new laws ſhould be propoſed, adopted, and executed; and that it was eſſentially requiſite, that the reſtoration of tranquillity, peace, and juſtice, through-

95 M. le Guen de Kerengalb, with a view, doubtleſs, to ſtimulate the nobility to the ſacrifice of all feudal ſervices, took great pains to repreſent them in the moſt diſguſting point of view: he enumerated all thoſe *excreſcences* of the ancient feudal ſyſtem, which were beſt calculated to excite horror and diſguſt; among others, he mentioned the laws of certain cuſtoms, in which the vaſſals were liable to be yoked to the cart of their lord, like beaſts of burden; in ſome, they were ſubject to paſs whole nights in beating the ponds, that his reſt might not be diſturbed by the croaking of frogs; in others they were compelled to keep his dogs; in particular diſtricts, a law was ſaid to have prevailed, which authorized the lord, on his return from hunting, to rip open the bellies of two of his vaſſals, that he might refreſh his feet in their warm bowels. It is almoſt needleſs to obſerve that theſe laws were ſo obſolete, that we believe ſcarcely a ſingle inſtance of their being enforced is to be met with in any of the moſt ancient hiſtorians; nor were they by any means peculiar to France, ſince in moſt countries where the feudal ſyſtem has prevailed in its utmoſt rigour, for any length of time, ſimilar veſtiges of the barbariſm of the early ages of ſociety are to be found. But though it never could be ſuppoſed, for a moment, that *ſuch* obſolete laws, or rather cuſtoms, would ever be revived, ſtill, as poſſible inſtruments of miſchief in the hands of tyranny, their abolition was juſt and proper.

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out the empire, ſhould relieve the National Aſſembly from all other ſolicitude but that which naturally reſulted from the taſk impoſed upon it, of ſelecting and fixing the elements of a *wiſe* and *durable* conſtitution.

He therefore propoſed the adoption of a declaration, that every citizen was bound to obey the laws, and to reſpect the liberty, ſafety, and property of his fellow-citizens; that the tribunals ought inceſſantly to act, in order to enforce the execution of thoſe laws, which enjoined, as did alſo the repreſentatives of the nation, the city militia and all military corps to ſtand forward in promoting the re-eſtabliſhment of order and peace, and in affording protection to perſons and property, as often as they ſhould be called upon for that purpoſe, by the municipalities and the civil magiſtrates.

To crown, as it were, the events of this memorable night, the deputies of the *Pais d'Etat*, with thoſe of ſeveral privileged towns, advanced in ſucceſſion, and offered up the ſacrifice of their ancient rights and charters, at the ſame time expreſſing their deſire, that there ſhould be no more provinces, that there ſhould be but one ſole nation, one ſole family, one ſole empire.

In the higheſt exceſs of the joy and enthuſiaſm, which obtained in the aſſembly, both were ſuddenly checked by the ill-timed avidity of a member of the commons, who propoſed the total abolition of all manorial juriſdictions. As this by no means came within the line of intended conceſſion, it could not but occaſion a ſhort pauſe; the nobility, however, agreed to the propoſal with a tolerable grace: but one of them inſtantly returned the favour by moving, that juſtice ſhould, for the future, be, in all caſes, adminiſtered gratuitouſly, and that judicial offices ſhould no longer be venal—a motion calculated to cut off the commons from almoſt the only means they poſſeſſed of being ever ennobled. That body, however, diſdained to be outdone even in the appearances of patriotiſm; and the motion was accordingly received and confirmed with the ſtrongeſt marks of approbation.

This circumſtance undoubtedly contributed to give riſe to an opinion, which has been adopted by ſome, that the buſineſs of this celebrated night was neither more nor leſs than a game of *croſs-purpoſes*, played by the contending parties; that the ſacrifices made were moſtly dictated by a ſpirit of revenge, when one party, incenſed by the loſſes it had been made to ſuffer, propoſed to the other acts of generoſity by way of puniſhment; and that they mutually dared each other to conceſſions, of which thoſe who ſuggeſted them expected to enjoy the honour, without feeling the inconveniencies. [96]

[96] This opinion appears to us to be more refined than juſt; ſtill, though there be an appearance of illiberality in aſcribing generous actions to bad motives, we cannot but think that the duke d'Aiguillon, one of the principal actors

Whatever may be the juſtice of ſuch an opinion, thus much is certain: that many things were done that night, in the heat of enthuſiaſm, which were afterwards, upon cool recollection, ſorely regretted; and it is poſitively aſſerted, that ſeveral of the nobility, who had from the beginning been eminent for their patriotiſm, and for the ſhare they had taken in forwarding a reform of the old government, were, notwithſtanding, ſo much diſguſted by the proceedings of this night, that they immediately abandoned the popular ſide and party, and ranked from thence among the moſt determined ariſtocrats.

The aſſembly, however, conſidering this as a complete regeneration of France, decreed that a medal ſhould be ſtricken, in order to immortalize the acts of that great and glorious night, as they termed it; and, tranſported by the warmth of their paſſions, and the eagerneſs of their zeal, they conferred upon the king the flattering and glorious, but ſhort-lived title of *Reſtorer of French Liberty*; and ordered a deputation to preſent him with the decrees, together with the homage of his regenerated kingdom, and to addreſs him by his new title. When Chapelier, the preſident, and the deputation, had addreſſed the king, he concluded his anſwer to them with the following words: "Let us go and return thanks "to God, for the generous ſentiments which prevail in your aſſembly." A ſolemn Te Deum was accordingly celebrated, and attended by the whole aſſembly, Chapelier (the leader and founder of the famous Breton club, ſo inveterately hoſtile to monarchy) walking, as preſident, though a commoner, by the ſide of the king; and thus, in the opinion of *M. Rabaud de Saint Etienne*, properly ſupporting the majeſty of the people. It is likewiſe obſerved, by the ſame writer, that this was the firſt benediction of religion over the birth of liberty.

It is remarkable that the liberal conduct of the clergy, on this memorable occaſion, failed to procure, either from the nobles or commons, thoſe acknowledgments which they moſt richly deſerved. On the contrary, there were ſtrong indications, both then and after, that they were deſtined to be forſaken by both parties; and all the good-humour and harmony of the fourth of Auguſt was wound up by a motion, ſucceeded by a long and earneſt debate, for the ſuppreſſion of their tithes.

This debate was reſumed on the next day, and continued on the ſucceeding, and the motion oppoſed with great vigour. The celebrated Abbé Sieyes, with all his abſtract no-

tors in this ſcene, was rather ſwayed by party, than influenced by patriotiſm, in the ſacrifices he made; and that the apparent magnanimity of his conduct may fairly be imputed to his attachment to the *Orleans* faction, which would naturally lead him to diminiſh, as much as poſſible, that influence and power of the nobles, which would infallibly be exerted to protect their ſovereign from the inſidious plans and wicked machinations of a faction that manifeſtly ſought his deſtruction. Our opinion on this ſubject is founded on the ſubſequent conduct of the duke d'Aiguillon, to which we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to advert.—The Abbé Sabatier tells us, that the night of the fourth of Auguſt was by the nobles called, *the night of the ſacrifices*, but, by the commons, it was termed, *the night of the dupes*. Journal. Polit. Tom. 2. p. 25.

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tions of government, was ſtill a firm adherent to the rights of the church, at leaſt in thoſe things that related to her eſtabliſhment and independence; and he oppoſed this violent invaſion of both with equal ardour and ability. He had not been preſent at the firſt debate, but, apprized of the intention to ſeize the tithes without an indemnification, he rapidly compoſed an elaborate diſcourſe, which he carried to the aſſembly[97], replete with ſound argument, but not more argumentative than acrimonious, ſtrongly urging the violence, oppreſſion, and injuſtice, of the propoſed meaſures, as well as the inſecurity and danger to which the precedent would expoſe all other property; and inſiſting, that the cauſe he was ſupporting was not merely that of the church, but of all property whatever. The abbé, who was uſually collected and compoſed, upon this occaſion aſcended the tribune in great and viſible wrath; but this only ſerved to encreaſe the animation and vehemence with which he urged his arguments. He demonſtrated, with great perſpicuity and legal accuracy, that the tithes were not a tax impoſed by the nation, but a rent-charge laid upon their eſtates by the original proprietors for the maintenance of the church; that the actual proprietors had purchaſed their eſtates ſubject to this rent-charge; and that the legiſlature had no authority to transfer this, which was a real property, from the hands of the clergy to the landholders, who had no legitimate nor apparent claim to it. He concluded a very forcible ſpeech, by boldly telling the Aſſembly, that "*They wiſhed to be free, but knew not how to be juſt*[98]."

Though the abbé had been no ſmall favourite with the Aſſembly, and his ſpeeches, upon other occaſions, commanded particular attention, yet his arguments now, inſtead of producing effect or conviction, were heard with the utmoſt impatience, and with marks of diſapprobation which amounted even to interruption, both by the nobility and the commons. Whether his reaſons were ſo ſtrongly founded, or not, as to afford no room for controverting them, it is certain that the conduct obſerved by the other ſide gave no little ſanction to the affirmative opinion, not the ſmalleſt attempt being made to refute, or even to anſwer, any one of his poſitions[99].

97 It muſt be obſerved, that it was the general mode adopted in the aſſembly, for the members to write their ſpeeches at home, and to read them in their places, there being as yet very few—not more than half a dozen, it is ſaid, in the whole—who were capable of delivering their ſentiments in an extempore public ſpeech.

98 *Qu'ils voulaient etré libres, et qu'ils ne ſavaient pas etré juſtes.* Journal Politique, &c. tom. ii. p. 20.—Mémoire de M. le Comte de Lally-Tolendal, p. 114.

99 The abbé Sabatier gives this account of the buſineſs:—"In vain did the abbé Sieyes, *idol of the Palais-Royal, and firſt apoſtle of democracy*, aſcend the tribune, to defend the property of the church; in vain did he cry out to the demagogues, that "they wiſhed to be free, but knew not how to be juſt;" he conſumed himſelf, to no purpoſe, in the midſt of the fires which he himſelf had raiſed; and he loſt at once his cauſe and his popularity. Men aſked each other how *he*, who had, in his firſt publications, demoliſhed the foundations of all property, could flatter himſelf with the hope of making the Aſſembly reſpect the property of the clergy. In the accents of truth which he uttered they ſaw but the cries of intereſt; they oppoſed him with his own arguments; and the people

It muſt be obſerved, that, through the unexampled precipitation which marked the proceedings of the night of the fourth, ſixteen reſolutions of the higheſt importance being paſſed in a few hours, moſt of which, ſingly, would require the cool deliberation of more than a day, aſſiſted by much knowledge and judgment, for its due determination; as well as from the continual diſarrangement of thought, occaſioned by the general clamour and acclamation, it became extremely difficult for the moſt comprehenſive mind to catch the nature or object of the ſubjects which were unexpectedly introduced, and hurried through, with little diſcuſſion or explanation. The clergy were repreſented by ſome as having been in this ſtate of blindneſs or ignorance, when the queſtion in which they were ſo deeply intereſted, relative to tithes, was, on that night, brought forward. They had generally conceived, and from the proces-verbal of the proceedings of that night, digeſted by M. Fretau, it appears their conceptions were perfectly well-founded, that they were to receive a juſt, or, at leaſt, a reaſonable pecuniary compenſation, an idea which afforded the higheſt gratification to them, as they would thereby be releaſed from that odious neceſſity of taking tithes in kind, which, above all things, they wiſhed to be exonerated from, and for that purpoſe would willingly have ſubmitted to no ſmall ſubſtraction from their value on the ſuppoſition of a commutation.

But when they found it was the intention to deſpoil them of their only means of living, and that they were deſtined to look for ſome undefined compenſation, which was to depend entirely upon the future degree of benevolence that might happen to operate upon the nation or aſſembly, nothing could exceed their ſenſe of the wrong, or their indignation at the injury: nor did the contemptuous treatment which the abbé Sieyes had juſt experienced, nor the clamour which was oppoſed to their own arguments and remonſtrances, nor even the galling ridicule which occaſionally intervened, and would paſs a ſubject—to them much too ſerious for merriment—off as a jeſt, at all deter them from contending rigorouſly for their rights, and firmly defending their daily bread. It was upon this occaſion that one of the country vicars, in the bitterneſs of his heart, addreſſed himſelf to the commons; and calling out with the higheſt and moſt marked indignation, aſked—"Was it then to devour us, that you invited us to join you in the "name of the *God of Peace*[100]?" It cannot be doubted that a ſenſe of their own conduct in abandoning the nobility, with a recollection of the means uſed to draw them to that meaſure, and a galling compariſon between the fraternal embraces, together

"people, aſtoniſhed that after having adviſed the maſſacre of the flock he ſhould wiſh to preſerve the fleece, compelled all wiſe men to acknowledge, that the abbé Sieyes either reaſoned ill in the tribune, or had reaſoned ill in his works. So that he deceived two parties at the ſame time:—the clergy, who had, at firſt, only found in him a philoſopher under the habit of a prieſt; and the Palais-Royal, who only ſaw a prieſt under the cloak of a philoſopher."—*Journal Politique-National des Etats Generaux, et de la Revolution de* 1789, tom. ii, p. 20, 21.

[100] Mémoire de M. le Comte de Lally-Tolendal, p. 114.

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with the flattering title which they had ſo lately received, and the immediate ingratitude of thoſe very members by whom they had been ſo highly commended and careſſed, and to whom they had in reality done ſuch eſſential ſervice, muſt altogether have ſerved to embitter the preſent ſcene in the greateſt degree.

The debate, if a continued ſcene of tumult, noiſe, and confuſion, might be allowed to uſurp that name, was continued through the whole day. In vain did a number of the deputies, who wiſhed to put an end to ſo tireſome a diſcuſſion, by that ſhort mode of deciſion which conſiſted only in the counting of heads, and in which they were certain of a majority of two or three to one, call loudly and repeatedly for the queſtion. The diſorder was too great, and the paſſions on both ſides were too much inflamed, to admit of the coolneſs and regularity neceſſary even for a diviſion; ſo that the buſineſs was, by common conſent, adjourned to the following day.

The popular writers not only acknowledge, but ſeem to mention it as an inſtance of the activity and ability of the leaders on their ſide, that the night of the fifth of Auguſt, which was that immediately ſucceeding the debate on tithes, was by no means idly nor ineffectively ſpent. Every engine was ſet to work to overcome the obſtinacy, or to mollify the minds of the clergy. Hope, terror, and flattery, were alternately tried, and each in its turn found a ſoil fit for its reception, and, accordingly, produced its proper effect. The object in view was to obtain from themſelves a formal, and, at the ſame time, an apparently voluntary ſurrender of tithes. In fact, the clergy could not but ſee, that the union of the nobles and commons againſt them muſt of neceſſity render all their efforts abortive; and it required no great trouble to determine, whether it was not better to ſubmit with a good grace to an inevitable evil, than by a vain, and, what would be deemed, a pertinacious reſiſtance, to exaſperate that power on which they were ſtill deſtined to rely for ſupport and protection.

In theſe circumſtances, and under theſe and ſimilar impreſſions, the point was gained in the courſe of the night; and, at the commencement of the ſitting on the next morning, the archbiſhop of Paris, in the name of his brethren, ſurrendered all the tithes of the church into the hands of the nation; accompanying the ſurrender with the following ſhort ſpeech: "Let the goſpel be preached; let divine worſhip be celebrated with "decency and dignity; let the church be provided with virtuous and zealous paſtors; "let the poor amongſt the people be ſuccoured. This is the deſtination of our riches; "theſe are the objects of our miniſtry, and of our wiſhes: we truſt ourſelves, without "reſerve, to a juſt and generous nation." This ſacrifice was received with an affected acclamation of applauſe, as if any one could be perſuaded that it was a free and voluntary gift, and not the effect of compulſion. It was not an incurious circumſtance to obſerve the ſudden change which took place in the countenance and manner of the Aſſembly. That body, ſo agitated, ſo noiſy, ſo tumultuous and violent on the preceding day

day and night, was now ſo calm, ſo tranquil and placid, that it was difficult to ſuppoſe it compoſed of the ſame men.—By the decree, which provided for the abolition of tithes, with a view to aſſiſt the finances of the country, the National Aſſembly loſt an income of ſeventy millions (near three millions ſterling) the produce of the eccleſiaſtical tithes; while the public treaſure remained charged with the ſupport of the clergy; and the claſs of rich proprietaries, who had never been thought of during the diſcuſſion, gained in part what was loſt to the church [1].

In the ſame ſitting of the ſixth of Auguſt, while the Aſſembly was employed in reducing into the form of decrees the haſty reſolutions of the fourth, M. Mounier obſerved, that if the redemption of ſeignorial rights were juſt and uſeful to the ſtate, it would be unjuſt to aboliſh, without an indemnification, thoſe feudal rights and duties, which repreſented the rights of main-morte and perſonal ſervice. Such a meaſure, he conceived, was calculated to give birth to numberleſs law-ſuits, and to invade the ſacred rights of property, which his inſtructions ordered him to defend. But when he attempted to aſcend the tribune, he was prevented from proceeding by the indecent clamours of the Aſſembly, who ſeemed to dread the effects of calm deliberation and cool diſcuſſion. M. Mounier told the preſident, that it would be a ſufficient juſtification for him to his conſtituents, if he could prove to them that he had exerted his utmoſt efforts to fulful their inſtructions; for which purpoſe he requeſted, that the Aſſembly would either hear him, or formally declare that they would not hear him. At length, the majority, aſhamed, probably, of the proceeding, ſuffered him to ſpeak. He accordingly began by expreſſing his ſatisfaction at the redemption of the ſeignorial rights; but he obſerved, that, in order to eſtabliſh on a ſolid baſis the happineſs of a nation, not the ſmalleſt deviation from the rules of juſtice ſhould be tolerated; that, hitherto, preſcription had, for the peace of ſociety, been deemed a legitimate means of acquiſition; that, if a man had been poſſeſſed of quit-rents charged upon eſtates, for more than a century, whatever might be the origin of theſe rents, they had indiſputably become the patrimony of his family; that, in ſucceſſions and acquiſitions, the value of eſtates, ſo charged, had ever been calculated according to the income it produced when the quit-rents were deducted; that perſonal ſervice having been almoſt general throughout Europe, and the *ſerfs* having been attached to the ſoil, which often belonged excluſively to the lord, many franchiſements had taken place, where perſonal ſervice had been commuted for quit-rents; and that no inconvenience could poſſibly ariſe from declaring all ſuch rents, charged upon eſtates, redeemable; without which, many families would be expoſed to ruin. But theſe obſervations, juſt and reaſonable as they were, had no effect on the Aſſembly, who rejected his demand [2].

[1] Journal Politique, &c. tom. ii. p. 20.

[2] Expoſé de la Conduite de M. Mounier, dans l'Aſſembleé Nationale, p. 32, 33.

Though

Though many of the decrees framed in conſequence of the reſolutions of the fourth of Auguſt were highly ſalutary and juſt, yet the proceedings altogether laid the foundation of a change ſo important in the internal polity of the kingdom, that it may, perhaps, be a matter of doubt whether, upon the whole, they are to be conſidered as having a beneficial tendency, or as producing an effect of a contrary nature. That the members had greatly exceeded their *powers*, is a fact not to be controverted; and that the ſpirit of *annihilation* was carried too far, ſeems equally certain; neither the wiſdom nor the patriotiſm of deſtroying the rights which conſtituted the condition by which certain provinces were annexed to the crown, is ſo conſpicuous as the Aſſembly ſeem to have imagined; and the propriety of aboliſhing the provincial ſtates may alſo admit of conſiderable doubt. All the ancient ſyſtems of theology and the ſchools, together with the canon, political, and eccleſiaſtical bodies of law, were ſwept away like cobwebs; as were, with ſtill greater eaſe, all the claims or ſuppoſed rights of the court of Rome, and all fees or taxes paid for it were for ever aboliſhed [3]. In a word, every thing changed its ancient form and aſpect.

In the mode, too, of effecting this change, more zeal than wiſdom was certainly diſplayed; for ſo intent were the aſſembly on the reformation of abuſes, that they did not ſtay to adopt thoſe previous regulations which are ever neceſſary in the abolition of ancient cuſtoms, and the removal of ancient prejudices. We are apt to behold the works of our anceſtors with a degree of reverence which renders us blind to their imperfections; hence we ſhudder at the daring hand of innovation, when it endeavours to demoliſh the beloved fabrics, ere the perſuaſive tongue of reaſon has attempted to convince us of their defects. Beſides, the ſuppreſſion of rights, enjoyed by our anceſtors, and by them tranſmitted to ourſelves, wears an appearance of tyranny which diſguſts and alarms, unleſs we are given to expect ſome ſuitable recompence, or are taught, by argument, the neceſſity of the ſacrifice.

It has alſo been obſerved too, by men of ſhrewd obſervation, that however brilliant the generous enthuſiaſm of the fourth of Auguſt appeared, and whatever honour the greateſt ſacrifices made by the nobility and clergy to the people conferred on the parties, yet that this new method of haſtily paſſing the moſt important laws *by acclamation*, was fraught with much inconvenience and evil; that it took away from that reſpect, from that opinion of wiſdom, which ever ſhould attend the proceedings of a great deliberative aſſembly; more particularly the preſent, engaged as it was in the moſt arduous taſk, which any ſimilar body of men had ever *aſſumed* to themſelves, that of correcting all the abuſes accumulated in the courſe of a long ſeries of paſt ages, and of framing a

[3] By the ſuppreſſion of *annates* it was expected to diminiſh the *pope's* annual income, to the amount of three hundred and thirty thouſand pounds ſterling.

new

new and perfect conſtitution for the government of a great and powerful empire, as if it had now been only commencing its exiſtence. They maintained, that one eſſential law coolly paſſed in favour of the people, marked with its proper characteriſtics of due deliberation, diſcuſſion, and enquiry, would have produced better effects upon their temper and diſpoſition, and inſpired them with higher ſentiments of gratitude, than the whole bundle of laws thus precipitately hurried through by the voice of clamour and acclamation. That ſuch a torrent of benefits pouring upon them at once was more calculated to turn their heads, to looſen all the bands of ſubordination, to eradicate every ſenſe of their reſpective duties, and to indiſpoſe them to every form of government whatever, than to render them good citizens, and uſeful members of ſociety in their proper ſphere of life. That theſe laws ſhould have been promulgated, and theſe benefits imparted, gradually, to give them proper effect, and thereby to render them uſeful; but that, in the preſent ill-choſen ſeaſon of paſſing the one, and no leſs ill-judged mode of diſpenſing the other, the people muſt certainly aſcribe them either to a ſudden paroxyſm of fear or madneſs; and that, under this impreſſion, their gratitude on the one hand, and all the good effects which were hoped to proceed from theſe prodigious conceſſions, on the other, would be equally ſuperſeded. They farther inſiſted, that, independently of all extrinſic conſiderations, ſo important and ſo intricate a body of laws, which went to change the whole law and policy of the nation, to diſarrange or diſpoſe of near half its property, and to draw eternal lines of demarcation between the rights and claims of the rich and the poor, the great and the ſmall, required, whether with regard to their ſtability, or to the character of the legiſlators, that none of them ſeparately, much leſs the whole, ſhould have been paſſed, without deep thought, calm deliberation, long diſcuſſion, cloſe enquiry into facts and conſequences, and a vigorous exertion of human foreſight in looking to poſſible or probable effects.

The event was ſuch as might naturally have been expected: the nobility and clergy in the provinces, feeling no part of that enthuſiaſm which operated on their brethren upon the fourth of Auguſt, and being, on the contrary, in the higheſt degree, irritated by the devaſtation and ruin which they were enduring, were much diſſatisfied with, and very generally condemned the conduct of their delegates, in exceeding the powers contained in their mandates, by thus haſtily ſacrificing their rights and property, without their concurrence, and without obtaining the ſmalleſt ſecurity, either preſent or future, for their perſons, or for whatever ſtill remained of their poſſeſſions. On the other hand, the illiterate peaſantry, having received only very imperfect accounts, and forming very confuſed ideas of what had paſſed in the Aſſembly, yet the mixture of truth and falſhood which reached them, that the feudal ſyſtem was entirely overthrown; all privileges and diſtinctions between men for ever aboliſhed; that all open lands were the property of the nation (by which they underſtood *themſelves*) with that addition, which was received more greedily than any other, that no rents were in future to be paid; theſe things, they thought,

thought, not only afforded a full juſtification of their paſt violence, but ſufficient authority for its continuance; nor is it much to be wondered at that *they* ſhould conſider theſe ſudden and extraordinary benefits as the effect of their own outrages. Under this perſuaſion the people, who, it was maintained by one party in the Aſſembly, would be appeaſed by theſe numerous ſacrifices, and for whoſe future good behaviour the count de Caſtellane, the viſcount de Noailles, and the duke d'Aiguillon, pledged themſelves, became more inſatiate in their demands, and ferocious in their actions:—The preſent epoch being diſtinguiſhed by more conflagrations of gentlemen's ſeats, and the commiſſion of more murders throughout the kingdom. The Aſſembly aboliſhed a part of the feudal rights—the people ſet fire to all the archives and title-deeds; the Aſſembly effaced the diſtinctions of birth—and the people maſſacred the nobles; the Aſſembly decreed the deſtruction of pecuniary privileges, and the equal diſtribution of impoſts—and the people refuſed to pay any impoſts at all [4]. So that the people, armed with the executive power, have invariably exceeded the decrees of the Aſſembly; and have inceſſantly decided, by *fact*, what the Aſſembly have endeavoured to eſtabliſh by law;—thus, the people ſoon began to conſider the Aſſembly as timid and contemptible; and to pay no more attention to their decrees, than to the king's orders.

Some ſevere laws were, indeed, paſſed, at the inſtigation of M. Dupont, member for Nemours, (who ſcarcely ſuffered a day to paſs without renewing his efforts for that purpoſe, until he accompliſhed his object) for ſuppreſſing the diſorders, and puniſhing the offenders; but they, not being ſupported with vigour, and no proper force aſſigned for carrying them into execution, produced but little effect [5]. The proprietaries, however, at length, whoſe ſupineneſs hitherto had been a matter of general aſtoniſhment, took up arms in their own defence, and checked the barbarous ravages of the peaſantry. To this late diſcovered vigour on their ſide Rabaud de Saint Etienne attributes the ſalvation of France; for he obſerves, that that claſs of men who had nothing to loſe, and every thing to gain, in the confuſion of revolutions, was thereby deterred from aſſembling [6].

As an appearance of ſome tranquillity and good temper now prevailed in the court and Aſſembly, the king ventured to appoint a new miniſtry. The great ſeal was given to the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux; the nomination of beneficesto the archbiſhop of Vienne; the war department was committed to M. de la Tour du Pin; while the counts de Saint

[4] Journal Politique, p. 24.

[5] The difficulty of ſuppreſſing diſorders was, of courſe, conſiderably enhanced, by the injudicious abolition of *ſeigneurial* tribunals, previous to the inſtitution of other courts, for the ſpeedy adminiſtration of juſtice. The haſty ſuppreſſion of the rights of the chaſe afforded a pretext for the moſt ſerious outrages; the game became a common prey; and, in the purſuit, even the extreme neceſſities of the kingdom were diſregarded, as the ſtanding corn was trodden down and deſtroyed.

[6] Engliſh tranſlation, p. 106.

Prieſt and de Montmorin, who had been recalled with Neckar, were reinſtated in their former offices. The three former were members of the Aſſembly, but they forbore to ſit or vote there after their appointment. The Aſſembly expreſſed great ſatisfaction at the choice of thoſe miniſters, which the king had immediately communicated to them by letter.

It happened, unfortunately, that the ſame evil, which had already proved ſo fatal to the king and to his adminiſtrations, ſtill continued to preſs upon the executive government with greater weight than it ever had done before. The payment of the taxes—owing, chiefly, to the injudicious declaration of the Aſſembly on the ſubject of the exiſting impoſts—being generally refuſed or evaded in moſt parts of the kingdom, there was no money to ſupport government, or carry on the public buſineſs. In this ſtate of things the new miniſters demanded an audience of the Aſſembly, when the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux—as keeper of the ſeals—addreſſed them in the following terms:

" While the repreſentatives of the nation, happy in their confidence in the ſovereign, " and in his paternal reliance on their affection, are employed in eſtabliſhing, on a per- " manent baſis, the felicity of the country—that country is agitated and convulſed, and " an univerſal conſternation prevails.

" Whether reſentment of the various abuſes which the king wiſhes to have reformed, " and which you deſire to proſcribe for ever, has led the people aſtray; whether the " annunciation of an univerſal regeneration has ſhaken the different powers on which " depends the exiſtence of ſocial order; whether paſſions hoſtile to our felicity have " ſhed their malignant influence over the empire; or whether from any other cauſe; " the truth is, gentlemen, that the public order and tranquillity are diſturbed in al- " moſt every part of the kingdom.

" You well know, gentlemen, that all property is violated in the provinces; the " hands of incendiaries have ravaged the habitations of the citizens; the forms of juſ- " tice are laid aſide, and acts of violence and proſcriptions ſubſtituted in their place. " In ſome parts the very crops on the ground have been threatened with deſtruction, " and even the *hopes* of the people nipped in the bud. Wherever depredations have " failed of their effect, terror and alarm have been induſtriouſly diſſeminated. *Licen-* " *tiouſneſs remains without reſtraint; the laws without force; the tribunals without activity:* " *deſolation has ſpread over a part of France, and terror has ſeized the whole. Commerce* " *and induſtry are ſuſpended; and the aſylums of piety can no longer afford protection againſt* " *the murderous attempts of aſſaſſins.*"

After this dreadful repreſentation of the *unpuniſhed*[7] crimes which deſolated the king-

7 Hiſtoire de la Revolution de 1789, tom. ii. p. 303.

dom;

dom; after having ſupplicated the Aſſembly, in the king's name, to accelerate the completion of their great and important labours; after having entreated them to adopt ſuch coercive meaſures as ſhould appear to them neceſſary for putting a ſtop to ſo many diſorders, and having aſſured them of the king's concurrence and ſanction, he obſerved, that M. Neckar would immediately lay before them the true ſtate of the finances.

That miniſter accordingly repreſented, that, on his re-entrance into office, he had only found in the treaſury four hundred thouſand livres, part in caſh, and part in notes of the Caiſſe d'Eſcompte: that the difference between the revenue and the current expences was enormous, and *the national credit annihilated*; that it had been neceſſary, however, to conduct the public buſineſs without betraying any appearance of diſtreſs, until the time when the National Aſſembly ſhould lay the foundation of permanent order; that the arrival of that period had been protracted, and, at the ſame time, the extraordinary expences and unexpected diminutions which had taken place in the produce of the revenue had augmented the pecuniary embarraſſments of the ſtate:—Among theſe expences and defalcations, he mentioned the immenſe ſupplies of corn which the king had been obliged to procure for the kingdom; the extraordinary works about Paris for the purpoſe of giving ſubſiſtance to twelve thouſand poor, who were paid for their labour at the rate of twenty ſols a day; the reduction of the price of ſalt to one half, in ſeveral places, occaſioned by the audacity of ſmugglers, who introduced that article and tobacco openly, and under the eſcort of troops of armed men; the deſtruction of many of the barriers; the pillage of the cuſtom-houſes; the diſperſion of the regiſters; the obſtructions to the collection of duties; and the refuſal to pay the taxes.—Having thus expoſed the dreadful ſtate of the finances, he deſired the Aſſembly, in the king's name, to ſanction a loan of thirty millions of livres, to ſatisfy the engagements and inevitable expences of the ſtate for two months, by which time he preſumed that the conſtitution would be completed, or, at leaſt, far advanced. He expreſſed his opinion of the impropriety of tempting the monied men, by the offer of an high intereſt; and propoſed that only five per cent. ſhould be allowed. After detailing the means of accommodating the lenders by fixing the nature and ſtability of their ſecurities, he ſuggeſted the idea of publiſhing a liſt of the perſons who ſhould ſubſcribe to this *patriotic* loan, and of inſerting it in the regiſters of the Aſſembly.

"You will not, gentlemen,"—purſued the miniſter—"refuſe to ſanction this loan. "Several of your mandates have doubtleſs required that you ſhould withhold your con- "ſent from any impoſt or loan until the conſtitution ſhould be ſettled; but could they "poſſibly foreſee the difficulties which have retarded your labours? Could they foreſee "the unexampled revolution which has taken place within the laſt three weeks? Could "your conſtituents make themſelves heard, they would exclaim—Save the ſtate; ſave "the country; you are accountable for our peace, for our happineſs!—And, gentlemen,

" how much is your reſponſibility increaſed, now that *the government has no longer any* " *power*, and that you alone are poſſeſſed of the few means that remain for reſiſting the " ſtorm!—As for me, I have fulfilled my taſk; I have made you acquainted with the " true ſtate of affairs, and whatever meaſures you may adopt, it is my duty to reſpect " your opinions, and to give you, to the laſt moment, proofs of my zeal and devotion."

After expatiating, in a very affecting manner, on the calamities of the kingdom, M. Neckar deemed it neceſſary to offer ſome topics of conſolation, at the concluſion of his ſpeech, which he terminated with theſe words:

" Notwithſtanding the evils we experience, the kingdom is ſtill entire, and the union " of knowledge and talents may fertilize the germs of proſperity. Let no one, then, " either in this aſſembly, or in the kingdom, loſe courage. The king ſees the truth; " the king wiſhes to promote the general good; his ſubjects have preſerved for his per- " ſon a *penchant*, which the return of national tranquillity will fortify and augment. " Let us, therefore, gentlemen, give ourſelves up to the enjoyment of the happy pro- " ſpect ſtill to be diſcerned. A day, perhaps, will come, when, in the midſt of thoſe " ſweets which rational freedom and undivided confidence afford, the French nation will " efface from her recollection theſe times of calamity; and, while ſhe enjoys the bene- " fits reſulting from your generous efforts, ſhe will never, in her effuſions of gratitude, " omit the name of a monarch on whom, as a token of your affection, you have recent- " ly conferred ſuch a glorious title."

The ſpeech of the miniſter was followed by the applauſe of the Aſſembly; and M. de Clermont-Lodeve, convinced, by his repreſentations, of the urgent neceſſity of applying an immediate remedy to the pecuniary diſtreſſes of the ſtate, moved that the ſum required ſhould be inſtantaneouſly granted. But that Aſſembly, which had ſo recently voted away millions by acclamation, and changed, as it were, the whole internal polity of the kingdom in one night, had, on a ſudden, become ſo extremely prudent, cautious, and circumſpect, that they refuſed to vote a ſum thus comparatively trifling, without due deliberation, and ſerious diſcuſſion. In the firſt inſtance, indeed, the objects of a *party* were to be accompliſhed; in the laſt, the *public good* alone was to be conſulted. Mirabeau, who was of courſe extremely unwilling to afford that aſſiſtance to the ſtate which could in any degree tend to the reſtoration of order, and by that means interfere with the ſchemes of his patron, ſtigmatized as " a vile ſlave," and even threatened with proſcription[8], the member who made the motion; while the Aſſembly calmly ſubmitted to this daring invaſion of the freedom of debate, this ſcandalous violation of decency. The man, who rejected, in the moſt poſitive terms, the authorities of imperative man-

[8] Expoſé de la Conduite de M. Mounier, p. 34.

dates,

dates, and aſſerted the independence and omnipotence of the Aſſembly, now maintained the neceſſity of appealing to their conſtituents, for their ſanction to a *monthly* vote of credit[9]. The neceſſity of adhering to thoſe inſtructions which they had *ſworn* to obſerve, now acknowledged, though generally denied, by Mirabeau, was indeed founded on the ancient laws and cuſtoms of the monarchy; but if any occaſion could juſtify a departure from the ſtrict rule of adherence, it was certainly the preſent, when a national bankruptcy, which the Aſſembly had deprecated in ſuch ſtrong terms, as even to forbid, under the ſevereſt penalties, the utterance of the words, would be the probable conſequence of refuſal or delay: and when, as M. de Lally obſerved, an implicit obedience to the letter of the inſtructions, would operate in contradiction to the ſpirit of them, ſince they could not order the deputies to make a conſtitution for a ſociety, which, without this loan, could no longer exiſt[10].

The conſideration of the queſtion was, at length, referred to the committee of finance, whoſe chairman, the duke d'Aiguillon, made his report to the houſe, on the following day. He acknowledged the neceſſity of the loan, but declared his opinion, that the *national* loan ſtood in no need of ſubſidiary means, as there could not be a doubt but that every deſcription of citizens would zealouſly haſten to advance the ſum required[11].

Under this perſuaſion, the loan was adopted; but, relying on the patriotic zeal of the citizens, all thoſe inducements which M. Neckar had holden out to ſubſcribers were omitted, and the intereſt reduced to four and a half per cent. The conſequence was ſuch as might naturally have been expected; people refuſed to part with their money, where the ſecurity was doubtful, and the terms were diſproportioned to the riſk, ſo that the ſtate was left in the ſame embarraſſed ſituation as before.

Nor was the immediate failure to procure the neceſſary relief to government the worſt conſequence of the miſconduct of the Aſſembly on this occaſion. In the courſe of the debates on the ſubject, their power to paſs a vote of credit was frequently called in queſtion; and M. Camus moſt injudiciouſly, if not *deſignedly*, intimated that the intereſt due to the creditors of the ſtate could not be exempted from the effect of the general reſolution, that every ſpecies of property ſhould be ſubject to taxation. Thus if a determination had been adopted to exert every effort to diſſuade men of property from ſtanding forward in relief of the ſtate, the ſcheme could not have ſucceeded more compleatly. Beſides, the confidence which the nation had hitherto repoſed in M. Neckar could not but be affected by the *want of confidence* in *their own* miniſter, diſplayed by the Aſſembly, in rejecting his ſcheme, though they had ſo often extolled his abilities and integrity, in a

[9] Hiſtoire de la Revolution de 1789, tom. ii. p. 352. [10] See *Piéces Juſtificatives*, at the end of M. de Lally's Memoire, p. 92. [11] Hiſtoire de la Revolution de 1789, tom. ii. p. 353.

degree

degree which approached to the hyperbole. This conduct drew a degree of unpopularity, and even of odium, upon the National Aſſembly, which it did not eaſily ſhake off; for, as Neckar did not ſcruple publickly to vindicate himſelf, the whole blame naturally fell upon that body, who were accuſed of having paid him a ſervile homage, and laviſhed expreſſions of confidence which their ſubſequent conduct contradicted; they were likewiſe charged with having demanded his recall and fruſtrated his ſchemes, from one and the ſame motive—that of diſplaying their own power, or thwarting the will of their ſovereign[12].

Having found it impoſſible to procure money on their own terms, and the neceſſities of the ſtate every hour encreaſing, the Aſſembly, at length, permitted Neckar to preſcribe ſuch conditions as in his opinion would prove effectual, for raiſing a loan of eighty millions of livres, at five per cent, on the credit of the Aſſembly. But the ſeeds of miſtruſt were too widely diſſeminated; the fortunate moment had been imprudently ſuffered to eſcape, and could not be regained; although the propoſals were ſufficiently alluring, the ſubſcription advanced too ſlowly to produce the deſired effect, and, in fine, was not half filled. In the mean time, a ſcheme for promoting and receiving patriotic contributions was adopted; and, like other novelties in that country, raged for a time with the violence of an epidemic diſorder. Silver buckles and gold rings were the moſt common contributions to the Aſſembly; ſo that, in a few days, not a ſilver buckle was to be ſeen, nor, probably, many wedding rings to be found any where in or near Paris. The National Aſſembly themſelves, in one of thoſe ſudden fits of enthuſiaſm, to which they were ſo liable, diſmantled all their own ſhoes in a moment, Such was the rage of faſhion, while it laſted, that the pooreſt people, even thoſe who, if they did not ſubſiſt upon common charity, were but little removed from ſuch a ſtate, preſented their offerings. The loweſt, as well as the higher order of courtezans were eminently diſtinguiſhed for their liberality on this occaſion; and the wages of proſtitution were deemed acceptable oblations at the ſhrine of patriotiſm!—A more diſgraceful meaſure, with reſpect both to the nation and themſelves, was ſurely never adopted by any body of men in ſimilar circumſtances!!!

Meantime the king and queen, being reduced to a ſtate of abſolute poverty, according to M. Neckar, were obliged to ſend their gold and ſilver plate to the mint, to be converted into current coin for the relief of their immediate neceſſities.

It ſoon appeared, and might have been eaſily foreſeen, that the patriotic donations were totally incapable of extricating the ſtate from its pecuniary embarraſſments, which were

[12] Mémoire de M. de Lally-Tolendal, p. 118.

of

of too vaſt a magnitude to be at all affected by ſuch trifling reſources; ſo that the danger of a public bankruptcy, and of a total ceſſation of all the operations of government, could not fail to impreſs the mind of every friend to his country with the moſt ſerious apprehenſions; the taxes being almoſt entirely unproductive, and no means appearing for ſupplying their place with an adequate ſubſtitute. It was in this ſtate of extreme difficulty, when the greatneſs of the neceſſity ſeemed almoſt to afford a ſanction to any meaſure that might be purſued for obtaining relief, that Neckar ventured to propoſe to the Aſſembly a ſcheme for a ſupply, which the boldeſt miniſter that ever lived, and in the moſt deſpotic government, would perhaps have heſitated at adopting. This was nothing leſs than the extraordinary contribution of the fourth part of each man's yearly revenue, to be paid at different ſtated periods during the courſe of three years. The eſtimate of each man's income, and conſequently the amount of the ſum which he was to contribute to the ſtate, being left to his own honour.

It was certainly a ſingular caſe, that a tax, almoſt without example in the moſt arbitrary governments, ſhould have been paſſed by a body of men, not only highly republican, but who openly avowed themſelves the aſſertors of liberty. But it muſt be conſidered, on the other hand, that they were already labouring under great and general odium on account of the failure of Neckar's firſt ſcheme for raiſing money by a loan, which was entirely and juſtly charged to their injudicious and wanton interference in the buſineſs. At the ſame time, inſtant bankruptcy, with all its fatal conſequences, was ſtaring them full in the face; and if they rejected the preſent plan, they would make themſelves thereby reſponſible for all the evils that might enſue. It is remarkable, that the arguments uſed by Mirabeau, on this occaſion, were directly contradictory to thoſe which he had adduced in oppoſition to the firſt loan. He then reprobated the idea of voting by acclamation, whereas he now deprecated all diſcuſſion and deliberation: he exhorted the Aſſembly to repoſe an unlimited confidence in the miniſter; telling them, that by accepting his propoſitions, and by raiſing him to a kind of *proviſionary dictatorſhip*, they would diſcharge their duty as citizens and repreſentatives of the nation [13].—Whether this change was owing to an idea, that the preſent ſcheme for raiſing money was more *objectionable* than the former, and leſs likely to be *productive*, or whether he really felt any repugnance at the obſtructions he had before thrown in the way of the miniſter's plan, or dreaded the loſs of his own popularity, it is not for us to determine. It was too late now for the Aſſembly to reflect, that much of the public diſtreſs proceeded from their own extraordinary declaration, which taught the people to conſider all the preſent taxes as illegal, from the circumſtance of their not being impoſed by their repreſentatives.

[13] Hiſtoire de la Revolution de 1789, tom. iii. p. 172.

Nothing

Nothing was, however, left undone by the Aſſembly, which could tend to render this ſcheme of ſupply palpable; and to prevent its aſſuming the odious appellation of a tax, it was repreſented entirely as a patriotic contribution or donation. But the difficulty that naturally aroſe from this pitiful mode of temporiſing, ſo much beneath the dignity of a legiſlative body, was this—that the means which were adopted to remove the unpopularity and even odium that, from the diſpoſition of the people, it was evident muſt attend ſuch a meaſure, were calculated to render it unproductive, and to deſtroy the effect it was intended to promote. Conſidered as a tax, it was deemed oppreſſive; and as a voluntary contribution futile. In vain did the Aſſembly paſs an addreſs to the nation, ſtating the neceſſity of great ſacrifices in caſe of great emergency. Neither this exhortation, nor the knowledge that the ſcheme originated with Neckar, could prevent a great number of thoſe who were expoſed to its effect, from conſidering this decree as the reſult of a combination, formed by men without property, to ſtrip thoſe who ſtill retained any, of the laſt farthing they poſſeſſed. For, the example being once ſet, of thus partially taxing a part of the community, and condemning them to bear all the burthens of the ſtate, it was aſked, who could pretend to define the extent to which the injury and oppreſſion might be carried under the ſanction of ſuch a precedent; eſpecially as all power was lodged, and liable to continue, in the hands of thoſe very men who had committed the original wrong? If ſtate neceſſity was pleaded as the colour or pretence, they obſerved, that it was at beſt the plea only of tyrants; and that the ſame pretence would anſwer the ſame purpoſe, while they had any thing left to loſe. If the total failure of the cuſtomary taxes was brought as an argument, the queſtion was readily put, why the people were armed to reſiſt their payment, until better, or, at leaſt, other taxes were provided, to ſupply the deficiency? They ſaid, that the landed proprietors had already ſacrificed a great part of their rights and property to the public good; that another conſiderable portion had been totally deſtroyed, by the cruel devaſtations committed on their houſes and eſtates, by thoſe very people on whom they were ſhowering benefits; and that now, in the ſeaſon of their humiliation and diſtreſs, ſcarcely breathing from the horrors and ruin which they had experienced, to condemn them to the ſupport of all the expences of the nation, was a meaſure of ſuch injuſtice and cruelty, as to be without example in all the annals of tyranny. Nor did the ſanguine and active part which Mirabeau had taken in paſſing this decree, ſerve in any degree to leſſen theſe impreſſions, or to render the meaſure more acceptable. Upon the whole, nothing had yet taken place in the courſe of the Revolution, which ſerved ſo much to embitter the minds of men, to increaſe the animoſity and malignity of parties, and which through the violence of their colliſion produced ſuch unfortunate and diſgraceful conſequences, as this meaſure of partial taxation.

During theſe efforts to relieve the diſtreſſes occaſioned by the diſordered ſtate of the finances—which took up a conſiderable ſpace of time—the National Aſſembly were buſily

ſily occupied in forming different parts of the new conſtitution; and, as they were determined to prove, that they were wholly unconfined by the ſhackles of precedent, and their proceeedings unbiaſſed by the conduct of the States-General of the kingdom, convened in former periods of the monarchy, they reſolved to begin *ab ovo*, by a declaration of the rights of man. On this ſubject the Aſſembly bewildered themſelves in the labyrinth of abſtract queſtions and metaphyſical diſquiſitions. La Fayette, who had adopted his political principles in America, preſented a declaration, which was an epitome of all thoſe that had been adopted by the different members of the United States. This might poſſibly have been received by the Aſſembly as the ground-work to their own, had not the abbé Sieyes compoſed an abſtract and complex work, in which he defined and traced the rights of man to their firſt principles. Though the abbé's friends and admirers were unſucceſsful in their ſupport of this production, they, however, procured the rejection of La Fayette's ſyſtem; but this double failure, inſtead of operating as a diſcouragement, was ſucceeded by ſuch a multitude of plans of new declarations, that the Aſſembly, embarraſſed by a variety of choice, found it neceſſary to appoint a committee, in order to reduce the ſubſtances of thoſe numerous plans into one digeſt, to which they might refer, as a text-book, in their deliberations.

This digeſt was as far from affording ſatisfaction as the ſeparate plans of individuals. In the mean time eſſays were every day written upon the ſubject; and every man ſeemed to think it the eaſieſt thing in the world to do that which none did. Opinions multiplied upon opinions in the Aſſembly, every time the ſubject was diſcuſſed; every line teemed with new difficulties; the mutual jealouſies and diſtruſts of the parties led them to ſuſpect ſome dangerous myſtery or hidden fraud to be involved in axioms the moſt ſimple and obvious; and while they reciprocally accuſed each other without ceremony, either of intending to give the reins entirely to licentiouſneſs, or of wiſhing to check the progreſs of liberty, cool debate and deliberate diſcuſſion were, in ſuch circumſtances, rather to be wiſhed for than expected.

A declaration, which was propoſed by one of the ſections into which the Aſſembly was divided, was at length ſo far received, as to become the ſubject of a general debate, with a view to its affording the foundation for the grand ſuperſtructure. Every article became a ſubject of much diſcuſſion, and was not unfrequently productive of great heat and bitterneſs. The debates were exceedingly tedious and unintereſting; being in many caſes a mere war of words, running much into metaphyſical abſtractions, grammatical niceties, and verbal diſputes, of no conſequence. They were rendered ſtill more irkſome and difficult from its being ſcarcely poſſible to arrange any number of words in ſuch a form as would equally ſtrike the ears of, and be received with the ſame degree of apprehenſion by, ſo great an aſſemblage of men as twelve hundred, even ſuppoſing that they were all equally ſincere in their purſuit of the truth, and that none were prompted

by particular motives to deviate from the right line of direction. It became, indeed, now evident, if it had been before doubted, that ſo numerous a body was by no means properly calculated for a deliberative aſſembly.

The debates, however, were not entirely confined to the ſubject or compoſition of the declaration; for one of the moſt conſiderable, and, perhaps, the moſt intereſting with regard to matter, aroſe upon the queſtion of adopting the meaſure, conſidered with reſpect to its expedience and propriety. It was ſaid, by thoſe who oppoſed the meaſure, that this American idea was, in fact, more brilliant than ſolid; that it originated from a new and peculiar ſtate of things, which did not exiſt with reſpect to France; but that whether it ſuited or not the circumſtances and condition of thoſe by whom it was firſt adopted, was not the queſtion to be conſidered, but whether it ſuited their own? This they endeavoured to diſprove. They ſtated, in the firſt place, that ſuch a declaration, in the preſent ſtate and temper of the nation, would not only be inexpedient, but might probably prove dangerous, from an improper uſe being made of it; that the people, juſt delivered from oppreſſion, and indulging themſelves in a momentary licentiouſneſs, were unprepared for ſuch new doctrines; that when they were intoxicated with the unaccuſtomed ſpirit of independence, they would no longer acknowledge the authority of the laws, but would be too apt to conſider them only as remaining appendages of that ſyſtem of ancient tyranny, from whoſe other ſhackles they had ſo lately liberated themſelves; and under this blind deluſion they would eagerly exert their new liberty in enforcing by violence every claim which caprice, folly, or the worſt paſſions might ſuggeſt.

They added, that in order to avoid theſe miſchiefs and dangers, which were too obvious to be overlooked by any body, the Aſſembly, after involving itſelf in a taſk of great moment and expectation, would be afraid to execute, conſiſtently and properly, that difficult buſineſs which it had ſo needleſsly and wantonly undertaken; for that, under theſe ſhackles, it could only form a patched up, imperfect, and inconſiſtent work, under the name of a declaration of rights, which would be a diſgrace to the authors as well as to the ſubject, the parts militating againſt each other, and contradicting the title, from the number of reſtraints and limitations with which, in ſuch untoward circumſtances, it muſt of neceſſity abound; and thus the mighty whole, when it came forth, inſtead of a political creed, which ſhould *convert*[14] all mankind by the juſtneſs and ſimplicity of its principles, would prove an inſignificant, incoherent, contradictory jargon. They ſaid, the Aſſembly, by this premature attempt, would find itſelf involved in other difficulties, which it did not ſeem aware of, with reſpect to the great caution which was to be

[14] Theſe infant legiſlators—even in their cradle, as it were—had the vanity to ſuppoſe themſelves capable of making *converts*.—No wonder, then, they ſhould reject the wiſdom of their neighbours, and treat with diſdain a ſyſtem of government that had extorted the admiration of the wiſeſt men of all countries!

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uſed in not confining its powers of legiſlation, and the danger of a contradiction between general principles and particular laws; this muſt occaſion their declaration of thoſe principles to be timid and circumſpect, if not equivocal; and the production, it was inſiſted, would appear to be merely the offspring of their preſent neceſſities, and of the ruling prejudices of the moment.

Were it not better, therefore, ſaid they, to defer your declaration of rights, until the conſtitution is completed and eſtabliſhed? We ſhall then have it in our power to appropriate the one to the other, and to make them harmonize together.—M. Malouet put this appoſite queſtion:—"Why ſhould we tranſport men to the ideal ſummit of a "mountain, and ſhew them the extenſive domain of their rights beneath, when we "ſhall moſt aſſuredly be obliged to make them deſcend, and to bring them into the real "world, where they will find every ſtep fettered with reſtraints?"

But the much more numerous party who ſupported the meaſure, treated with indignation and diſdain the idea of ſuppoſing there could be any danger in *enlightening* the public, and communicating to them a knowledge of their rights. Theſe maintained, that it had been the old trick of deſpotiſm, in all ages and places, to keep the people ignorant, in order to rivet their chains the more firmly, and to render their ſlavery eternal. They talked in lofty language, but not always perfectly intelligible, about the *native* rights of man, "Which" they ſaid, "are eternal, unalienable, and impreſcriptible; that their "ſource is in nature itſelf; that they are equal and unchangeable in every age and every "country; and can never yield to any reaſon of convenience or neceſſity: that, as the ſole "object of ſociety is the preſervation of theſe rights, to declare what they are is an indiſ"penſable preliminary to the eſtabliſhment of a political conſtitution: that the repreſen"tatives of the people are ſpecially called upon to declare them, becauſe it is their duty "to lay the foundations before they raiſe the edifice; to eſtabliſh principles before they "draw concluſions; to fix upon a determinate and invariable end, before they make "choice of the means by which it is to be obtained: that it is neceſſary to declare them, "in order that the people may underſtand and decide upon the motives of their legiſla"tors; that our ſucceſſors may tread in our footſteps, and, ſeeing clearly our object, "and comprehending fully the ſenſe of our deſign, may be enabled to bring our work "to perfection; and *that other nations may be made ſenſible by our precepts of the injuries "they ſuffer, and may learn by our example how to redreſs them.* It is a debt which France "owes to mankind."

The majority of courſe prevailed, and the following production was the fruit of their labours.—"The repreſentatives of the French people, conſtituting a National Aſſembly, conſidering ignorance, forgetfulneſs, or contempt, of the rights of man, to be the ſole cauſe of public calamities, and the corruption of governments, have reſolved to ex-

"plain,

" plain, in a ſolemn declaration, the natural, inalienable, and ſacred rights of man; in " order that ſuch declaration, being conſtantly preſented to all the members of the ſo- " cial body, may inceſſantly remind them of their rights and their duties; in order that " the acts of the legiſlative power, and thoſe of the executive power, being every inſtant " compared with the object of every political inſtitution, may become more reſpected; " and, laſtly, in order that the claims of the citizens, founded in future on ſimple and " inconteſtible principles, may ever tend to the ſupport of the conſtitution, and the hap- " pineſs of the whole;

" In conſequence whereof, the National Aſſembly acknowledges and declares, in the " preſence, and under the auſpices of the Supreme Being, the following rights of " man and the citizen:

1. " Men are born and *remain* free and equal in rights; ſocial diſtinctions can only be " founded on general utility.

2. " The end of every political aſſociation is the preſervation of the natural and im- " preſcriptible rights of man. Theſe rights are liberty, property, ſafety, and reſiſtance " of oppreſſion.

3. " The principle of all ſovereignty reſides eſſentially in the nation. No body, " no individual, can exerciſe any authority but ſuch as expreſsly emanates [15] from " thence.

4. " Liberty conſiſts in the ability to do every thing which is not prejudicial to others. " Thus, the exerciſe of the natural rights of each individual has no other limits than " thoſe which enſure to the other members of ſociety the enjoyment of thoſe ſame " rights. Theſe limits can only be fixed by the law.

5. " The law has only a right to prohibit ſuch actions as are prejudicial to ſociety. " Nothing that is not prohibited by the law can be prevented; and no one can be con- " ſtrained to do what the law does not ordain.

6. " The law is the expreſſion of the general will. All citizens have a right to " *concur*, either perſonally, or by their repreſentatives, in its formation; it ought to be " the ſame for all, whether it protects, or puniſhes. All citizens being equal in the eye

[15] In tranſlating the ſtate papers and parliamentary ſpeeches of the preſent period, we ſhall rather aim at a li- teral adherence to the originals, than at a ſtrict accuracy of language, from a conviction, that by ſo doing we ſha convey the moſt perfect idea of the *ſpirit* and *manner* of the writers and orators.

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" of the law, are equally admiſſible to all dignities, places, and public employments, ac-
" cording to their capacity, and without any other diſtinctions than thoſe which reſult
" from their virtues and their talents.

7. " No man can be accuſed, apprehended, nor detained, except in ſuch caſes as are
" determined by the law, and according to the forms which the law has preſcribed.
" Thoſe who ſolicit, expedite, execute, or cauſe to be executed, arbitrary orders, ought
" to be puniſhed; but every citizen ſummoned or ſeized in virtue of the law ought to
" obey inſtantaneouſly; by reſiſtance he renders himſelf guilty.

8. " The law ought only to eſtabliſh ſuch puniſhments as are ſtrictly and evidently
" neceſſary; and *no man can be puniſhed but in virtue of a law eſtabliſhed and promulgated*
" *previous to the commiſſion of the crime, and legally applied.*

9. " Every man being preſumed innocent until he has been declared guilty, if it be
" deemed neceſſary to apprehend him, all rigour, except ſuch as is requiſite for ſecuring
" his perſon, ſhould be ſeverely repreſſed by the law.

10. " No man ought to be moleſted on account of his opinions, even on religious ſub-
" jects, provided their manifeſtation do not diſturb the public order eſtabliſhed by
" the law.

11. " The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the moſt precious
" rights of man. Every citizen, therefore, may ſpeak, write, and print freely, ſubject
" only to a reſponſibility for the abuſe of that freedom, in caſes determined by the law.

12. " The ſecurity of the rights of man and the citizen renders a public force
" neceſſary. That force then is inſtituted for the advantage of all, and not for the pri-
" vate utility of thoſe to whom it is confided.

13. " For the maintenance of the public force, and for the expences of government,
" a common contribution is indiſpenſably requiſite; it ought to be equally divided
" among all the citizens, in proportion to their faculties.

14. " All the citizens have a right to aſcertain, by themſelves or their repreſentatives,
" the neceſſity of the public contribution, freely to conſent to the ſame, to watch over
" its application, and to determine its amount, aſſeſſment, collection, and duration.

15. " Society has a right to demand an account of the adminiſtration of every pub-
" lic agent.

16. " Every ſociety, in which the ſecurity of rights is not eſtabliſhed, nor the ſepara-
" tion of powers determined, has no conſtitution.

17. " Property being an inviolable and ſacred right, no man can be deprived of it, un-
" leſs when evidently exacted by public neceſſity, legally aſcertained, and under the
" condition of a juſt and *previous* indemnity."

It would be endleſs to repeat all that has been ſaid on the ſubject of this declaration, by the friends and enemies to the meaſure; it certainly neither deſerved the unqualified cenſure it experienced from one party, nor the indiſcriminate commendation it received from the other. That it contained ſome ſtrong truths and ſound maxims, which had been too long neglected or deſpiſed, cannot be called in queſtion; but the *objection* which appears to carry moſt weight with it, is this, that it tended to inflate the people, already too conſcious of their own ſtrength; to ſtimulate thoſe who required to be checked; and to provide a *ſpur* inſtead of a *bridle*. The following apoſtrophe, addreſſed, on this ſubject, to the National Aſſembly, by a contemporary writer, contains much good ſenſe.

" Legiſlators, founders of a new order of things, you ſeek to diſplay before you that
" metaphyſical ſyſtem, which the ancient legiſlators had always the wiſdom to conceal
" in the foundation of their edifices. Ah! be not more wiſe than nature! If it be your
" wiſh that a great people ſhould enjoy the ſhade, and be nouriſhed with the fruit, of
" the tree that you are planting, *do not leave the roots expoſed!* Dread, leſt men, to
" whom you have only ſpoken of their *rights*, and never of their *duties*; leſt men, to
whom the royal authority is no longer formidable, who underſtand nothing of the
" operations of a legiſlative aſſembly, and who have conceived exaggerated hopes of it,
" ſhould paſs from that civil equality eſtabliſhed by the laws, to the abſolute equality of
" property; from the hatred of rank, to the hatred of power; and leſt they ſhould maſſa-
" cre the magiſtrates as they have maſſacred the nobles! The people require plain truths,
" and not abſtract propoſitions; and, on their emancipation from a long ſervitude, liber-
" ty ſhould be preſented to them with caution and by degrees, as food is given to a crew
" who, having conſumed their proviſions during a long voyage, are reduced to the laſt
" extremity. Laſtly, do not forget, deputies of France, that if kings effect their own
" ruin by an exorbitant love of power, legiſlative aſſemblies are equally ruined by an
" inordinate deſire of innovation.

" Beſides, why reveal to the people truths purely ſpeculative? Thoſe who will not
" make an ill uſe of them, are the very perſons who are as well acquainted with them as
" yourſelves; and thoſe who have not been able to find them in their own minds, will
" never comprehend them, and will always make an ill uſe of them. Far from telling
" the people that nature has made all men equal, tell them, on the contrary, that ſhe
" has

" has made them extremely unequal; that one man is born ſtrong and another weak; " one ſound and another infirm; that all are not equally ſkilful and vigilant; and that " the chef-d'œuvre of a well-regulated ſociety is to render thoſe equal by the laws " whom nature has rendered ſo unequal in their means. But let them not be taught " to infer from thence that conditions are equal: you know, you even ſee what " calamities reſult from that falſe idea, when the people are once prepoſſeſſed " with it [16]."

It has been well obſerved, that the declaration of rights, conſidered as a compoſition, bears evident marks of haſte, and is by no means a regular and homogeneous work. Sometimes it announces rights; again it preſcribes reſtraints: here it anticipates the objects of legiſlation; and there it directs an attack againſt deſpotiſm, which it could not conſiſtently ſuppoſe to exiſt:—Mirabeau's obſervation on the ſubject has, probably, not leſs truth than wit in it: he ſaid, " It would anſwer no other purpoſe than that of a po- " litical almanack for the current year."

During the debates on this declaration, which laſted till the latter end of Auguſt, the people of Franche-Comté had formed a reſolution to maſſacre all the nobility, and the feſtival of Saint Bartholomew—a day already ſtigmatized by the maſſacre of the Hugonots—was fixed on for the execution of this horrid deſign. The diſcharge of four muſquets was the deſtined ſignal of aſſaſſination; but the man who had been appointed to fire them, being ſurprized before he had time to diſcharge the fourth, confeſſed the plot, and ſix of the ringleaders, three of whom were ſoldiers, and three citizens, were ſeized and executed. At the ſame period, fire and ſword were employed in other provinces, to extort from the nobility a renunciation of their titles: they were aſked, whether they were greater noblemen than the king, *who had declared for the Third Eſtate?* Thoſe who were employed in burning the gentlemens' ſeats reported that they had received injunctions not to leave one ſtanding, with the ſingle exception of the palace of Verſailles [17].

Through the whole courſe of its proceedings the Aſſembly was divided into a number of ſections or committees, to each of which was aſſigned ſome ſpecified part of the new

[16] Journal Politique, tom. i. p. 96. The ſame writer, ſpeaking of this declaration, in another part of his work, ſays—" This dangerous piece includes rights which the citizens will never be able to exerciſe, even after " the complete execution of the decrees of the Aſſembly. Beſides, it contains a vague metaphyſical doctrine, which " the people found unintelligible and unſubſtantial. It became neceſſary, therefore, in order to ſatisfy that impe- " rious maſter, to deſcend from theory and principles the moſt abſtract, to conſequences and applications the moſt " material, of the ſovereignty of the people, and of the abſolute equality of men."

[17] Journal Politique, tom. i. p. 138.

conſtitution, on which it was to give its opinion and advice in a report, which then became a ſubject of general diſcuſſion. But, being reſolved, as we before obſerved, to begin *ab ovo*, after laying the foundation, they proceeded with the ſuperſtructure; when a queſtion aroſe, which ſerved to create a greater diviſion of opinion, and a greater agitation in the minds of men, than any other: it was this—What ſhare of authority the king ought to poſſeſs in the new legiſlature?—This queſtion operated like a touchſtone. In other matters, the different orders and parties were conſtantly divided among themſelves; but now every man was under a neceſſity of avowing and ſupporting his principles, or of giving them up for ever. What had never happened before, the preſident now ſaw, on his right hand and on his left, the whole Aſſembly arranged in two grand hoſtile diviſions, and theſe ſo nearly poiſed in point of number, that the moſt experienced eye could not determine on which ſide the advantage might lie. The conflicts were ſo hard fought on both ſides, ſo often renewed, and ſo long continued, and the ſubject of debate ſo induſtriouſly ſpread and univerſally known, that the whole nation became parties in the conteſt, and the diſſention and agitation were not leſs among the people at large, than it was within the walls of the Aſſembly.—*Iliacos intrà muros peccatur et extrà.*—All the paſſions which had hitherto been in ſome degree ſmothered, now burſt forth with greater force from their reſtraint, and many, ſprung from recent cauſes, appeared in all the ardour of youth. Rabaut acknowledges, that every debate in the Aſſembly was now a quarrel[18]; and the heat and violence without were ſtill greater.

On the one ſide were arranged, in the firſt inſtance, thoſe who had, at all times, conſidered the ſovereign as the ſole and rightful legiſlator: with theſe were joined a ſecond deſcription of perſons, who, without entering into the abſtract principle, were, from habit or opinion, attached to monarchy, and who were ſtricken with dread and horror at the ſudden torrent of republicaniſm which now ſo ſuddenly overſpread the land; to theſe were to be added the ſmaller band, who felt themſelves attached by affection to the perſon of the king; and that, much more numerous, which, from intereſted motives, found itſelf bound at all events to the ſupport of monarchical government. But what conſtituted the great force on that ſide was the new acceſſion of the nobility and clergy, who, though reduced in power, were ſtill reſpectable, if not formidable, from their number, as well as from the portion of influence which they ſtill retained. Theſe, at length become ſenſible of the baleful effects of their paſt tergiverſation, reflecting, in bitterneſs of heart, upon the manner in which both orders had been alternately duped by the commons, and led blindly to play their own game into their hands, and clearly perceiving now that nothing leſs than their final ruin was intended, were fully convinced that nothing could avert that ruin, but the retaining of ſo much power in the hands of the king,

[18] Engliſh tranſlation, p. 111.

as

as might operate, in a certain degree, as a check to the prevailing ſyſtem, and enable him to interpoſe with effect in their preſervation.

On the other ſide, in much cloſer and firmer array, and much better officered and commanded, was the whole body of republicans throughout the kingdom; who, notwithſtanding the innumerable diviſions into which they were formed, and the great diſtances by which the parts were ſeparated, were ſo intimately connected, and their correſpondence and union ſo perfectly eſtabliſhed, that their general movements diſplayed the facility which might have been expected from thoſe of a ſingle individual. With theſe were joined no ſmall number of men, who ſtood in the very ſingular predicament, that though they joined the republicans in every thing, they were notwithſtanding attached to ſome undefined or unknown ſpecies of monarchy, but were unable themſelves to decide what that ſhould be; theſe, having no other principle of union or action than one common fear, that the crown might recover its former preponderance and power, could ſee no other evil or danger whatever; but that was ſo ſtrongly impreſſed on their minds, that it ſeemed difficult to aſſign what degree of humiliation or weakneſs it could be reduced to, which would prove ſufficient to remove their apprehenſions. Under this impreſſion, although they were directly adverſe to republicaniſm in principle, their conduct produced the ſame effect as if they had been the warmeſt and moſt determined zealots in the cauſe; nor were they awakened from this deluſion till the buſineſs was over, when their opinion and action were as uſeleſs as their repentance.

But that great power which over-ruled all others in the kingdom, that turbulent metropolis, which contained within its wall a numerous nation of its own, was not only ſufficient to turn, but abſolutely directed the management of, the ſcale in all caſes as it liked. Paris, therefore, little needed the aid of its provincial aſſiſtants, ſuch as Rennes in Brittany, which maintained a cloſe and regular correſpondence with the patriotic party at Verſailles[19]; Dinant, and ſeveral other of the more conſiderable cities and towns, which, having imbibed the ſame republican ideas, were, though inferior in ſtrength, ſcarcely leſs zealous in the cauſe.

The queſtion which gave riſe to the longeſt and moſt violent diſcuſſions, both within and without the Aſſembly, was that relative to the king's *veto* or negative upon the paſſing of laws. It was ſoon perceptible, that the difference between the two parties—a difference moſt induſtriouſly promoted and increaſed by the circulation of pamphlets, in which, as uſual, reaſon was ſacrificed to paſſion—was ſo wide, that an union or conciliation of ſentiment was nearly impoſſible; for, while one party adduced the moſt con-

[19] Mémoire de M. de Lally-Tolendal, p. 128.

vincive

vincive reaſons to prove that this authority in the crown was indiſpenſably neceſſary to the public intereſt, in order to preſerve a check upon the tumultuary nature of public aſſemblies, and to prevent their paſſing, not only without due conſideration, but under the influence perhaps of the moſt ſudden and outrageous paſſions, laws, which, from their abſurdity, their iniquity, or impolicy, might draw on national diſgrace, public injuſtice, or even foreign danger; on the other ſide, the retaining of this power in the hands of the king, would, it was repreſented, prove the means of overthrowing every thing that had yet been done for the liberty and good of the people; that by this negative, without aſſigning any reaſon or motive for his conduct, he might obſtruct thoſe meaſures which were of the higheſt utility to the people, merely to favour the intrigues of his court, or the machinations of his miniſters; that, by thus impeding or arreſting the operations of the Aſſembly, the great work of *regeneration*, which the people now ſo confidently expected, would be rendered impracticable, and all their hopes fruſtrated; that if the ill effects of this dangerous power did not immediately take place, they would not be the leſs certain, when the proper ſeaſon arrived for their operation; that when the preſent vigilance of the people and their repreſentatives was relaxed, and means uſed to lull them into a *fatal ſecurity*, then the king might ſuddenly, at his pleaſure, inflict a paralytic ſtroke upon the legiſlative body, which would diſable and render it totally uſeleſs; and that, in fact, this *veto* was a never-failing inſtrument of tyranny, and the moſt odious and dangerous relick of ancient deſpotiſm which could poſſibly be retained.

Such were the *general* arguments employed at the outſet of the buſineſs; but when the different queſtions on this ſubject were framed into a regular ſhape, the debates became more pointed and particular. A conſiderable number of deputies, however, believing they had no right to eſtabliſh for their conſtituents a different conſtitution from that which thoſe conſtituents had demanded, deſired that thoſe parts of their inſtructions which related to this ſubject might be read. But the very ſame perſons who had inſiſted that their inſtructions *compelled* them to reject the loan, now maintained that they were totally null in all conſtitutional queſtions[20]! Mirabeau, who, on the *ſeventh* of Auguſt, had ſaid, that if the Aſſembly adopted the project for a loan, *they would gain neither credit nor confidence, becauſe they would act in contradiction to their conſtituents; becauſe they would violate their mandates*; obſerved, on the *twenty-ninth*, that ſuch members as thought themſelves obliged to agree with their conſtituents, and to obey their mandates on conſtitutional queſtions, might have ſent their *cahiers* to the Aſſembly, inſtead of coming themſelves.

The queſtions that now remained to be diſcuſſed, with regard to the *veto*, were theſe

[20] Mémoire de M. de Lally-Tolendal, p. 126.

—"May

—" May the king refuſe his aſſent to the acts of the legiſlative body?"—" In caſe the " king ſhould refuſe his aſſent, ſhall his refuſal be final, or ſuſpenſive only?"

Meſſieurs Mounier, Lally-Tolendal, Treillard, d'Entragues, Mirabeau, and the duke de Liancourt, were the moſt ſtrenuous advocates in favour of an abſolute *veto*. Two powers, they obſerved, were neceſſary to the exiſtence of the body politic—the power of willing, and the power of acting. By the firſt, a ſociety eſtabliſhed the rules of its own conduct, the end of which was the welfare of the whole. By the ſecond, theſe rules were carried into execution, and the public force was calculated to enſure the triumph of ſociety over all obſtacles which might ariſe to ſuch execution from the oppoſition of individuals. Both of theſe powers, they ſaid, were equally neceſſary, and equally dear to the nation: if on the one hand the ſupport of public freedom required that the legiſlative body ſhould be ſecured from the attacks of the executive power, it was not leſs neceſſary, on the other, that the latter ſhould be invariably ſupplied with the means of protection againſt the invaſions of the former[21]: which means could only exiſt in the right of the ſupreme chief of the nation to examine the acts of the legiſlative power, and to refuſe to endow them with the ſacred character of laws.

If the whole collective body of the people were capable of expreſſing their will in direct terms, it would be abſurd to ſuppoſe that that will ſhould be ſubjected to a royal ſanction; but in a ſtate where, by the nature of things, they were forced to entruſt their powers to repreſentatives, who might be choſen more from circumſtances of fortune and ſituation, than from perſonal virtue and merit, ſuch a prerogative was abſolutely neceſſary to be veſted in the monarch, in order that he might counteract that ſpecies of ariſtocracy, which, inceſſantly tending to the acquiſition of a legal conſiſtency, would become equally hoſtile to the prince, whom it would endeavour to equal in power, and to the people, whom it would attempt to keep in a ſtate of ſubjection: hence that natural and neceſſary alliance againſt every ſpecies of ariſtocracy between the prince and the people, which was founded on an uniformity of intereſts and of fears, urging them to the attainment of the ſame object, and rendering their wills ſimilar and uniform.

If the king were deprived of his *veto* on all the propoſitions of law that might be ſubmitted to him by the National Aſſembly, was it not evidently poſſible, they aſked, that, from a fatal error, or a criminal coalition of ambitious or unenlightened repreſentatives, he might be forced to execute a will contrary to the general will, and even to employ the public force againſt the nation itſelf?

[21] " If the executive power"—ſays the preſident Monteſquieu—" have not a right to ſtop the enterprizes of the " legiſlative body, the latter will be deſpotic; for as in that caſe it will have the ability to aſſume all poſſible " authority, it will annihilate all the other powers."—*Eſprit des Loix*, liv. ii. chap. 6.

Again,

Again, if the prince had no *veto*, what could prevent the repreſentatives from prolonging, from perpetuating their own authority, and ſubverting political freedom, as the long parliament formerly did in England? What could prevent them from invading, by degrees, all the functions of the executive power; from uniting in their own perſons all the powers of the ſtate; from rendering the royal authority the paſſive inſtrument of their caprice; and from re-plunging the people into a ſtate of ſlavery?

It was urged, that there were only two caſes in which the monarch could be ſuppoſed to refuſe his aſſent:—Firſt, where he conceives the law in queſtion to be prejudicial to the intereſts of the nation; or, ſecondly, where deceived by his miniſters, he is induced to reſiſt a law which is injurious to their perſonal intereſts.—In the firſt caſe, the refuſal would certainly be productive of good to the ſtate; in the ſecond, the effect of the law would only be ſuſpended; for it would be impoſſible that the king ſhould reſiſt the known wiſhes of the nation; and his *veto*, however abſolute, would, in fact, only operate as an appeal from the legiſlature to the people at large: the legiſlative body would alſo have an irreſiſtible check upon the improper uſe of the prerogative, in their ability to withhold the ſupplies, or refuſe the neceſſary military eſtabliſhment for the defence of the ſtate.

The royal *veto* was, therefore, they maintained, ſufficiently limited, in point of *fact*, though the moſt ſerious conſequences would ariſe, were it equally limited by *law*: to aſſign a period to the effect of the *veto*, would be to compel the chief of the executive power to contract a ſolemn engagement to enforce the execution of a law which he diſapproved; it would be giving him only a *degraded* authority, forming a glaring contraſt with the extenſive power with which the public intereſt imperatively required he ſhould be veſted; it would be to engage him to adopt with indifference laws that would be prejudicial to the people alone; it would be to arm him, in defence of his prerogative, againſt the legiſlative body, by means of an inſurrection, which he would be able to juſtify by the moſt plauſive pretences, and which would ever find numerous partizans; whereas, if the power to exert an abſolute *veto* remained entire, illegal and violent reſiſtance, being uſeleſs to the prince, would never be employed, without exciting that diſguſt and alarm, which would be attended with infinite danger to the miniſters, and even to the king himſelf.

It was obſerved that the example of America was by no means applicable to the ſituation of France: that the reſpective governors of the United States ſhould only have a ſuſpenſive *veto*, might be proper; it was a regulation that might be adapted to their particular poſition; the authority of theſe governors was temporary; they had, one with the other, about two hundred and thirty thouſand perſons to govern; their prerogative ſtood in no need of a vigorous ſupport; ſince it had as many protectors as there were citizens

citizens who hoped to ſucceed to the government: but, to infer from thence that the ſame kind of *veto* was ſufficient for an hereditary monarch, for a king who had ſix-and-twenty millions of ſubjects to govern, whoſe prerogative was a perpetual object of envy, and required the moſt active exerciſe—it was an inference that could not but excite the greateſt aſtoniſhment [22].

It would be poſſible, they inſiſted, to prove that to diſpute whether the *veto* of the king ſhould be abſolute or ſuſpenſive, was tantamount to a diſcuſſion of this queſtion—whether or not there ſhould be any king in France? but the nation had declared its will, that there ſhould be a king; and the freedom of the nation required a king, required that he ſhould be veſted with regal prerogatives, and required that he ſhould have an unlimited ſanction.

Mirabeau, after ſupporting, in one of the beſt ſpeeches he ever made, the abſolute *veto* of the king, with infinite energy, declared—*That it would be better to live at Conſtantinople than in France, if laws could be made without the royal ſanction* [23].

M. Mounier obſerved, that the moſt glorious functions of ſovereignty were thoſe of the legiſlative body; that if the monarch did not conſtitute an integral part of that body; if he had no influence in the eſtabliſhment of laws, he would be reduced to the capacity of a mere magiſtrate, ſubject to its orders, or of a general of its armies; the government would no longer be a monarchy, but a republic, and the royal authority would no longer be reſpected by the people, becauſe it would no longer contribute to the promulgation of good and ſalutary laws: that the laws ſhould invariably be the reſult of a concurrence between thoſe for whom they are made, and him by whom they are to be executed: that the head of a monarchy ſhould never be ſeparated from a legiſlation by whoſe decrees he was to govern: in ſhort, that it was in the nature of things, that the general will of a nation ſhould conſiſt of the will of the king, combined with the will of the national repreſentatives; ſince, if that will were formed without the concurrence of the firſt citizen, it would no longer be the *general* will.

The abbé Sieyes remarked, that there was an *identity* between the king and the nation. How then, it was aſked, could the king be ſeparated from the nation? Conſidered as its principal repreſentative, has he not the ſame claim with the repreſentative body, to a

[22] Hiſtoire de la Revolution de 1789, p. 58, *et ſuivantes.*

[23] Piéces Juſtificatives à la fin du Mémoire de M. le Comte de Lally-Tolendal, p. 135, 136.—But it is curious to obſerve, that at the very time when Mirabeau ſo ably defended the *veto* of the king, his emiſſaries in Paris were inſtructed to perſuade the people that he oppoſed it to the utmoſt of his power; and, to ſupport the deluſion, he took care to quit the Aſſembly juſt before the diviſion, that his vote might not appear as a record againſt it.

right of participating in the formation of laws? If he be alſo conſidered as the head of the nation, and *not repreſented* by any of its delegates, is it not clear, that as he does not exerciſe his right *mediately* in the Aſſembly, he ought to exerciſe it *immediately*?—that is to ſay, that his particular will ought to be joined to the general will of the other repreſentatives of the nation, in order to render the law complete, without which, what is defined to be the will of all, would not be his, and therefore would not be law.

On the other ſide, it was contended, that however eminent, however extenſive, the royal prerogative ought to be, it was impoſſible to find any thing in the nature of the king's authority that could make him an integral part of the law: the ſovereign, that is to ſay the people, keep in their own hands all that portion of power which they are able to exerciſe, and only delegate what they are unable to exerciſe; they delegate the executive power which is eſſentially tranſmiſſible, and which, in a vaſt country, containing an immenſe population, they can only exerciſe by confiding it, in its utmoſt plenitude, to the hands of an individual; they reſerve to themſelves the true power, the legiſlative power, which they do not delegate, becauſe they can always exerciſe it, through the medium of their repreſentatives.

It was maintained, that the aſſertion, that the king was a *continual* repreſentative of the nation, was a falſe aſſertion: the union of the two ideas implied a contradiction, for every repreſentative is revocable, and, if he be not revocable, he is no repreſentative; how then could the right of repreſenting the nation be hereditary? By accumulating contradictory titles on the head of the king, it was ſaid, thoſe titles would be weakened, and his lawful authority be endangered; he could not at once be chief and repreſentative, legiſlator and *executor*; for if he were a repreſentative he was not chief; and if he were a chief he was no repreſentative; if he were legiſlator he ought not to be executor, becauſe the union of theſe two powers was incompatible with all principles of government; and if he were executor he could not be a repreſentative, becauſe it was repugnant to common ſenſe, that a *mandatary* ſhould execute the law which he has made.

It was inſiſted, that the legiſlative power was eſſentially *one*, and ought to be exerciſed wholly by all, or in the name of all: it ought, therefore, always to be republican, even when the executive power, or the government, was monarchical: the only difference which diſtinguiſhed a chief from a maſter, and a monarch from a deſpot, was that the chief and the monarch directed their private will by the general will, whereas the maſter and the deſpot wiſhed to ſubject the will of all to their own will: the chief of the French would be, therefore, converted into their maſter, and the monarch into a deſpot, if the intervention of his *perſonal* will were permitted, in order to ſtop, annihilate, or even ſuſpend, the will of the nation, as expreſſed by its repreſentatives.

The ſame party ſtrenuouſly urged, that the *right of prevention* was ſynonimous with the *right of formation*; that it was that alone which conſtituted the majority of the National Aſſembly, whoſe right of formation would not be diſputed: when a motion was only ſupported by the minority, the majority expreſſed the national will by rejecting it; it exerciſed its legiſlative power exempt from all limitation: but the right of prevention, lodged in the hands of the executive power, would be infinitely more arbitrary; for the majority of the legiſlative body only ſtop the will of the monarchy, whereas the government would ſtop the will of the majority itſelf, that is, the national will, which nothing ought to ſtop; and the *veto*, in ſuch hands, would become a *Lettre de Cachet* againſt the ſupreme will of the nation.

The ſuſpenſive *veto*, or appeal to the nation, they ſaid, would be attended with worſe conſequences than even the abſolute *veto*; it would change the very nature of the government, and ſubſtitute a pure democracy in the place of a repreſentative government: *France neither was nor could be a democracy:* ſix-and-twenty millions of men, of whom nine-tenths were deſtitute of inſtruction, and reduced by the preſſure of want to mere working-machines *(machines de travail)* could not directly concur in the formation of laws; diſperſed over a ſurface of five-and-twenty thouſand ſquare leagues, they could not poſſibly unite in one aſſembly; it was, therefore, neceſſary, for the general utility, that they ſhould act by repreſentatives, who were much more capable than themſelves of underſtanding the true intereſt of the community, and of interpreting their own will on that ſubject. The appeal to the people would refer the legiſlative power from the repreſentative body to the nation itſelf, that is to ſay, to two or three hundred legiſlatures, in which, in the preſent ſtate of things, neither deliberation nor diſcuſſion could take place: it would create a breach between the nation and her repreſentatives, her monarch and *herſelf*; the proſcription of the *royal veto* was, therefore, as eſſential to the ſecurity of the king as to the freedom of the people. But, it was pretended, they obſerved, that the legiſlative power might one day encroach upon the executive power; as if it were an eaſy matter for a power deſtitute of arms to ſubvert a power that was conſtantly armed; as if an aſſembly of twelve hundred men, always rivals in influence, even when they could not be rivals in ability, and inveſted, for a very ſhort time, with a portion of the national authority, but without any perſonal power, could find ſufficient means to concert and execute, in a ſmall number of years, plans of invaſion againſt the perpetual and hereditary depoſitory of the public force. Conſult hiſtory—ſaid they—and you will invariably find the repreſentatives of the people inceſſantly employed in reſtraining the executive power, and never in uſurping it: the long parliament itſelf has been unjuſtly accuſed of the violences of Fairfax, and the crimes of Cromwell. If it retained its power too long, the reaſon is that *the conſtitution of England has never protected nor preſerved the conſtituting power of the people; that the law there gives to the prince the abſurd right of diſſolving the parliament at his pleaſure, and that fatal* ROYAL VETO

cauſed the blood of the Engliſh to flow in the field of battle, and that of their king to be ſhed upon the ſcaffold[24].

It is not—purſued theſe oppoſers of the royal prerogative—in the deſperate reſources of diſbanding the army, and refuſing the ſupplies, that a barrier ſhould be ſought for againſt the ambition of monarchs: the conſequence that would reſult from theſe violent meaſures would prove more fatal to the people than to the king. It is to be found in the conſtitution itſelf, in your prudence in arming him only with ſuch a degree of power as is neceſſary for the ſupport of the laws, and of the public tranquillity. A permanent aſſembly can never ſecure us againſt the effects of a *veto*, which may alſo be permanent itſelf. Doubtleſs a good king will always comply with the wiſhes of the nation; but a violent and obſtinate monarch will expoſe, if it be neceſſary, both his crown and his life, in defence of his prerogative.

If you are to look for a check upon the impetuous movements of a very numerous legiſlative aſſembly, united in one chamber, you muſt not expect to find it in the *royal veto:* when the evil is in the Aſſembly, the remedy muſt not be ſought for out of the Aſſembly: when a ſkilful mechanic wiſhes to give a regular motion to the wheels of his machine, he fixes the regulator in the machine itſelf. But the *veto* will not be in the legiſlative aſſembly, but out of it; it will not temper the violence of debate; and it will deſpotically annihilate all deliberate deciſions, as well as thoſe which are adopted with precipitation.

It is ſtill leſs to be looked for in inſurrections; a frequent repetition of thoſe violent ſhocks would effect the diſſolution of the body politic; but it is in the ſeparation of powers; the frequent change of the members of the National Aſſembly; in the frequent exerciſe of the conſtituting power of the people, that you will be able to fix a rampart that will alike reſiſt the audacity of deſpots, and the ambitious ſpirit of repreſentatives who are unworthy of their auguſt functions.

Such were the arguments adduced by Meſſieurs Garat junior, de Landine, Sales, Beaumetz, and others, in oppoſition to the royal negative, and in reply to thoſe who defended that prerogative of the crown. There was only one point in which the two parties appeared to agree, and that was, in the rejection of the *ſuſpenſive veto*; but though this ſeemed to preclude all hope of accommodation, the popular party, finding the ſtrength of their

[24] The groſs ignorance betrayed by theſe people, of the true principles of the Engliſh conſtitution, and of their tendency and effects, can only be equalled by their preſumption; they ſeldom, indeed, quote hiſtory but to miſrepreſent or pervert the facts to which they allude; and their general obſervations, as well as the whole tenour of their arguments, prove them to be alike deſtitute of political and of hiſtorical knowledge.

opponents

opponents greater than they had expected, affected to give way, in a certain degree, and, by this ſemblance of moderation, brought over to their ſide ſome of thoſe indeciſive characters, who are apt to think themſelves at liberty to relax in their principles on political points that involve the welfare of a ſtate, with the ſame facility as if their own perſonal intereſt were only at ſtake; and thus, in order to promote a temporary and evaneſcent peace and harmony, lay the baſis of permanent diſcord, and laſting diſſentions.

The ſame perſons then who had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the *veto*, whether abſolute or ſuſpenſive, now acknowledged, that to deprive the ſupreme depoſitory of the executive power of the latter prerogative would be attended with danger to the ſtate, though to entruſt him with the former would be ſtill more dangerous; that the deciſions of repreſentatives, who are not infallible, may ſometimes be repugnant to the deciſions of the nation itſelf, in which caſe it was the undoubted right, as it was alſo the intereſt, of the latter, to provide ſuch a counterpoiſe as would prevent the former from profiting by the inactivity or inattention of the people, to attack their rights, or ſubvert their freedom. They ſaid, it would be dangerous to admit the monarch to a participation of the legiſlative power; but that the ſuſpenſion of a law was not the act of a legiſlator, concurring in its formation; it was only an intervention of the ſupreme magiſtrate for retarding the ſanction of a decree.

The appeal to the people, ſaid they, is both impolitic and unconſtitutional. In a country which is not a democracy, and France can never be one, the people can neither ſpeak nor act but by their repreſentatives: an appeal therefore could only be made from the nation to itſelf, and not from the repreſentatives to their conſtituents, ſince theſe laſt can only make themſelves heard through the national deputies. All France, by adopting a repreſentative government, has proſcribed thoſe mandates, which would change the legiſlative aſſembly into a troop of *vote carriers* and *political couriers*[25]. The National Aſſembly ought, doubtleſs, to be eternal, but its members ſhould be frequently changed. Suppoſing then, that the ſame deputies ſhould be entruſted, for two or three years, with the powers of the nation, what inconvenience could reſult from the right of the monarch to ſuſpend the promulgation of laws which he ſhould deem hoſtile to the welfare of the ſtate during a given number of ſucceſſive legiſlatures, the period being fixed at which his refuſal would ceaſe to operate?

Does not, they purſued, this ſuſpenſive *veto*, on the contrary, tend to excite a recipro-

[25] This is a curious mode of reaſoning; for the purpoſe of annulling thoſe inſtructions which the members had all ſworn to obey, theſe ingenious logicians make the adoption of a repreſentative government by their conſtituents deſtructive of mandates given ſubſequent to ſuch adoption; for the people had of courſe choſen their repreſentatives before they gave them their inſtructions!!!

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cal ſpirit of emulation between the king and the repreſentatives, whence muſt inevitably reſult the moſt ſignal advantages for the public cauſe? Will not the deputies of the people become more cautious in preſenting for the royal ſanction ſuch precipitate laws as the king may refuſe to adopt; and, by ſuch refuſal, ſecure the applauſe of the nation? and will the monarch dare to ſuſpend the execution of wiſe and uſeful laws, when a period is aſſigned at which his will muſt give way to the will of the nation? It is impoſſible that ſeveral ſucceſſive legiſlatures ſhould concur in conſpiring againſt the public intereſt: it is impoſſible that the prince ſhould have any lawful reaſon for reſiſting the general will, ſo manifeſted.

And let it not be ſaid that this power of ſuſpenſion may be dangerous at a time when the nation is employed *in creating a conſtitution for itſelf*, for the conſtitution of a people can never be ſubjected to the royal ſanction; not that it is to be dreaded that the legiſlative body may invade the authority of the prince, ſince that authority will be defined by the conſtitution itſelf, which will be equally ſecured againſt the attacks of legiſlators and of kings; nor yet let it be ſaid, that ſuch a power would degrade the majeſty of the throne; for the majeſty of the monarch conſiſts not in the extent of his authority, but in that of his beneficence. It is deſpotiſm that degrades the ſceptre, while the title of ſupreme executor of the laws ennobles and conſecrates the dignity of the chief of the nation.

The *abſolute veto* is incompatible with this fundamental principle of every legiſlation —*the law is the expreſſion of the general will*—and might precipitate the nation into the moſt abſurd deſpotiſm. The refuſal of ſupplies, and the diſbanding of the army, would light up the fire of diſcord in the heart of the kingdom, would render it incapable of external defence, and would yield it up an eaſy prey to the arms of its enemies. The appeal to the people would break the main ſpring of government, and inceſſantly renew the prevalence of anarchy. The *ſuſpenſive veto*, that is to ſay, an appeal from a preſent legiſlature to a future one, can alone ſecure the rights of the nation and thoſe of its chief, by placing in the centre of the political machine—the National Aſſembly—the regulator which is to direct all its movements[26].

Such were the new arguments applied in oppoſition to the abſolute negative of the crown; but it muſt not be ſuppoſed that the diſcuſſions on this important queſtion were confined to the Aſſembly; for though the popular leaders had broached the doctrine, that the people could neither ſpeak nor act but *through their repreſentatives*, the people of Paris, and of various other great towns, ſpeedily convinced them that they both could and would ſpeak and act *for themſelves*. The inhabitants of the capital, in particular,

[26] Hiſtoire de la Revolution de 1789, tom. iii. p. 75, 76, 77, 78, 79.

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began to interfere openly in the queſtion of the *veto*, and in all the other points relative to the conſtitution, which were then agitated by the Aſſembly; while the crowds in the galleries became every day more inſolent and outrageous, drowning the voices of thoſe members, whoſe opinions were adverſe to their own, by hootings and revilings, and endeavouring to over-awe them by inſult and menace; while long liſts of members who were marked for proſcription, were diſperſed not only in the capital, but through every part of the kingdom [27].

The popular fermentation in Paris was riſing to the higheſt pitch. All the old manœuvres which had produced ſuch extraordinary effect in the preceding months of June and July, were renewed in the gardens of the Palais-Royal, and in the adjacent political coffee-houſes. The turbulent Saint Huruge, formerly an officer in the king's ſervice, but noted for the great ſhare he had in all the diſturbances of the capital, propoſed to march to Verſailles, the real object of which expedition was to carry off the king, the queen, and the dauphin; to enſlave the National Aſſembly, and to exterminate ſuch of its members as were ſo *ariſtocratical* as to defend *monarchy* [28]. The neceſſary meaſures for enforcing theſe horrid reſolutions were adopted, and the inſurgents had actually be-

[27] M. Mounier ſays—"All thoſe who defended the unlimited *veto* in the Aſſembly, were inſcribed on liſts of proſcription, and calumniated by the news-paper writers and libelliſts. M. de Mirabeau was the only one whom they ſpared. In a publication, entitled "*La Lanterne aux Pariſiens*," in which Meſſieurs de Lally-Tolendal, Clermont Tonnerre, Bergaſſe, Thouret, Treillard, and myſelf, were denounced, as worthy to be delivered up to the fatal *lanthorn*, M. de Mirabeau is highly praiſed. The author has even recourſe to an artful manœuvre, in order to prevent him from loſing the popularity he enjoyed. He aſſures the public, that the report that M. de Mirabeau had defended the *veto* originated with his enemies, and that the accuſation was calumnious.

"I am indebted to M. de Mirabeau for a knowledge of the author of this publication, who is likewiſe the author of another, entitled "*France Libre*." M. de Mirabeau, whom I met, by chance, at the houſe of a painter, in company with ſeveral other perſons, held a long converſation with me, on ſeveral parts of the monarchical ſyſtem of government. He did me the honour to obſerve, that we always agreed upon *principles*, and that we only differed ſometimes upon the *means* of enforcing thoſe principles. I did juſtice to moſt of his political principles, maintaining, at the ſame time, that he ſometimes deſerted them, and acted in contradiction to himſelf. The author of the *Lanterne aux Pariſiens* joined in our converſation, and pompouſly advanced a doctrine that was void of all ſenſe. He acknowledged that he, and all thoſe who ſaw things in the ſame point of view, *wiſhed to have no king; but that not daring as yet to declare their ſentiments, they were endeavouring, by degrees, to attain* THAT SUMMIT OF PERFECTION. M. de Mirabeau confuted the *maker of pamphlets* with great energy. He informed me, that this man was the author of the *Lanterne aux Pariſiens*, and then behaved to him in the moſt friendly manner. Two Pariſians came in, and having enquired after the health of the author, and the motives of his journey to Verſailles, he told them, that he had come to paſs ſome days at M. de Mirabeau's. The count and the author of the *Lanterne* then left the room together, preſerving that air of familiarity which ſhowed them to be in habits of intimacy.—This curious ſcene was exhibited at Mr. Bauze's, painter to the king, in his preſence, and in that of Meſſieurs *Target* and *Damade*, and of madame *Lejai*." *Expoſé de la Conduite de M Mounier, dans l'Aſſemblée Nationale, et des motifs de ſon départ en Dauphine*, p. 49, 50. Note 1.

[28] Mémoire de M. de Lally-Tolendal, p. 129.

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gun their march[29], when the vigorous interference of Bailly and La Fayette diſconcerted their plans, and checked the tumult for the preſent, by committing Saint Huruge, Tintot, and ſome of the moſt violent inſurgents, to priſon.

The day after this ſeditious proceeding, however, two deputies were diſpatched to Verſailles, from the Palais-Royal, to the count de Lally-Tolendal, whom the inſurgents conſidered as a *good citizen*. "We are the perſons,"—ſaid theſe deputies to the count—"who, by accepting this miſſion," (the object of which was to communicate to the National Aſſembly, through the means of the count, the determination of the *Palais Royal* to admit of no royal negative) "have *ſuſpended* the march of twenty thouſand armed "men, who have conſented to wait till they know the deciſion of the Aſſembly. *Paris* "*will have no* VETO; *ſhe regards as traitors all thoſe who wiſh for a* VETO; and *ſhe puniſhes all traitors*. Several of her deputies have already deſerved that appellation; "they are about to be *recalled*; and as they will then be no longer inviolable, *juſtice* "*ſhall be done them.*" To convince the count of the truth of their aſſertions, they actually named ſeveral members who had already been proſcribed[30].

M. de Lally replied, with equal ſpirit and propriety, that the real traitors were thoſe who, filling the people with alarms alike falſe and unjuſt, made them conſider as their enemies the very men who were, in fact, their moſt zealous defenders; that, with regard to himſelf, whom they had juſt called *a good citizen*, and who believed that he merited that title, he ſhould think himſelf fortunate did he poſſeſs as much knowledge and virtue as thoſe members whom they had proſcribed; that Paris, before ſhe diſtributed her hatred and her confidence, would do well to conſult a little the former actions and whole life of the perſons on whom ſhe meant to beſtow them; that he conſidered the royal ſanction as one of the firſt ramparts of national freedom; that he had paſſed the night in labouring to defend it; and that, if they would attend him to the National Aſſembly, they ſhould witneſs his efforts to ſecure the triumph of that ſanction, and the faithful account that he meant to render of their miſſion.

They accordingly attended him thither, and had the mortification to find that he kept his word with them; he arraigned in proper terms of ſeverity the daring preſumption of the Pariſians, and called upon the Aſſembly to ſtand forth in vindication of their own freedom and dignity; the preſident of the Aſſembly, at the ſame time, obſerved that *he* had received two letters written to the miniſter of Paris, by the preſident of the commons, containing an account of the ſame inſurrection. At firſt the indignation was univerſal; at leaſt, thoſe who did not feel it, obſerved a profound ſilence. Great applauſe was beſtowed on M. Mounier, who ſhowed the connection that ſubſiſted between

[29] Mémoire du Comte de Lally-Tolendal, p. 129. [30] Idem, p. 129, 130.

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the troubles in Paris and thoſe which prevailed in other parts of the kingdom, deriving from thence the undeniable inference that ſyſtematic plots were in exiſtence; invoking the vengeance of the Aſſembly on the heads of the conſpirators, of whatever rank they might be, who ſought to build their own fortune on the ruin of the public; and moving that a reward of five hundred thouſand livres ſhould be offered to any perſon that would give proof of ſuch plots, with a free pardon to any of the parties concerned that would impeach their accomplices.—M. de Clermont-Tonnerre was equally applauded, when he moved, that the mayor of Paris, and the commander in chief of the militia, ſhould be required to attend the Aſſembly that very day; that if they would not anſwer for the liberty of the members, the Aſſembly ſhould be immediately transferred to ſome other place, in concert with the king; and that the eſtabliſhed tribunals ſhould be inſtructed to proceed, without delay, againſt the authors of the troubles. Every thing ſeemed to indicate the inſtant adoption of meaſures the moſt firm and deciſive, when thoſe members who were intereſted in the encouragement of tumults, had recourſe to the old manœuvres, repeating the ſtale admonition, not to expoſe the authority of the Aſſembly to the danger of an attack, and not to *irritate the people*. After filling the minds of the deputies with real terror, they ſupplied them with the means of concealing it under a diſplay of falſe courage; they talked of deſpiſing ſeditions which ſome of them did not dare, and others did not wiſh, to ſuppreſs: and they beſtowed the epithet *anonymous* on two letters written to the king's miniſters, by the preſident of the commons, and an addreſs of the palais-royal, ſent to one of their own members, by two deputies from the palais-royal!!! Yet, at the ſuggeſtion of theſe people, the motion for the order of the day was carried, and the Aſſembly, by thus neglecting to reſent the inſult of the Pariſians, became liable to the neceſſary conſequence, of being expoſed to ſtill greater inſults in future.

The leaders of the inſurgents, and their ſecret inſtigators, in order to fix on the court that degree of odium which they probably deemed neceſſary to ſanction the meaſures they had reſolved to purſue, ſtudiouſly propagated a report, that a project had been formed to carry off the king and the royal family to Metz. Other reports, equally inflammatory, and equally unfounded, were alſo circulated by the factious; and, in one reſpect, they produced the ſame effect as if the plots had been real, by exciting a great and general ferment throughout the nation. The Pariſians, of courſe, ever prone to credulity and ſuſpicion, were the firſt to receive and diffuſe the alarm. Every thing began to wear a moſt dangerous appearance in the capital, and all who had witneſſed the late violences of its inhabitants had every thing now to apprehend. The royal *veto*, however, was the preſent oſtenſible cauſe of tumult. If that were allowed, the clergy and nobles, they cried, will renew all their power:—"We muſt act, and inſtantly, too, elſe, in "three days, France will be enſlaved."—In the height of this ferment, two violent reſolutions, tranſmitted from the towns of Rennes and Dinant, in which thoſe who ſupported the abſolute *veto* were declared *traitors to their country*[31], produced the moſt alarming effect.

[31] Expoſé de la Conduite de M. Mounier, p. 55.

In this ſtate of things the miniſters were intimidated, and the king, ever anxious to promote the general harmony at the expence of his own lawful authority, was imprudently prevailed on to expreſs his aſſent to the ſuſpenſive *veto*—a meaſure certainly injudicious, as, by yielding to the encroaching ſpirit of the popular party, he only paved the way for new infringements and additional ſacrifices. It was, accordingly, determined, by a majority of the Aſſembly, that the king ſhould have only a ſuſpenſive *veto*.

By the adoption of a ſuſpenſive and limited *veto*, the Aſſembly, it has been contended, acted in contradiction to the poſitive inſtructions of their conſtituents; in contradiction to themſelves; in violation of the dignity of the throne, and even in oppoſition to the intereſt of the nation.

The decree was contrary to their inſtructions;—for while theſe admitted a participation and concurrence in the exerciſe of the legiſlative power, the ſuſpenſive *veto* ſuppoſed that exerciſe to be undivided, and centered excluſively in the Aſſembly. The inſtructions gave the king a poſitive co-operation in the legiſlation; whereas the *veto* reduced him to a negative faculty, which faculty was farther reduced to a ſimple delay. The inſtructions acknowledged the abſolute neceſſity of a free and voluntary ſanction—the limited *veto* confined the neceſſity to a forced, an extorted ſanction.

In the *cahiers* of the Third Eſtate, it was obſerved, "That the legiſlative power be-
"longing to the nation, ought to be exerciſed by its repreſentatives, *conjointly* with the
"king [32];—that in future no law ſhould be eſtabliſhed but by the States-General, with
"the *concurrence* and authority of the king, and the conſent of the nation [33];—that no-
"thing ſhould be deemed law in France but what had been propoſed by the States-
"General, and *ſanctioned* by the king [34], &c. &c.

The inſtructions of the nobility to their repreſentatives were ſtill more preciſe;—they ſaid "That the king ſhould be conſidered as an *eſſential part* of the legiſlative power;
"ſo that no law could have exiſtence without his conſent [35]:—that the reſpect due to
"his majeſty required that the laws ſhould originate with the States-General, to be
"ſanctioned or rejected by the king, who ſhould not be obliged, in any inſtance what-
"ever, to explain the motives of his rejection [36]:—and, that the king's conſent was ne-
"ceſſary to render the laws complete and effective [37]," &c.

The inſtructions of the clergy coincided with thoſe of the nobility and Third Eſtate;

32 Inſtructions of the Commons of Rouen, Art. 10. 33 Of Metz, p. 5. 34 Of Lyons, p. 7
35 Of the nobles of Evreux, p. 5. 36 Of the hundred of Paris, p. 3. 37 Of the city of Paris, p. 7.

they

they inſiſted that no national laws ſhould be enacted and proclaimed without the *authority of the king*, and the free conſent of the States General[38]."

The decree was contradictory to their own principles: for if the king had, as they acknowledged, a right to *forbid (vetare)*, that right ought not to have been confined to the power of *ſuſpending for a time*; and if he could only ſuſpend for a time, it was no longer a right, it was but a precarious conceſſion, as eaſily revoked as limited; it was not a *veto*, it was but an *appeal* to a higher power, who might either confirm or annul it, after a given time. There was a glaring contradiction in the terms, when they firſt ſpecified an efficacious impediment, and then deſtroyed it by a limitation deſtructive of all efficacy.

It violated the dignity of the throne; for no degradation could be greater than that of making the royal ſanction the vain demonſtration of a will ſubjected to diſcuſſions incompatible with the pre-eminence of a monarch; of allowing him only an impotent oppoſition, ſubordinate to the judgment of thoſe who diſputed the principle on which it was founded; and of leaving him no other means of preſerving his people from the effects of laws, which ſhould appear to him prejudicial to their welfare, than a vain attempt, which, as the count de Mirabeau obſerved, would only tend to excite a deſire of triumphing over it, and to produce an indecent ſtruggle between the throne and the repreſentatives of the people[39].

It was contrary to the intereſt of the nation itſelf—For, as the concurrence of the chief or head of the nation, in the legiſlative acts paſſed by its delegates, would reflect an honour on, and tend to conſolidate, thoſe acts, ſo would the want of that concurrence expoſe the people to be deprived of the benefit of laws, by eſtabliſhing a diſcordance between their formation and execution. Beſides, nothing could be more fatal to public freedom than the encroachments of the legiſlative power, when, no longer ſtopped by any impediment, no longer reſtrained by any counterpoiſe, it might make the moſt daring attempts, and overleap the boundaries preſcribed to it.

The embarraſſment created by a wiſh to deſtroy in reality what in appearance they were forced to maintain, and by being reduced to combat the fundamental maxims of their new conſtitution with abſtract ideas, was moſt forcibly diſplayed in many parts of the debate on this important ſubject, and even in the decrees which followed thoſe debates. The fluctuation of ideas the moſt diſcordant; the ſhock of opinions the moſt op-

[38] Inſtructions of the clergy of Lyons, p. 9. and of Auxerre, fol. 20.—All the inſtructions, either expreſsly, or by implication, tended to the eſtabliſhment of the ſame principle.

[39] De Calonne, de l'Etat de la France, préſent et à venir, p. 131.

poſite,

poſite, and thoſe ſucceſſive involutions which made the enemies of the *veto* loſe ſight both of the point from whence they ſet out, and of the end and object of their diſcuſſions, inſpired every cool and impartial obſerver with the moſt ſerious apprehenſions for the fate of the monarchy. This principle was reſpected by the conſtitutional committee [40], and was even confirmed, at a ſubſequent period, by a conſtitutional decree,—that no act of the legiſlative body ſhould be conſidered as law, unleſs it was ſanctioned by the monarch.

To *ſanction* a law is to render it obligatory, to give it that quality which renders it ſacred and inviolable; and ſince no act could have exiſtence as law, unleſs it had the royal ſanction, it evidently followed that ſuch ſanction ſhould be free and voluntary; otherwiſe, it would be a mere material form, not inherent in the eſſence of the act, which, conſequently, ought not to have been placed in the liſt of thoſe conditions which were deemed neceſſary to the exiſtence of the law [41].

Thoſe members who adhered to the two inſeparable truths—1. That the legiſlative acts, which ought always to be propoſed, diſcuſſed, and framed by the National Aſſembly, could not have the force of laws without the conſent of the monarch;—and, 2. That the monarch being free to aſſent or diſſent, was alſo at liberty to give or refuſe his ſanction indefinitively;—thoſe who maintained theſe principles, argued rationally, conſiſtently, and in conformity with the maxims received in all monarchical governments.

But thoſe who, not being able to deny this neceſſity of the royal ſanction, which the Aſſembly itſelf had previouſly acknowledged, were yet anxious to render it effectual, were extremely puzzled to ſupport the hypotheſis they advanced. Preſſed in different and oppoſite directions, by the natural conſequences of the principle, and by the deſire to elude them, they appear to have endeavoured to divert the attention of the Aſſembly from the principle itſelf, either by ſophiſtical applications of the unconteſted axiom, that all power is derived from the nation, and by blindly reaſoning upon the monſtrous irregularity of making the will of an individual predominate over the will of the whole; or elſe, by entering into uſeleſs and ſterile diſcuſſions on the different kinds of *veto*, as if they had nothing to do but to make their choice.

Thoſe who voted for an abſolute and indefinite *veto* proved, if it were refuſed, the nation would be without a king; while thoſe who rejected it exclaimed, that if it were granted, the nation would remain without liberty. But after the opinion of the latter

[40] This committee conſiſted of ſeven members, of whom Meſſieurs de Lally-Tolendal, Clermont-Tonnerre, Mounier, and Bergaſſe—all men of moderate principles, and *real* friends to their country—conſtituted the majority.

[41] De Calonne, p. 138.

had

had prevailed, and it was agreed to adopt a ſuſpenſive *veto*, a difficulty occurred as to a legal mode of taking off the ſuſpenſion: by leaving it unlimited and undefined they would fall into the pretended abuſe of the abſolute *veto*, and only change the name; by making it depend on the judgment of the *elementary* aſſemblies, and on the plurality of future mandates, they would reduce it to an appeal to the people, diametrically oppoſite to the wiſhes of the Aſſembly, very dangerous in its effects, and difficult to determine; and, by confining it to any given term, they would at once eſtabliſh and annul it, loſe its utility, yet retain its inconveniences. To remedy this complication of difficulties, ſome of the members propoſed to come to no deciſion, as to the nature of the *veto*, but to leave it to the nature of things; while others adviſed the total rejection of a *royal veto*, and, as a ſubſtitute, the creation of a chamber of reviſion, within the Aſſembly itſelf, or of ſeveral interior ſections, for the purpoſe of purifying and correcting all laws of a doubtful complexion. This laſt plan was ſhewn, by M. Mounier, to be a ſubverſion of the principles of the Aſſembly, by introducing the preponderance of a minority. All theſe ſchemes, indeed, were ſucceſſively confuted by each other; and it was remarked, that each member was invariably right when he attacked the ſyſtem of others, and invariably wrong when he attempted to ſupport his own. A formal decree, however, was at length adopted, which declared that the king ſhould have the power to ſuſpend a decree, during two legiſlatures; but that if the third aſſembly ſhould perſiſt in it, it ſhould then have the force of a law without the royal ſanction.

But the introduction of any kind of *veto* againſt a poſitive law—that is to ſay—againſt that decree to which the legiſlative power had given the form of a law, would be the greateſt abuſe that could poſſibly ſubſiſt in a goverment, and is a monſter in politics. The example of the *veto* of the Roman tribunes, or that of the *liberum veto* of the Poles, only tend to confirm this truth; ſince they have ever been conſidered as the ſources of infinite diſorders.

But the Aſſembly were led aſtray in their diſcuſſions, by arguing upon falſe premiſes. They ſet out with the ſuppoſition that the king did not participate in the legiſlation in the ſmalleſt degree; that the nation had not delegated to its chief the right of concurrence in the formation of laws; and that a decree, which had been diſcuſſed without him, in the aſſembly of deputies, was already law, when preſented for the royal ſanction; from thence they proceeded, very abſurdly, to examine what ſpecies of *veto* ſhould be granted to the monarch. Thoſe who voted for giving him *no veto*, were the only members who drew juſt concluſions from ſuch premiſes; for if, when a law is eſtabliſhed, the king could impede its effect, his will would be ſuperior to the laws; and when the will of an individual is ſuperior to the law, the government is deſpotic.

But the error which miſled all the ſpeakers on the *veto*, was that of having taken for law what had not yet become law; of having diſavowed the evident neceſſity of the con-

currence of the chief of the nation, in order to form the will of the nation; of having loſt ſight of the inſtructions of their conſtituents, who had laid it down as a fundamental maxim—a maxim too confirmed by the Aſſembly—that no legiſlative act was law in France without the royal ſanction, and, conſequently, without the free aſſent of the king.

A ſtrict attention to this conſtitutional maxim would have ſolved all their difficulties, and have releaſed them from the embarraſſment in which they involved themſelves, by a ſophiſtical attempt to reconcile principles that are, in fact, irreconcilable. All great truths are ſimple in themſelves, clear in their import, and eaſy of conception. The concurrence of the monarch in the legiſlation throws aſide and renders ineffective every kind of *veto* which is repugnant to the law, and deſtroys its force.

The refuſal of the firſt repreſentative of the nation to confirm a decree diſcuſſed by the other national repreſentatives, could be no attack on the law, ſince the law could not exiſt without his conſent, and that could not be called oppoſition to the law which was but the abſence of one of its elements. The limits which divide the legiſlative from the executive power would have remained untouched, ſince it would not have been the executive power that would have co-operated in the formation of the law, but the ſupreme delegate of the nation for the exerciſe of that power, in his quality of chief of the nation, a quality perfectly diſtinct from that of depoſitary of the executive power to which it was annexed.

It was from having confounded thoſe two qualities, or rather from having only conſidered the monarch as poſſeſſed of the leaſt valuable of the two, that they were led into two ſuppoſitions equally inadmiſſible:—one, that the king would be ſuperior to the law—the other, that the national deputies would be ſuperior to the king, and, again, into this alternative, that the will of an individual would predominate over the will of the whole, or that his will would alone be excluded from the general will. Whereas both theſe extremes would have been avoided by acknowledging the king's right, at firſt to co-operate in the functions of the legiſlative power, and then his right to the excluſive exerciſe of the executive power. In the firſt capacity, he would have participated in the formation of the law; in the ſecond, he would have been ſubject to the law when formed.

In that caſe, there is no degradation either of the law or the king. The law governs the monarch equally with all the other members of the body politic; and when it is once poſſeſſed of all the elements which conſtitute its eſſence, it no longer admits of a *veto*. The monarch obeys the law, but not until he has previouſly contributed to its formation; and his obedience, preceded by his conſent, is but an honourable example

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which he owes to his ſubjects; whereas, if his obedience were required, without that previous conſent, it would be an act of ſervility that would place him below his ſubjects; they are only ſubjected to the law, becauſe it is the expreſſion of their united will; and the king would, in that caſe, be ſubject to a will foreign from his own, to a will in which he would have leſs part than the laſt of thoſe citizens of which he is the firſt [42].

The advocates for this doctrine, which has been moſt ably and eloquently defended, conſidered the limitation of the *royal veto* as a mortal blow to the French monarchy. That monarchy, they ſaid, muſt be inevitably deſtroyed if the monarch ceaſed to form an integral part of the legiſlation; if his ſanction were transformed into a vain and inſignificant formality. They maintained, therefore, that no Frenchmen, however friendly to the principles of the Revolution, could, in juſtice or conſcience, abide by the deciſion of the National Aſſembly in this inſtance. Three unanſwerable reaſons, they averred, ſhould deter them from ſo doing.

The firſt of theſe is founded on the inſtructions of their conſtituents, in which the nation ſo formally and imperatively declared that no law could exiſt in France without the king's conſent, that it was not even permitted to advance an hypotheſis, in which the continued refuſal of that conſent would ceaſe to operate as an impediment to its exiſtence.

The ſecond reaſon is—that the people of France wiſhed to be free; that they ought to remain free; and that the firſt object of the new conſtitution ſhould have been the ſecurity of freedom; whereas they would now ceaſe to be free, if thoſe to whom they delegated the legiſlative power could exerciſe that power, in all poſſible caſes, without any reſtraint whatever; if there were nothing to prevent them from encroaching on the executive power, and if the royal prerogative had not a means of preſerving itſelf from uſurpations which would inevitably tend to its annihilation. *The ſanction of the king is the rampart of the public liberty*—ſaid the count d'Entraigues—and the repreſentatives of the people would ſoon become their tyrants, if the refuſal of that ſanction ſhould ever ceaſe to be abſolute. It is, without doubt, indiſpenſably neceſſary, for ſecuring the conſtitution of a ſtate, to reſtrain the executive power; but it is ſtill more neceſſary to reſtrain the legiſlative. That ſubverſion of the laws which the former can only effect by ſucceſſive ſteps, and by a longer or ſhorter train of enterprizes, the latter does in a moment. As its bare will can give being to the laws; ſo its bare will can alſo annihilate them; and the legiſlative power can change the conſtitution, as God created the light [43]. In order, therefore, to enſure ſtability to the conſtitution of a ſtate, it is abſolutely neceſſary to impoſe reſtraints on the legiſlative power. But that power can-

[42] De Calonne, p. 140. et ſequent. [43] De Lolme, chap. iii. "On the Diviſion of the Legiſlative Powers."

not be reſtrained except by the effect of the royal ſanction, and that ſanction cannot have effect unleſs it be perfectly free. Its neceſſity and its freedom then were preſcribed by the intereſt of the nation; the nation, therefore, were right in making it, in their inſtructions, a conſtitutional principle, and to intimate it to their delegates, as a condition inſeparable from the legiſlative power which was confided to them. How then could thoſe delegates violate this condition, take advantage of the power they had received to deſtroy its limits, and render themſelves deſpotic, by removing that barrier which had been erected as an impediment to their attainment of deſpotiſm?

The third reaſon, alledged as a motive for refuſing obedience to the decree, is the authority of the Aſſembly itſelf, and the ſubmiſſion which it has required to the new conſtitution. If ſuch of its own decrees, upon which it principally eſtabliſhed its conſtitutional *baſis*, are incompatible with thoſe which declare, that when the king ſhall refuſe his aſſent to a law, that refuſal ſhall only be ſuſpenſive, and which fix the term of that ſuſpenſion, obedience to the former muſt certainly be preferred, as well on account of their priority, as of their conformity to the unanimous wiſh of the people, as expreſſed in their inſtructions to their deputies. This *incompatibility* then is ſtriking.

1. It is declared, by the ſixth article of the rights of man, *that the law is the expreſſion of the general will*; and that all citizens have a right to concur, *either perſonally, or by their repreſentatives, in its formation.*

The king, having no *repreſentative* in the Aſſembly, ought, according to this article, to have concurred *perſonally* in the formation of the law: this article, then, had pronounced, before-hand, the nullity of thoſe poſterior decrees, by which it was decided that the law might be formed without the king's concurrence, and that he could only ſuſpend its effects for a given time. According to theſe, the king was the only perſon excluded from a right belonging to every member of the community, and he was more dependent than any of them; for when a law had paſſed, even ſuch of the members of the Aſſembly as oppoſed it, were ſuppoſed to have conſented to it: but this legal fiction could not apply to the king, who being out of the Aſſembly, and having no repreſentative in it, did not implicitly concur in the acts which proceeded from thence. If, then, he refuſed to give his perſonal concurrence, he did not concur at all; and his refuſal was, according to the terms of the above article of the rights of man, a radical impediment to the formation of the law.

2. By the ſecond article of the conſtitution, it is declared—*That the French government is monarchical.*

Nothing is more contrary to the proper and diſtinctive character of a monarchical government, than to withhold from the monarch all ſhare in that by which the people are governed.

governed. In that caſe the monarchs not the ſupreme repreſentative of the nation, but the forced agent of other repreſentatives; he is not a king, he is not even a *free man*, when compelled to obey what he has not approved [44], and obliged to execute what he diſapproves.

3. According to the ninth article—*No act of the legiſlative power ſhall be conſidered as law, unleſs it be ſanctioned by the king.*

Yet according to the two ſubſequent articles, an act of the legiſlative body might be law, without being ſanctioned, ſince, after a given time, the refuſal to ſanction was rendered ineffective.

4. According to the tenth article [45]—*The king may refuſe his conſent to the acts of the legiſlative body.*

But what particle of this liberty to refuſe his conſent remained, when it was converted, in the firſt inſtance, into a ſimple ſuſpenſion, and when, afterwards, that ſuſpenſion was declared to be without effect at a fixed period?

Did they not betray a contempt of that law which they had ſworn to obſerve, when they decreed, on the one hand, that the royal ſanction was indiſpenſably neceſſary to all legiſlative acts; and, at the ſame time, on the other, that this ſame ſanction ſhould be extorted, or that, after a certain delay, they might diſpenſe with it?

From theſe premiſes, this concluſion has been drawn—That the Aſſembly neither poſſeſſed the right of acting in contradiction to the will of their conſtituents, nor the power of deſtroying what, in conformity to that will, they had already decreed; conſequently, that the decrees which reduced the monarch to a ſuſpenſive and limited *veto* were doubly null; and, finally, that the oaths of fidelity to the king and conſtitution, ſo repeatedly adminiſtered by the Aſſembly, were ſo many abjurations of an erroneous ſyſtem, which equally violated the prerogative of the king, the rights of the nation, the liberty

[44] "If we are free, although ſubject to the laws,"—ſays Rouſſeau,—"it is becauſe the laws are the regiſters of "our will."—*Contrat Social*, p. 61. A law enforced in ſpite of the ſuſpenſive *veto*, at the expiration of its term, would certainly not have been *the regiſter of the king's will*. De Calonne, p. 149, note.

[45] Theſe articles of the conſtitution were decreed, though not formed into a regular code, previous to the final deciſion on the ſeparate queſtion of the nature of the royal ſanction, which did not take place till the fourteenth of September. It was uſual with the Aſſembly, after one queſtion was ſtarted, to proceed with the diſcuſſion of another, before the firſt was decided.

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of the people, and the laws of the conſtitution, promulgated and confirmed by the Aſſembly [46].

After the deputies had decreed, that the National Aſſembly ſhould be *permanent*, without fixing the meaning of the term [47], though it afterwards appeared that they only intended, that one aſſembly ſhould not be diſſolved until the members of the next were ready to take their ſeats, they proceeded to the diſcuſſion of a queſtion of little leſs importance than that which they had lately determined with regard to the royal negative—this was, "Whether the National Aſſembly ſhould be compoſed of one or two chambers?" But, important as it was—for to us it appears that the very exiſtence of the monarchy depended, in a great degree, upon the deciſion—it was deemed as trifling by the popular party, or, at leaſt, was ſo ſettled a point between themſelves, that they had the effrontery to put this queſtion—"Whether there were any grounds for deliberation?" It was however decided in the affirmative; but ſtill ſuch diſorder prevailed, and the democratical ſpirit burſt forth with ſuch violence, that the friends to the ſcheme for the eſtabliſhment of two chambers could with difficulty obtain a hearing; and the preſident, the biſhop of Langres, was ſo groſsly inſulted, that he reſigned his poſt, with the indignation of offended virtue [48].

The committee of the conſtitution had already given their opinion upon the ſubject, by recommending a ſenate, and a houſe of repreſentatives, each of which ſhould poſſeſs a negative upon the proceedings of the other. Something of this kind, bearing ſome reſemblance to the Britiſh conſtitution [49], was, as we have before ſhewn, the favourite ſcheme with Lally-Tolendal, Clermont-Tonnerre, Mounier, and the other leaders of the moderate party, who, equally zealous with the republicans for the eſtabliſhment of a free government, conſidered a limited monarchy, with a conſtitution ſo formed as that the principal parts ſhould operate as mutual and perpetual checks upon each other, as affording the faireſt proſpect for the attainment and permanence of that object.

[46] De Calonne, p. 150, 151.—On the diviſion on the queſtion of the royal ſanction, every member who voted for an unlimited ſanction was groſly inſulted by the mob in the gallery, and even threats were *there* employed to extort a compliance with the wiſhes of the democratic party.—Still, however, near four hundred members voted for the unlimited *veto*. "And it cannot be doubted"—ſays M. de Lally—"that, but for the manœuvres of ſome, and "the weakneſs of others, the royal ſanction would have triumphed in its utmoſt plenitude." *Memoire*, p. 146.

[47] M. de Lally, p. 137. [48] Idem, p. 139.

[49] The authors of the Engliſh hiſtory of the Revolution, in their account of this debate, obſerve—"On the diſ-"cuſſion of the ſubject in the Aſſembly, *the Engliſh government was treated with all due reſpect*." The *correctneſs* of this obſervation is amply demonſtrated by the following paſſage, from the Memorial of the count de Lally-Tolendal, who was preſent, and even took a diſtinguiſhed part in the debate—"Par reſpect pour ma patrie, je tairai *les* "*ſatyres que J'ai entendu faire de ce gouvernement*, dans leſquelles l'ignorance des faits le diſputoit á l'inconſequence des "raiſonnemens." P. 136, 137.

But

But though the influence, public opinion, and patriotic diſintereſted character of the leaders of this party, by rendering their ſanction and countenance highly neceſſary, in many of the late arrangements, had induced the popular deputies artfully to amuſe and lead them along with an idea that their favourite ſcheme of two chambers, and of mutual checks, was a meaſure ſo rational and ſo neceſſary that in ſettling the conſtitution it muſt meet with general concurrence; they now found, that they had been dupes to men, who made no ſcruple to ſacrifice truth, decency, and juſtice, the lawful rights of the crown, and the true freedom of the people, to the accompliſhment of their own projects. The popular leaders, excluſively poſſeſſed of all power, and ruling the nation at their will, without any reſponſibility attached to their conduct, were little diſpoſed to ſubmit to the impoſition of reſtraints upon their proceedings.

The arguments with which theſe laſt combated the propoſitions of the committee of conſtitution, were weak and frivolous in the extreme, and all their aſſertions on the ſubject belied by experience. They maintained that the eſtabliſhment of two chambers would be the means of erecting an aſylum for the old ariſtocracy, and a cradle for a new one ſtill more dangerous, inaſmuch as it tended to fix in the National Aſſembly itſelf a germ of corruption, a lure for the ambitious, and a nouriſhment for thoſe fatal prejudices of diſtinction and pre-eminence, ſo contrary to the ſpirit of the new conſtitution. M. Rabaud de Saint-Etienne had the effrontery to ſtate, with all the confidence and pride of ignorance and preſumption, that the eſtabliſhment of an upper houſe, in England, the advantages of which had been ſtrongly pointed out by the committee of conſtitution, had not been originally adopted, either with a view to ſuſpend the precipitate proceedings of the repreſentatives of the people, or to repreſs the dangerous encroachments of the commons on the royal authority, but was ſimply a treaty of accommodation; a kind of capitulation between the pride of the great, and the ſpirit of liberty in the people. "It "is"—ſaid he—"a relic of the feudal government; and we have proſcribed that "ſyſtem."

The very nature of things, it was urged, was repugnant to every diviſion of the legiſlative power. The nation which is repreſented is *one*, the repreſentative body ought therefore to be *one*. The National Aſſembly is inſtituted for the purpoſe of forming, collecting, and proclaiming the general will; that will is *one* and *indiviſible*; it is inconſiſtent, therefore, to divide the legiſlative body into two ſections, in order to pronounce one will [50].

In ſhort, theſe metaphyſical legiſlators argued like men in a ſtate of nature, without the advantage of experience for their guide, and totally ignorant of the ſcience of politics. The remarks of Rabaud on the Engliſh houſe of lords, whether applied to its origin or uſe, were alike deſtitute of truth, and only ſerved to diſplay, in a ſtrong point

[50] Hiſtoire de la Revolution de 1789, tom. iii. p. 116.

of

of view, his extreme ignorance, with reſpect to the hiſtory of a nation, which it would have been happy for his country, (and for himſelf too) had ſhe taken it as a model in the formation of her government. But as arrogance is generally found to prevail moſt where ignorance reſides, all the wiſdom of paſt times, all the experience of eſtabliſhed governments, all the knowledge of ancient and modern legiſlators, the authority of Lycurgus and Polybius, of Cicero and Tacitus, of Monteſquieu, Gibbon, Blackſtone, De Lolme, and other writers of eminence on the ſcience of legiſlation, tending to demonſtrate, that public freedom and tranquillity are the reſult of a proper aſſociation of the three powers in a ſtate, were rejected with diſdain by the popular leaders.

One might naturally ſuppoſe, that the moſt ſuperficial politician would have perceived the danger of truſting the whole power of a mighty ſtate in the hands of a ſingle aſſembly, without any other to check or regulate its conduct, or any power whatever in the government which could, even by the interpoſition of a negative, attempt to reſtrain the exceſſes to which ſuch a body, poſſeſſed of ſuch unexampled authority, muſt almoſt neceſſarily be ſubject. It was evident, that, in ſuch an aſſemblage, all its power muſt be ſubjected to the caprice or deſign of a majority; that ſuch a majority, once formed, would ſoon become too much enamoured of its new power not to cohere firmly together in its ſupport; that the diſſenting minority, whatever its number, could do nothing more than complain (if they were allowed to do that) and would thereby become entirely uſeleſs, while the triumphant majority, by a proper management of the inflamed populace, with the national purſe and the ſword in their hands, might eſtabliſh the moſt complete tyranny, under a republican name or form, and render it unalterable, by boldly perpetuating their own exiſtence.

But obvious as theſe conſequences were, they were overlooked by ſome, and diſregarded, or, perhaps, *courted*, by others. Recourſe was had to the uſual mode of enforcing the adoption of every popular motion, by inflaming the minds of the people, who had been ſtudiouſly taught to conſider the eſtabliſhment of two chambers as the reſtoration of deſpotiſm, and as utterly incompatible with every ſcheme of reform, and every principle and hope of liberty. They accordingly took a decided part in the buſineſs; eſpecially thoſe in the galleries of the Aſſembly, and the inhabitants of the metropolis. Experience had ſufficiently demonſtrated the ample adequacy of the means poſſeſſed by the democratic faction to excite this fermentation. Even in the Aſſembly, every power diſtinct from that of the repreſentation of the people at large was branded with the name of *ariſtocracy*[51]; and ſenates were rendered odious, by being indiſcriminately compared to that of Venice. A ſchiſm likewiſe aroſe, as was too frequently the caſe, among thoſe parties, who were bound by every principle of reaſon and policy to act with one

[51] Such were the pains taken to inſpire the populace with a hatred of what the demagogues were pleaſed to call ariſtocracy, that a popular preacher of the metropolis, declared from the pulpit—*That they were ariſtocrats who crucified Jeſus-Chriſt!!!*—*Journal Politique*, &c. tom. i. p. 162. note.

accord;

accord; moſt of the nobility and clergy voting againſt the meaſure, becauſe they thought it would entirely preclude the renewal, at any future time, of their old favourite ſyſtem of ſitting in three orders:—The very reaſon, if it had been valid, why the friends of the new conſtitution ſhould have ſupported the meaſure.

Under all theſe circumſtances, within and without, the queſtion of one or two chambers was finally put to the vote, on the tenth of September, when only eighty-nine members voted for two chambers, againſt a majority of above nine hundred. Although it is evident that the meaſure muſt have been rejected without any external violence, yet it is not incurious to obſerve the freedom of ſuffrage which prevailed in this new temple of liberty. Of this, excluſive of liſts of proſcription and incendiary letters [51], two ſpecific inſtances are adduced by Meſſieurs Lally-Tolendal and Mounier: the former aſſerts, that ſeveral members of the commons ſaid to him individually, "*Would you have "me expoſe my wife and children to be murdered by the mob* [52]?" The latter declares that different members came to him to beg certificates that they had not given unpopular votes, as they had heard that their country-ſeats were to be burned!!!

By this decree, the democratical part of the conſtitution acquired ſuch a decided preponderance, that every man who poſſeſſed a common degree of political judgment, muſt have foreſeen the downfall of the monarchy. To ſuppoſe that the ſovereign could long exiſt, after the abolition of the ſenate or upper houſe, was ſcarcely leſs abſurd, than if an architect were to remove the center or middle part of a pyramid, and to expect that the top of the pile would remain ſuſpended in air:—Remove the center of the political pyramid (the ſenate), the top (the king) will inevitably fall, and nothing but the baſe (the commons) remain. The abſurd metaphyſical nonſenſe of the nation being *one* and *indiviſible*, if it had any meaning, muſt have applied, with at leaſt equal force, to the abolition of royalty as to the abolition of the ſenate. But it is moſtly the caſe with inexperienced men, who advance general abſtract principles, with a view to apply them to a *particular* purpoſe; having attained their object, *they* look no farther; but *others* take up the principle, carry it to its utmoſt extent, and juſtify all their exceſſes,

[51] During the diſcuſſion of the queſtion of the two chambers, M. Mounier received, *in the Aſſembly*, ſeveral anonymous letters, in ſome of which he was threatened to be aſſaſſinated, and, in others, to be poiſoned. On his return to his lodgings, he received ſome more, replete with the moſt groſs invectives, and the moſt atrocious menaces. From that time, till his reſignation of his ſeat, ſcarcely a day paſſed without his receiving letters of the ſame kind. As a proof that the freedom of the preſs was not much more reſpected—though ſo recently and ſolemnly confirmed by the declaration of rights—than the freedom of ſuffrage; a printer of Paris, to whom M. Mounier had ſent ſome reflections which he wiſhed to publiſh in favour of the eſtabliſhment of two chambers, returned them, with a declaration that he durſt not print them, from the dread of incurring the reſentment of the people!—*Expoſé de la Conduite de M. Mounier, dans l'Aſſemblée Nationale; et des motifs de ſon retour en Dauphiné*, p. 52. *note.*

[52] Mémoire, p. 141.

by the very arguments employed by the men who firſt eſtabliſhed the principle. The puerile legiſlators of the conſtituent aſſembly appear, in the formation of their political ſyſtem, to have conſidered ſimplicity as the teſt of excellence; but every Tyro in politics would have told them, that of all ſciences, the ſcience of government is the moſt complex; and it is more than probable, that the excellence of a ſyſtem of *government* is in proportion to its complexity. In fact, when the object is to controul human paſſions by human inſtitutions, and to make the intereſt and freedom of individuals ſubſervient to the intereſt and freedom of the community, great and extenſive power muſt, of neceſſity, be veſted *ſomewhere:* to avert the danger that muſt neceſſarily accompany the delegation of ſuch power, its *diviſion* is indiſpenſably requiſite; hence the balance of powers in a ſtate, and the eſtabliſhment of thoſe political counterpoiſes, which tend to the prevention of a monopoly of the moſt dangerous ſpecies. If all power be lodged either in the hands of a ſingle perſon, or of a ſingle aſſembly, public liberty cannot long exiſt: tyranny muſt enſue; the only difference is this—that, in the firſt caſe, the people are oppreſſed by one deſpot, in the laſt, by a thouſand.

On this occaſion, M. Neckar had the misfortune to ſee a meaſure which he had promoted, from the beſt motives, and which certainly was juſt, however its *policy* might be queſtioned, productive of the worſt effects:—we mean, the double repreſentation, as it was called, of the Third Eſtate. Had that meaſure been accompanied by a deciſion in favour of the ſeparation of the chambers, agreeably to eſtabliſhed rule, which, at the time of its adoption, might have been eaſily enforced, no inconvenience could have ariſen from it. But the extreme and unaccountable ſupineneſs of the miniſters in neglecting the latter, paved the way for the *amalgamation* of the different orders, by which means the democratic party ſecured a majority in the legiſlative body, which they determined at all events to retain; and this could be done by no other means than by perpetuating the eſtabliſhment of a ſingle chamber.

The next queſtion diſcuſſed in the Aſſembly, was on *the duration of the legiſlative body*, which, after ſome debate, it was decreed, ſhould be renewed every two years by election; and this biennial period was to be denominated a legiſlature. It was ſoon after formally declared—on the fifteenth of September—that the throne was indiviſible; that the crown was hereditary in the males of the reigning family, according to the order of primogeniture, to the perpetual excluſion of females: thus confirming the ancient rule of ſucceſſion, according to the Salic law; and that *the perſon of the king is inviolable.*

The duke of Orleans and his party brought on a violent debate upon the ſubject of the ſucceſſion, in which Mirabeau took an eager part, and which was productive of expreſſions and circumſtances that ſerved to open the eyes of many, who had not before diſcerned

diſcerned the operative motives of many parts of their conduct, and the grand object of their views. They contended, with great warmth, that the Aſſembly ſhould confirm the renunciations made by Philip the Fifth of Spain, of his right of ſucceſſion to the French crown, by declaring them to be valid and legal; and of courſe that the Orleans branch would be the next in ſucceſſion, after the failure of the preſent royal line. The Aſſembly, however, deemed it too imprudent and dangerous a meaſure, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, for them to enter at all upon the ſubject of the Spaniſh renunciations; and that it would be equally idle and abſurd to agitate queſtions then, upon events which might never take place. Mirabeau, who was the moſt unguarded of mankind in his expreſſions, ſeemed to reckon as nothing all the exiſting lives, which muſt, by ſome means or other, be diſpoſed of, before any diſpute could ariſe upon the ground of ſucceſſion; he ſaid openly—that ſuch a ſubject of diſcuſſion might ariſe much ſooner than was expected; that the corpulence of the king and of Monſieur afforded little cauſe for expecting their lives to be laſting; that the dauphin was only a ſickly infant; and as to the count d'Artois, and his two ſons, he affected ſcarcely to conſider them as exiſting with reſpect to that queſtion, repreſenting them not only as fugitives, but nearly as outlaws.

After the deciſion of this queſtion, the Aſſembly, on the eighteenth of September, received a letter, written directly in the king's name, containing ſome obſervations on the decrees of the fourth of Auguſt, which had been ſent to him rather to *promulgate* than to *ſanction*. After approving the general ſpirit of their determinations, the king declared, that there were a few articles to which he could give only a conditional aſſent, promiſing, however, to modify or renounce his own opinions, if convinced by the repreſentations of the National Aſſembly.

This letter is declared, by M. de Lally, to have been a monument of the king's wiſdom, of his juſtice, his reſpect for property, his beneficence towards his people, and his deference to the national will [53]. Of fifteen articles, he gave his ſanction, unconditionally, to eight, and the other ſeven he did not refuſe to ſanction, he only ſubmitted them to the re-examination of the Aſſembly. "He laid before us"—ſays M. de Lally—"political conſiderations, founded on treaties with foreign powers; objects of navigation "and external commerce, or matters of internal adminiſtration and public revenue, *of* "*moſt of which we were ignorant.* He aſked for ſome indemnity for thoſe perſons on "whom every ſacrifice had been impoſed. He required that the ſuppreſſion of titles might "not contribute to encreaſe the opulence of the wealthy alone; and that it might not "tend to augment the poverty of the poor, by eſtabliſhing the neceſſity of an impoſt

[53] Mémoire de M. de Lally-Tolendal, p. 150.

" for the ſupport of the clergy. He ſaid to us—" *Let us mutually enlighten each other,* " *and it is impoſſible we ſhould diſagree.*"

The king remarked on the hardſhip of aboliſhing, without any compenſation to the landlord, thoſe rents which had once, indeed, been paid as a compenſation for perſonal ſervitude, but which, having been ſettled between the lords and their vaſſals ages ago, had ſince frequently changed hands, had been exchanged, bought and ſold for a valuable conſideration, without the purchaſers obſerving or thinking of the odious origin of their titles. He alſo adverted to the danger of offending, and the impropriety of offering wrong and injury to ſeveral of the German princes, who had great feudal poſſeſſions in Alſace, and ſome of the neighbouring territories, which were guaranteed to them by the moſt ſolemn treaties; but whoſe eſtates and property were all indiſcriminately involved in the general effect of the decree for the reform of the feudal ſyſtem.

But notwithſtanding the favourable impreſſion which this letter made on one of the moſt intelligent and enlightened members of the Aſſembly, it was ill-received, and excited much general diſcontent. It was maintained, by the popular party, that the Aſſembly was a National Convention, a conſtituting body; and that the decrees of the fourth of Auguſt, being conſtitutional articles, did not ſtand in need of the royal ſanction. In vain did many members obſerve, that, when the king gave his ſanction, it ſhould be pure and ſimple; when he refuſed it, the majeſty of the throne forbade all attempts to aſcertain the motives of his refuſal; but, before he gave a deciſive anſwer, he had certainly a right to communicate his reflections. In vain did they aſk, how it could be imagined, that he who had the power of ſuſpending the execution of a decree, in order to avert its evil effects, had not the privilege of pointing out its inconveniences? —The king of England, it was obſerved, could communicate his obſervations to the parliament, through the means of his miniſters, who had ſeats in either houſe; but as, in France, the propoſal of the committee of conſtitution for eſtabliſhing conferences between the Aſſembly and the miniſters had been rejected, the moſt urgent neceſſity ſubſiſted for examining the obſervations of the king.

The Aſſembly, it was remarked, had not always entertained the opinion now advanced, that the king ought to be paſſive in all conſtitutional regulations, ſince; in their addreſs, on the ſubject of removing the troops from the vicinity of the metropolis, they had expreſsly told the king, that the members had been deputed to ſettle *the conſtitution, in concert with him—to conſecrate with him the eminent rights of royalty:*—and, how could it be ſuppoſed, that the ſupreme chief of the nation was the only man in the monarchy, to whom *the free communication of his thoughts*, when he conſidered them as conducive to the happineſs of his ſubjects, was prohibited.

Again,

Again, it was urged, that when the right of the king to examine the conſtitution, and to aſk for alterations, had been formerly aſſerted, no one had attempted to call it in queſtion: beſides, none of the decrees of the fourth of Auguſt were really conſtitutional; and all ſuch as bore any *reſemblance* to articles of that deſcription, he had expreſsly approved. But theſe obſervations had no effect on the majority, who determined, that the preſident ſhould immediately wait on the king, and entreat his immediate *promulgation* of the decrees in queſtion. He was, of courſe, obliged to comply, without farther obſervation or comment; and the principle was eſtabliſhed or avowed, that ſo far from ſuſpending, he could not even offer his advice upon, much leſs criticiſe, the meaſures of the preſent legiſlature. The Aſſembly, however, paid ſo much attention to him as to ſend word, that in the future diſcuſſion of, or carrying into effect, the principles to which he objected, they would conſider and pay a proper regard to the opinions he had given [54].

During theſe tranſactions, things were haſtening to an unexampled criſis, tending to produce a new and extraordinary aſpect of affairs. Notwithſtanding the impriſonment of one of the principal inſurgents of the Palais-Royal; notwithſtanding the proclamations of the town-houſe, and the activity of La Fayette; the moſt alarming accounts were frequently tranſmitted from Paris to Verſailles: at one time, intelligence was re-

[54] Mirabeau, in the courſe of this debate, diſplayed his uſual inconſiſtency; notwithſtanding his boaſting declaration of the eighteenth of Auguſt, "That no writer, no public man, had a greater right than he to aſſume to "himſelf the honour due to courageous ſentiments, diſintereſted views, a proud independence, and an UNIFORMITY "*of inflexible principles!!!*"

On the fifteenth of June, he maintained, that the royal ſanction was indiſpenſably requiſite to authorize even the denomination that the Aſſembly ſhould aſſume. "*Can the authority of the monarch*"—ſaid he—"*ſlumber for an* "*inſtant?* Muſt not he concur in your decree, were it only for the purpoſe of being bound by it? *And ſhould it, in* "*violation of every principle, be denied, that his ſanction is neceſſary to render obligatory* EVERY EXTERNAL ACT OF THIS AS- "SEMBLY, would he grant it to thoſe ſubſequent decrees, the impoſſibility of diſpenſing with which is univerſally "allowed, when they ſhall flow from a ſpecies of conſtitution which he will not acknowledge?

On the ſitting of the ſixteenth of July, when diſputing with M. Mounier on the ſubject of the influence which he wiſhed to give to the Aſſembly in the choice of miniſters, he placed the Aſſembly *above* the king, and inveſted it with ſovereign power. "You forget"—ſaid he—"that it is with the SOVEREIGN you are diſputing the controul "over miniſters; you forget, that we, who are the REPRESENTATIVES of the SOVEREIGN, *we, before whom* ALL "POWERS *are ſuſpended and even thoſe of* THE CHIEF *of the nation, when he does not accord with us*, &c." Here, then, he would ſuffer the *authority of the monarch to ſlumber*. Yet in the addreſs, drawn up by him, on the removal of the troops, he had ſaid—"You have called us together to fix, *in concert* with you, the conſtitution."

On the nineteenth of Auguſt he complained, that "*The decrees of the fourth had not paid ſufficient reſpect to property*;" —yet he now aſked—"*in what inſtance the decrees of the fourth attacked property?*"—On the ſeventh of Auguſt he ſaid—"It will be ſeen whether I am not acquainted with the extent of the royal prerogative; and I defy the moſt re- "ſpectable of my colleagues to carry that religious reſpect which is due to it farther than I." But in September, he maintained, that the decrees of the fourth of Auguſt had no need of the royal ſanction. Theſe decrees, however, were certainly EXTERNAL ACTS of the Aſſembly!

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ceived of a project for carrying off the king; at another, of a design formed by the Paris militia to fix their quarters at Verſailles.

The moſt atrocious accuſations were preferred by each party againſt the other. The nobles and clergy were every day charged with new conſpiracies againſt the Revolution; and each embelliſhed with appropriate circumſtances of alarm and horror. It was ſeriouſly aſſerted, and with ſuch a degree of confidence, as if the writer had himſelf ſeen it, that a ſubſcription was ſecretly opened for the murder of all good citizens; and that prieſts and nobles were the ſubſcribers to this bloody inſtrument of proſcription. It was farther ſaid, that a reſolution had been formed once more to inveſt Paris and Verſailles with an army; to diſſolve, ſword in hand, the National Aſſembly; and to kindle, in every part of the empire, the flames of civil war. On the other ſide, a charge was openly laid, by men of eminence and character, who offered to ſtand forth in ſupport of it, that the violent republicans were reſolved, at the hazard of murder and civil war, to compel the king and the National Aſſembly to reſide within the walls of Paris, and thus render both, and through them the whole nation, ſubſervient to the influence, and inſtrumental to the caprice, of that turbulent and ſeditious capital [55].

The rebellious French guards, who had deſerted and fought againſt their ſovereign, and who were now in the actual pay of the city of Paris, under the denomination of center companies, were ſeized with a moſt unaccountable fit of ambition (unleſs their preſent anxiety may be aſcribed to the ſame motives that influenced their former diſloyalty) to have again the honour of attending and guarding the king's perſon, which they claimed as an undoubted right, and even talked of marching to Verſailles to enforce their claim. Saint Huruge, who had been lately releaſed from confinement, was the chief inſtigator and promoter of this plan. It will be eaſily conceived, that, excluſive of the apparent danger of entruſting the king's perſon in ſuch hands, nothing could be more perſonally odious or mortifying to him, than to be compelled to endure the ſight and attendance of men, who had already ſo ſhamefully broken their oaths, and violated all the bonds of military ſubordination, duty as ſoldiers, and loyalty as ſubjects.

In this ſtate of anarchy, when every act of atrocity was eaſy of accompliſhment; when the moſt horrid licentiouſneſs prevailed at the very windows of his palace, and at the doors of the National Aſſembly [56]; the only protection on which the king could rely,

55 It is needleſs to ſay which party had taken *truth* for the baſis of its aſſertions. No attempt was ever made to execute the projects aſcribed to the firſt; while all the machinations imputed to the laſt have been compleatly realized.

56 One atrocious act, of which the annals of hiſtory can furniſh no example, was committed at Verſailles, at this period. A parricide, who had been ſentenced to die, was reſcued at the ſcaffold, and carried off in triumph, by the *people*,

rely, in caſe of any ſudden incurſion from Paris, or of any ſudden attack from the rabble of Verſailles, (who were only ſecond to their brethren in the capital in all acts of violence and cruelty) reſted in his *Gardes-du-Corps*, a regiment formed upon the ſame principles with the ancient Engliſh life-guards, being compoſed entirely of gentlemen; upon which account they were particularly deteſted by the people. He was likewiſe attended by the national guards of Verſailles, who had placed themſelves, for that purpoſe, under the command of count d'Eſtaing; but their principles were known to be too deeply infected by thoſe of the community to which they belonged, to warrant the ſmalleſt confidence being placed in their protection. D'Eſtaing had received ſome letters from La Fayette, apprizing him of ſome approaching danger; which letters the former communicated to the municipality of Verſailles, who had likewiſe been applied to on the ſame ſubject by the miniſter. The municipality, on this occaſion, conſulted the military committee of the national guard, who demanded a reinforcement of regular troops, in order to protect the town from any ſudden violence; and the municipality accordingly conſented to the introduction of a ſingle regiment, on condition that the officers and men ſhould take ſuch an oath as ſhould be preſcribed to them, and ſubject themſelves to the orders of the committee of the national guards, or, more properly, the town-militia—*Garde-Bourgeoiſe*. The regiment of Flanders, was, in conſequence, ſent for from Douay.

The arrival of theſe troops, though regarded with pleaſure by thoſe members of the National Aſſembly who were of opinion that public tranquillity was eſſential to the preſervation of the freedom of debate, occaſioned as great a ferment at Paris and Verſailles, as the arrival of a powerful foreign invading army would have done. The uſual baggage, ſtores, and field-pieces of a regiment, were immediately ſwelled into magazines of warlike ſtores, and trains of artillery. All the orators of the Palais-Royal were ſet to work, and ſeemed inſpired with new vigour in their ſucceſsful efforts to inflame the minds of the people; aſſuring them, as a matter of fact of which they had direct knowledge, that the king intended to make his eſcape under the eſcort of this regiment; and ſtating, in dreadful colours, the conſequences which muſt neceſſarily take place from the accompliſhment of this deſign.

In the ſitting of the twenty-firſt of September, the count de Mirabeau maintained—"That the executive power had a right to augment the military force wherever and "whenever the urgency of circumſtances ſeemed to require ſuch an augmentation; but "that he ought immediately to give information of the fact to the legiſlative body." He moved, that the miniſter's letter, and the requiſition of the commander of the guards

people, who called themſelves the NATION, and who, at the ſame inſtant, hung up an innocent woman, who ſtood by as a ſpectator.—*Faits relatifs a la derniere inſurrection, par M. Mounier*, p. 1.—*Memoire de M. le Comte de Lally-Tolendal*, p. 157.

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of Verſailles ſhould be communicated to the National Aſſembly; but this motion was feebly ſupported, and finally rejected.

On the twenty-eighth, it was propoſed by a member, to declare *that the legiſlative power was veſted in the hands of the nation*; when Mirabeau, finding this abſtract propoſition oppoſed by a great number of perſons, exclaimed, with his wonted energy—"*That all thoſe were traitors to the ſtate who oppoſed the declaration.*"—He was anſwered, however, by Mounier, who obſerved, that the declaration of rights had already conſecrated this important truth, "That the principle of all ſovereignty was veſted in the nation;" that, in that ſenſe, not only the legiſlative power belonged to the nation, but all other powers whatever; the nation, being unable to exerciſe them, was obliged to delegate them all; that, ſuch delegation being made, it became neceſſary to declare in whoſe hands they were veſted; and that it was evident the legiſlative power was veſted in the repreſentatives of the nation, conjointly with the monarch. A fact ſo ſimple and evident, it was natural to ſuppoſe, the moſt ignorant among them muſt have been aware of; it was received, however, as a *new* obſervation, or, rather, as a new *diſcovery*, which, as ſuch, (for as legiſlators they ſeem ſtill to have retained that attachment for *novelty* which had ever diſtinguiſhed them as *Frenchmen*) was permitted to operate in rejection of the propoſition of Bouche; but another propoſition, almoſt equally abſurd, and tending, in a certain degree, to anſwer the ſame purpoſe, by obſcuring a queſtion that could not be rendered too plain, viz. what was the nature and extent of the authority of the crown? was adopted by *acclamation*: it was this—to declare *that the legiſlative power is veſted in the National Aſſembly, by whom it is exerciſed in the manner hereafter ſpecified.*

The election of Mounier to the preſident's chair afforded another example of the *freedom* which prevailed in the National Aſſembly; his nomination was repreſented, by the popular faction, as the work of the *ariſtocracy*, though moſt of the clergy and nobility were not preſent at the time he was choſen. The ſame manœuvres which had been exerted with ſucceſs on the election of Thouret, were now renewed to prevent Mounier from accepting the honour conferred on him; and the factious openly boaſted that a *glorious fall* was prepared for him; deſiring the laſt preſident, M. de Clermont-Tonnerre, not to abſent himſelf, for his preſence would very ſoon be requiſite, in order to reſume the ſtation he had juſt quitted. But Mounier poſſeſſed too much fortitude to be deterred, by the threats of his enemies, from the diſcharge of his duty; he accordingly took the chair, and, during a moſt critical period, conducted himſelf with equal firmneſs and propriety.

We have already obſerved, that the partiſans and promoters of anarchy experienced the moſt lively alarms at the arrival of the regiment of Flanders. Every attempt had been made to prejudice the people againſt the ſoldiers, and people openly exclaimed, in the ſtreets

ſtreets of Verſailles, that it was a diſgrace to the inhabitants to permit the introduction of ſtrangers into the town[57]. Paris even thought that ſhe had a right to complain of this augmentation of the military force.

The day, however, on which the troops arrived, paſſed without any diſturbance: the members of the municipality, many of the Gardes-du-Corps, and the officers of the militia of Verſailles, went forth to meet them; they took the oath required of them in preſence of an immenſe crowd of people; yet in different parts of the crowd murmurs of diſcontent were heard to iſſue from perſons, who were, doubtleſs, poſted there for the purpoſe of exciting a tumult; and the conduct of the municipality was cenſured in terms of extreme ſeverity.

Thoſe who diſapproved of the arrival of this regiment ſoon adopted the reſolution to employ the ſame means of promoting a ſpirit of defection among the men, which had been ſo ſucceſsfully exerted with many other regiments. In conſequence of this *patriotic* determination, numerous detachments of thoſe zealous and indefatigable ſupporters of Pariſian liberty, the women of pleaſure, were diſpatched to Verſailles, in order to make converts, and eſtabliſh their influence among the new-comers; one of their principal objects being to embroil the private ſoldiers and their officers, by continually leading the former into thoſe petty neglects of duty, which, though apparently trivial in themſelves, are ſo totally ſubverſive of all military diſcipline and order, that no relaxation of them can be admitted in any army. Sums of money were alſo diſtributed, by perſons unknown, among the men[58], ſeveral of whom began to evince ſymptoms of diſaffection, and to wear the three-coloured cockade, which was for them the ſignal of inſubordination and deſertion. All good citizens were ſeriouſly alarmed at theſe proceedings; and the Gardes-du-Corps, in particular, entertained the moſt lively apprehenſions.

The following picture of the ſtate of public affairs, at this critical period, is delineated by Rabaud de Saint Etienne. "Paris"—he ſays—"was a prey to all the miſeries of fa-"mine, even in the midſt of abundance; bread was dear, and of a bad quality; the in-"habitants were knocking at the doors of the bakers, in order to obtain relief; it ſeem-"ed that meaſures had been taken to exaſperate the people againſt the new popular "powers; and perſons, evidently paid for creating diſturbances, beſieged the ſhops of the "bakers, carried away the bread, threw it into the river, and returned for the purpoſe "of renewing this practice. The provinces, affrighted by a circulated whiſper of the ap-"proaching flight of the king, and of a counter-revolution; and the party which de-"ſired it, already vaunted of it loudly, and with that overweening confidence which it "hath ſhewn upon every new conſpiracy. At length, the alarmed capital ſaw no other

[57] Faits relatifs à la derniere inſurrection, par Mounier, p. 6. [58] Idem, p. 7.

" means of terminating its fears, both for France and for the deputies, than by poſſeſ-
" ſing the National Aſſembly and the king within her walls, where a hundred thouſand
" arms were ready to *defend* them; where ſix hundred thouſand perſons were continual-
" ly on the watch *againſt conſpiracies.*"

It is almoſt ſuperfluous to obſerve, that the aſſertions and repreſentations of Rabaud, and, eſpecially, his *inferences*, ſhould always be taken with ſomething more than, *cum* GRANO *ſalis:* in the peruſal of this account—admitting it to be juſt and true—one queſtion ſhould never be loſt ſight of—In whoſe hands was the government of Paris at that time placed? and, as derived from the ſame, Who were the perſons employed to provide the capital with corn? and, if they did not fulfil their duty,—which they certainly did, as to that point—why were they not removed? One fact is notorious, that the *king* had, at this period, no more real authority over the city of Paris than over the city of Rome. It might have been ſuppoſed, that the rabble, in that ſeaſon of famine, would have been much more profitably employed along the Seine, in angling for the loaves which, Rabaud tells us, were thrown into the river, than in raiſing uſeleſs riots in the ſtreets, and about the bakers' ſhops. It will be a matter of ſurprize to ſome, that of the ſix hundred thouſand pair of jealous and ſuſpicious eyes, which were ever watching conſpiracies in Paris, they ſhould all look ſo directly one way, as never to take a view of the banks of the river, nor of the paſſages leading thereto; and that neither chance nor fortune ſhould ſo far befriend them, as to enable them in a ſingle inſtance to detect any of that atrocious gang of conſpirators, who thus wantonly robbed them of the means of ſubſiſtance and life.—But it will preſently be ſeen that Rabaud's account is not *ſtrictly* correct.

The Gardes-du-Corps, daily apprized of freſh threats againſt the ſafety of the king and the royal family, obliged to paſs almoſt every night in a ſtate of readineſs to mount their horſes at the firſt ſignal, had adopted the gallant reſolution of defending them to the laſt; they were anxious alſo to ſecure to the king ſome farther defence than what could be derived from their own perſonal exertions, and they relied on the ſupport of the regiment of Flanders. The Gardes-du-Corps were not enemies to liberty, though artfully repreſented as ſuch by intereſted and deſigning men [59]. They had given proofs of their patriotiſm, on the day when the king delivered to the Aſſembly his plan of reform; and they ſpontaneouſly offered a guard of honour to the Aſſembly, when they ſent their firſt deputation to Paris. What more particularly inſpired them with an ardent deſire to give the king freſh proofs of their zeal, was the reproach caſt upon them by many perſons, of having profited by the circumſtances of the times to apply to his majeſty for ſome changes in their diſcipline. In the hope of attaching the regiment of Flanders and the

[59] Faits relatifs á la derniere inſurrection, p. 7.

militia

militia of Verſailles to the perſon of the king [60], they gave an entertainment, on the firſt of October, in the opera-houſe belonging to the palace, to the officers of either corps. Towards the concluſion of the repaſt, the grenadiers and part of the chaſſeurs of the regiment of Flanders entered the room. The glaſs circulated briſkly; and the health of the king, the queen, and the royal family, was drunk [61].

One of the ladies of the court, who, from a neighbouring apartment, had witneſſed the gaiety of the ſcene, conceiving it might amuſe the young dauphin, haſtened to the queen, and requeſted permiſſion to take him to the room. The queen, however, appearing to labour under a depreſſion of ſpirits, was adviſed by the attendant to accompany the dauphin herſelf: ſhe heſitated for ſome time; but the king, juſt arriving from the chace, and conſenting to her propoſition of accompanying her, they all repaired to this ſcene of feſtivity [62].

The extravagance of joy, occaſioned by the unexpected appearance of theſe illuſtrious viſitors, in men, who had, already, in a moment of generous enthuſiaſm, repeated the

[60] In the account of theſe tranſactions, I have, *chiefly*, followed the authority of M. Mounier, who was at that time preſident of the National Aſſembly; whoſe character was ever irreproachable; whoſe veracity no one has dared to impeach; and whoſe opportunities of information will ſcarcely, it is preſumed, be called in queſtion. As far, therefore, as his authority goes, either on matters which came within his own perſonal cognizance, or on thoſe for the truth of which he pledges himſelf, I conceive it to be irrefragable.

The entertainment given to the military at Verſailles, about which ſo much has been ſaid, is of itſelf a circumſtance ſo trivial and inſignificant, as ſcarcely to juſtify hiſtorical notice; but the events for which it was made the pretext has rendered it an object of ſome conſequence, and calls for ſome remarks on the ſubject.—By ſome, it has been ſaid, that it was the uſual etiquette in the ſervice, for the officers in garriſon to entertain the newcomers upon being joined by ſtrangers. On the other hand, Rabaud has poſitively and unequivocally ſaid, "Certain it is, that this was the *firſt* banquet which the king's guards, as a *corps*, had ever yet given." (*Engliſh tranſlation*, p. 121.) And the "*Deux Amis de la Liberte*," (tom. iii. p. 264) alſo remark, that it was the firſt entertainment which the king's guards had ever given at *Verſailles*.—To this aſſertion, however, I am enabled, from my own perſonal experience, to give the moſt direct contradiction; having been preſent at an entertainment given by the Gardes-du-Corps, *as a corps*, in the very ſame place, the opera-houſe of the palace of Verſailles, in the year 1782, on the birth of the eldeſt ſon of Lewis the Sixteenth. Whether the Gardes-du-Corps were accuſtomed to give entertainments to regiments newly arrived, I cannot pretend to ſay; it was ſeldom that any troops were to be ſeen at Verſailles except thoſe immediately attached to the king; but the abbé Sabatier aſſures us they were accuſtomed to give ſuch entertainments in all places where they were quartered; and certain it is, that it was the general etiquette of the army, obſerved in all garriſon towns, for the regiments previouſly quartered in a place to entertain the newcomers. But whether the motive of the entertainment was a compliance with eſtabliſhed cuſtom, or a deſire to attach the gueſts to the king, ſo as to obtain for him their defence in the hour of danger, is a matter of very little conſequence; the object, in either caſe, was equally innocent and laudable, and the inference which Rabaud, and other writers of the ſame party, have thought proper to draw from it, is characteriſtic of the proceedings of a faction, who were accuſtomed to make every thing bend, as it were, to their own ſyſtems, and to ſacrifice decency and truth to the accompliſhment of their own views, and to the ſupport of their own arguments.

[61] Mounier p. 7, 8. [62] Hiſtoire de la Revolution de 1789, tom. iii. p. 265.

moſt

moſt ſolemn aſſurances of devotion and fidelity to the perſon of their ſovereign, may be more eaſily conceived than deſcribed. The whole company appeared to be irreſiſtibly impreſſed with one general ſentiment of loyalty; the bands of the different corps, who were ſtationed in the room, immediately ſtruck up the loyal, and hitherto *popular*, air, of "*O Richard! O mon Roi! L'Univers t'abandonne!*" which the company"—ſays Mounier—"parodied, by going up in a body to the king's box, and accompanying him to his "apartment."—"All theſe acts of military enthuſiaſm"—purſues the ſame writer—"doubtleſs proceeded from a deſire to convince the king that they would defend him to "the utmoſt, in caſe he ſhould be attacked; for what probability was there that five "hundred life-guards, and a ſingle regiment, could have conceived the mad project of "again ſubjecting us to the yoke of deſpotiſm?"

The banquet was continued during the greater part of the night, and ended, of courſe, in the intoxication of the company. It is ſaid, on one ſide, that after repeated libations to the royal family, ſome popular toaſt, propoſed by an officer of the militia of Verſailles, was rejected with contempt. The Gardes-du-Corps having never quitted the old white cockade, ſome of the military preſent, who had been perſuaded to adopt the tri-coloured cockade of the Pariſians, now determined to lay it aſide; and the ladies of the court ſupplied them with white ones, as faſt as they could make, or procure them to be made. It was added, by the *patriotic* party—and the aſſertion had a prodigious effect in inflaming the populace—that the Pariſian cockade had been torn, trampled upon, and treated with every mark of contempt which folly or outrage could inſpire. But this was one of thoſe numerous calumnies which were now propagated, on every occaſion in which the court were any way concerned; the charge being abſolutely refuted by the ſolemn teſtimony, on oath, of all or moſt of the officers who were that night preſent[63].

The circumſtances attending this entertainment excited great murmurs: many perſons condemned them as imprudent, and ſome attached to the conduct of the gueſts a degree of criminality which certainly did not belong to it. Such, however, as deemed it reprehenſible, might have engaged the National Aſſembly to requeſt the king to iſſue orders

[63] M. Mounier ſays—"It is very true, that, in the hope of bringing back the ſoldiers to their duty, and of preventing them from adopting a colour which ſerved them as a *ſignal for deſertion*, the officers exclaimed—*Vive la Cocade blanche!*—It is well known that white has always been the colour of the French troops. Ribbands and handkerchiefs were converted into cockades; but, *after the moſt ſtrict inveſtigation, I am enabled to aſſert, that the Pariſian cockade was not trampled upon, as the people have been induſtriouſly taught to believe; and that no imprecation whatever was uttered againſt the National Aſſembly.* If ſome individuals had been raſh enough for this, it is certain that it would be impoſſible to aſcribe it to the Gardes-du-Corps, ſince it would not have taken place in a public company, and ſince many of the perſons who were preſent would never have ſuffered it, had it been attempted. It is alſo impoſſible not to know that this entertainment had not for its object any *anti-civic* deſign, (if I may be allowed the expreſſion) ſince the *city*-militia were invited, and a great number of ſpectators of all ranks were admitted." (p. 9.)

for

for preventing a renewal of the ſcene; and that precaution would certainly have ſufficed to avert any evil conſequences which the moſt timid or ſuſpicious might have expected it to produce. But the enemies of the public peace wiſhed to make this tranſaction, innocent in itſelf, a pretext for the accompliſhment of an iniquitous and deep-laid plan.

During the ſeſſions of the firſt, ſecond, and third of October, no member of the National Aſſembly ſaid a ſingle word of the entertainment. On the ſecond, Mounier, as preſident of the Aſſembly, went to the palace, and preſented the declaration of rights, and ſuch articles of the conſtitution as had been already paſſed, for the king's ſanction; and his majeſty told him, that he would communicate his intentions to the National Aſſembly with all poſſible expedition.—It is highly important to remark here, that the king's intentions were not known till the Monday following, the fifth of October, about ten in the morning.

Meantime, the rage of the Pariſian populace, at the account of this ill-fated banquet, loaded with all the additional circumſtances which malice and invention could ſupply, exceeded all deſcription. They immediately charged the queen with being at the head of a conſpiracy for carrying off the king, and exciting a civil war; and they repreſented this affair at Verſailles as the opening of the plot: they ſaid it was too manifeſt to admit of a queſtion; and the contempt ſhewn for the national cockade, with the refuſal to drink proſperity to the nation, were to be conſidered as a declaration of war; that it was time to terminate at once all theſe inquietudes; and that, as ſome were deſirous of carrying off the king to place him at the head of a party, they had no other courſe to take, than to be beforehand with them, by ſecuring his perſon in the capital.

The famine which preſſed ſo ſorely upon ſo vaſt a multitude, would, in itſelf, independent of all political conſiderations, have been ſufficient to diſpoſe a much more temperate and better-conditioned people to outrage and violence; and of this the *Orleans* faction, by whom the plan of that famine appears, beyond all doubt, to have been *contrived* and executed, were fully aware. It has been pretended by many, that, in the year 1789, a *real* ſcarcity prevailed at Paris; but the truth is, that under the reign of Lewis the Sixteenth, that is, until the aſſaſſination of the provoſt of the merchants, Paris had been always amply ſupplied with proviſions: the old government might even have been reproached with its predilection and profuſion towards the capital, whoſe inhabitants always had their bread at a much cheaper rate than it was ſold at in the provinces, and always at the expence of the royal treaſury[64]. The cries of the Pariſians were never treated with contempt; and the miniſtry only turned a deaf ear to the complaints of the

[64] L'Abbé Sabatier.

provincials; for the moſt hungry mouths are not always the moſt formidable. And ſince Paris, transformed into a republic, had taken the reins of government into its own hands, there was no kind of miſchief or violence which the patriotiſm of her officers had not exerted—and ſucceſsfully too—for procuring an ample ſtock of proviſions.

At this epoch, the emigration of thoſe whom the populace termed *ariſtocrates*, had been ſo conſiderable, that the daily conſumption of Paris was ſuddenly reduced to eleven or twelve hundred ſacks [65], and it has ſince been demonſtrated and acknowledged, that the *Halle*—where the corn and flour were ſold—was conſtantly overſtocked. This abundance, it was conceived, might prove fatal to the ſchemes of the Orleans faction; but gold, which is generally uſed to procure corn, was, in this inſtance, employed to make it diſappear. Although the ſupply of Paris did not exceed twelve hundred ſacks, the bakers daily diſtributed from eighteen hundred to two thouſand five hundred per day [66]. Yet, notwithſtanding this exceſs, their houſes were inceſſantly beſieged from morning to night, by the poorer ſort of people, who loudly complained of a famine. At the ſame time, it was no uncommon thing to meet ſome of the working-people, who had ſuddenly quitted their uſual occupations, exclaiming, "*Why need we work? Our "father d'Orleans provides us with food* [67]." Thus the gold of this prince produced, at his pleaſure, two phenomena of a very different nature—want and plenty; but this double means, powerful as it was, was ſtill leſs effectual than the conduct of certain ruffians, who cut open the ſacks, and ſcattered the flour in the ſtreets. In ſhort, as if theſe manœuvres were ſtill too tardy in producing the deſired effect, the corn was accuſed of a vice that it did not poſſeſs; and, as a puniſhment for its abundance, which thwarted the projects of the cabal, and tended to ſilence the murmurs of the populace, a report was induſtriouſly ſpread, that it was of a bad quality. The conſequence of ſuch a report, to procure credit to which every art was exerted, was the aſſemblage of a mob about the Halle, who threw two thouſand ſacks of flour into the Seine. Perſons of irreproachable character and undoubted veracity, who taſted the flour, affirmed that it was of the beſt quality [68].

At that time there was ſuch a plenty that bread was publickly ſold, in the ſuburb of Saint Anthony, at *two ſous*, and even at *one ſol* the pound. The municipal officers at the Hotel-de-Ville were apprized of this fact, and, at the ſame time, received information that money was diſtributed (on the fourth of October) both in that quarter, and in the ſuburb of Saint Marcel. The municipality aſſembled in tumultuous haſte, and after deliberating till four in the morning, decreed that a reinforcement of five hundred men ſhould

[65] Journal Politique National des Etats-Generaux et de la Revolution de 1789, tom. ii. p. 206. [66] This is proved by the regiſters of the Halle of the eighth of October, 1789. [67] Journal Politique, &c. tom. ii. p. 207. [68] Journal Politique, tom. ii. p. 207.

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be ſtationed at the town-houſe that day, to prevent a riot; but at ſeven in the morning, when the town-houſe was forced and pillaged by the mob, there were not twenty men aſſembled there; and yet the national guards, diſperſed in the ſtreets, were walking peaceably about, with loaves under their arms, and looked with an air of indifference at the crowd, by which the ſhops of the bakers were beſieged[69].

On the morning of the fifth of October, the king ſent his anſwer to the National Aſſembly, on the ſubject of the decrees which their preſident had, four days before, preſented for his acceptance. He gave his aſſent to the *conſtitutional* articles, but on the poſitive condition, from which, he ſaid, he never would depart, that, by the general reſult of the deliberations of the Aſſembly, the executive power ſhould have its entire effect in the hands of the monarch. He obſerved, at the ſame time, that he had not found all thoſe articles equally perfect; but he had deemed it praiſe-worthy in him to pay regard to the preſent wiſhes of the deputies of the nation, and to the alarming circumſtances which invited him, in the moſt imperious manner, to promote the ſpeedy re-eſtabliſhment of peace, order, and confidence. He acknowledged, that the declaration of rights contained ſome excellent maxims, but that, being ſuſceptible of different interpretations, it would be uſeleſs to ſanction them with his approbation, before the paſſing of thoſe laws which were to explain their meaning and fix their application.

The king's anſwer was highly applauded by one part of the Aſſembly, while by the other it was conſidered as a juſt ſubject for the moſt violent indignation. His *acceſſion* to the decrees was termed a *refuſal*; his obſervations an offence. *What does the executive power want?*—ſaid the laſt—*Does it become him to criticiſe our work? If he muſt make obſervations, let him keep them to himſelf. If our conſtitution is not perfect, has not he been the cauſe of its imperfection, by throwing perpetual obſtacles in its way?* One deputy obſerved, that the king had made ſome regulation for the execution of one of their preceding decrees, and he was very much aſtoniſhed that any one ſhould preſume to make ſuch regulations while the Aſſembly were at Verſailles. Another exclaimed—*What power is above our own?* At firſt they ſaid, that the Aſſembly was ſuperior to the legiſlative power, which was certainly true; the king and the National Aſſembly forming collectively the legiſlative power, were doubtleſs ſuperior to the king, exerciſing individually the executive power: but this aſſertion did not content them; they added, that they were ſuperior to *the legiſlative power*, becauſe they were *a conſtituting power*. In ſhort, this intoxication of authority, joined to the knowledge they poſſeſſed of their own ſtrength, was carried to ſuch a height that they were enraged that the king's anſwer was not counter-ſigned by a miniſter who would have been reſponſible for it; and it was on this occaſion, that theſe memorable words were uttered—THE NATION MUST

[69] Journal Politique, tom. ii. p. 208.

HAVE VICTIMS [70],—words, which, when coupled with ſucceeding events, cannot fail to excite the moſt marked reprobation and horror.

In the midſt of theſe diſcuſſions, M. Petion mentioned, for the firſt time, that military banquet, with regard to which a profound ſilence had been obſerved during five ſeſſions, and which had been reſerved for that day. The ſame progreſſion, the ſame rapidity, was remarked in the imputations. At firſt, it was only ſtiled *an orgie, perhaps deſerving the epithet indecent*; it then became a poſitive crime againſt the country, and againſt the ſovereign; *and imprecations*—it was affirmed—*had been vomited forth againſt the National Aſſembly, and againſt liberty* [71]. A brave officer, (M. Monſpey) obedient to the voice of honour, and anxious to avenge a corps in which he had formerly ſerved, moved that the guilty ſhould be puniſhed, and challenged Petion to ſign his denunciation, and lay it on the table [72]. This gave riſe to a diſplay of the moſt violent indignation on the democratic ſide of the houſe, and brought up Mirabeau, who, with the utmoſt fury in his looks and manner, exclaimed—"Declare that the king's perſon alone is *ſacred*, and I will "bring forward the impeachment myſelf." When he ſat down, he informed the people near him, that the queen, and the duke de Guiches, colonel of the Gardes-du-Corps, were the objects he had in view. Mirabeau, aware of the approach of the Pariſian army, only wiſhed to be urged; the mob in the gallery were numerous and violent, and if the queen had been impeached, the Brigands of the capital, finding, on their arrival, that princeſs accuſed by a member of the legiſlative aſſembly, would have deemed that aſſaſſination juſtifiable in the eye of the law which hitherto they had only been ſtimulated to commit by the temptation of a bribe [73]. Fortunately, the well-timed exertions of Mounier, as preſident, who remarked, that he ſhould neither ſuffer any interruption of the order of the day, nor the introduction of reflections foreign from the point of diſcuſſion then before the Aſſembly, prevented the agitation of a queſtion, which, moſt probably, would have led to the maſſacre of the unfortunate queen, and reduced Mirabeau, at leaſt for that morning, to the neceſſity of being criminal only in intention.

It was during the interval which occurred between the preſentation of the conſtitutional decrees for the acceptance of the king, and the receipt of his majeſty's anſwer by

70 Mémoire du Comte de Lally-Tolendal, p. 159, 160.

71 It is worthy of remark, that the Gardes-du-Corps, at that very entertainment, which was made the pretext for an attempt to exterminate the royal family and themſelves, ſo far from offering an inſult to any one, adopted the laudable reſolution of maintaining the poor of Verſailles for a week. *Journal Politique*, &c. tom. ii. p. 216.

72 Faits relatifs à la derniere inſurrection, p. 11.—Mémoire de M. de Lally-Tolendal, p. 160, 161.—Journal Politique, &c. tom. ii. p. 225.

73 Mirabeau obſerved the next day, in the Journal de Provence, of which he was the author, *that the perſon of the higheſt rank in the kingdom*, next to the king, *had taken unuſual familiarities* (familiarités peu communes) *with the meanſt of the ſoldiers*. Journal Politique, tom. ii. p. 226.

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the Aſſembly, that the Orleans faction were ſo buſily employed in the diſtribution of money, in the creation of want in the midſt of abundance, and in every other preparation for exciting an inſurrection in the ſuburbs of the capital, and in all thoſe places where the populace were moſt accuſtomed to aſſemble[74]. The news of the entertainment at Verſailles, accompanied by all the embelliſhments that were neceſſary to give it effect, was admirably calculated to operate on the minds of a mob thus previouſly irritated and inflamed. People were heard to exclaim in the ſtreet—"What indecent "orgies!—The national cockade trodden under foot!—The Aſſembly curſed and threat-"ened!—Let us haſten to puniſh this dreadful blaſphemy; let us revenge the nation; "and bear off the king from the enemies of the country!"—But theſe cries and murmurs would, probably, have only produced ſimilar ſymptoms of diſcontent in thoſe to whom they were addreſſed, if the Orleans faction had not collected three or four hundred *Poiſſardes*[75], and ſome of the porters who attend the *Halle* dreſſed like the Poiſſardes, and mingled with a number of ſtrange-looking figures, wearing long beards and pointed caps, and armed with pikes, loaded bludgeons, and other extraordinary weapons;—a ſpecies of ſavage that was now ſeen for the firſt time in the capital, and that diſappeared immediately after the buſineſs for which they had been ſummoned was terminated[76]. This motley and ferocious groupe ſoon contrived to augment their numbers, by *preſſing* ſome into their ſervice, and by courting a junction with all the low proſtitutes that infeſted the Rue Saint Honoré, and the ſuburbs of Saint Anthony and Saint Marcel—the Saint Giles's and Rag-Fair of Paris. In ſhort all the lanes, allies, cellars, and garrets of theſe *celebrated* diſtricts are ſaid to have been completely ſtripped of their *fair* inhabitants.

The circumſtance of a great number of men, diſguiſed in women's cloaths, being interſperſed in the ranks of this army, muſt be conſidered as a kind of concurrent teſtimony that this ſcheme was preconcerted, and that the cabal had more prudence than to truſt the buſineſs entirely to the conduct of theſe heroines. It is, indeed, ſaid, that ſeveral of the militia of Verſailles were diſtinguiſhed among them[77]. Yet this ſtrange aſſemblage is deſcribed by Rabaud as compoſed of mothers frantic with deſpair through the dreadful circumſtance of not having bread to give to their famiſhed children!

[74] Theſe efforts were ſtrenuouſly ſeconded by the republican party, though they acted on very different grounds.

[75] The women who went from Paris to Verſailles, on this occaſion, have always been diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Poiſſardes*, which properly applies only to the women who ſell fiſh and fruit in the ſtreets and *Halles* of the capital. But theſe laſt, ſo far from joining the *falſe Poiſſardes*, as they have been termed, in the preſent inſtance, who endeavoured to force them to accompany them to Verſailles, applied to the Corps-de-Garde at the *Pont Saint Euſtache* for military aſſiſtance to repel theſe furies; and, after the king's arrival at the Tuilleries, they ſent a deputation thither, on the morning of the ſeventh of October, to preſent a requeſt to the king and queen, demanding juſtice on the authors of the horrid calumny which repreſented them as accomplices in the violence committed on their majeſties, the preceding day. *Journal Politique*, &c. tom. ii. p. 219, 220. Note.

[76] Journal Politique, tom. ii. p. 219. [77] Idem, ibid. p. 220.

Bread

Bread was, at firſt, indeed, the watch-word and the univerſal cry of theſe female ruffians; arms were, however, thought neceſſary, as affording more effectual means for obtaining it, than mere ſupplication. They accordingly proceeded to the Hotel de Ville, or town-houſe, which they forced, at ſeven o'clock in the morning of the fifth of October, and plundered; they gave an early ſpecimen of their courage in paſſing thither, by making their way boldly through ſeveral battalions of Pariſian guards, who were drawn up armed in the open ſpace before that building. Having met, on the ſtairs of the town-houſe, an unfortunate eccleſiaſtic, they, as an eſſay in the buſineſs of death, immediately hung him up by the neck. Some of their male followers, whether it was through mercy, or by way of varying the paſtime, cut the prieſt down before he was quite dead, and then ſo effectually kicked and toſſed his carcaſe about, that, in a ſhort time, he fully recovered his ſenſibility, and was, moſt unexpectedly, permitted to get home as he could. After plundering the Hotel de Ville, ſeizing the magazine of arms, collecting the artillery together, and forcing open the priſons with tumult indeſcribable, this *hermaphrodite army*—as it has been aptly termed—ſet out for Verſailles, the cannon being dragged behind as a rear-guard. They had been previouſly joined by a great number of workmen, and had compelled every woman they met, of whatever rank or age, to accompany them. One Maillard, in the proper garb and character of a man, appeared now as their leader; on whom Rabaud beſtows high praiſe for the *diſcipline*, *order*, and *government* which he eſtabliſhed among them; as they paſſed, however, between the Seine and the terrace of the Tuilleries, they overtook a life-guard on horſeback, and called out to him—"*As you are going to Verſailles, tell the queen that we ſhall ſoon be there to cut off her head*[78]."

A ſecond army of Amazons was preparing to follow the firſt, who were, with much difficulty, diſperſed by La Fayette, the national guards telling their general, that they could not fire upon, nor uſe any force againſt, their fellow-citizens, who were aſking for bread. At the ſame time, the rage for going to Verſailles, which had been induſtriouſly fomented among the people, was now become general, and ſo ſtrongly infected the national troops, that they *commanded* their officers to lead them thither[79]. Upon this occaſion ſome of the grenadiers told La Fayette without reſerve, *that underſtanding the king was an ideot, there was no doubt but matters would go on much better by the appointment of a council of regency.* As this was not only the peculiar language and doctrine of Mirabeau, and of thoſe other leaders of the cabal who were initiated in its moſt ſecret myſteries, but as it was publickly known that the eſtabliſhment of a council of regency was the

[78] Journal Politique, &c. p. 223.

79 Nothing better could be expected from troops ſo conſtituted, and ſo diſciplined. We are told that when La Fayette was at the head of theſe guards, he always *invited* them to turn to the right, and *ſupplicated* them to turn to the left, &c.—One day, an officer preſſing one of the ſoldiers to quicken his pace, the latter replied—"*Faith, captain, the laſt ſhoes you made for me are too tight!*"—In fact, the captain was a ſhoemaker.—*Journal Politique*, &c. tom. i. p. 158.

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moſt immediate object of their ambition, none could be at a loſs to determine from what ſource the grenadiers had derived this idea.

La Fayette, who ſeemed aſtoniſhed at even the idea of offering any violence to the king's perſon, or impoſing any reſtraint upon his inclination with reſpect to reſidence, endeavoured to allay this fermentation, and temporized with the troops as long as poſſible; but they becoming every inſtant more outrageous, and, at length, directing their threats againſt himſelf, he and his principal officers, under an immediate apprehenſion for their lives, ſubmitted to comply with the demands of the ſoldiery; but, in order to give ſome ſemblance of legality to his proceedings, which, indeed, ſtood in great need of juſtification, he firſt required and obtained an order from the mayor and council of Paris, by which *he was enjoined, in compliance with the will of the people, to repair to Verſailles* [80]. This being done, he began his march from Paris, at the head of an army of eighteen or twenty thouſand men, accompanied by its artillery, and with every diſplay of military pomp and parade, about four o'clock in the afternoon [81].

Rabaud obſerves—"No pencil can depict the frantic joy of Paris, on beholding her "militia march, with the intention of ſeeking and bringing away the king. The ca- "pital was aſſured that her diſtreſs would, at length, be terminated."—But *another* pen has finiſhed the picture by obſerving, that "No ſooner had the Pariſians loſt ſight of the "flying colours, and ceaſed to hear the ſound of the drums, than their acclamations were "ſucceeded by a diſmal ſilence, and the loud burſts of joy gave place to a gloomy "ſorrow [82]."

While theſe tranſactions paſſed at Paris, the motley troop of Poiſſardes and their aſſociates, who had left the capital in the morning, continued their march to Verſailles, which was marked by ſuch circumſtances of outrage, ſuch brutality, ſuch groſs obſcenity of language, and ſuch horrid and profane curſes, oaths, and imprecations, as were without example in any country that had the ſmalleſt pretenſions to civilization: it is

[80] La Fayette now found the ill effects of his irreſolution or miſconduct—whichever it was—in not oppoſing, with the vigour which became his character and ſtation, the aſſaſſination of Foulon and Berthier. Had he exerted himſelf on that occaſion with proper energy, he would either have fallen nobly, in the diſcharge of his duty, or have impoſed a perpetual reſtraint upon the ferocity of the people. As it was, the populace aſcribed his forbearance to weakneſs; and having once imbibed that idea, nothing could prevent them from acting accordingly.

It has been obſerved, and not unjuſtly, that it was La Fayette's duty, inſtead of aſking the council for an order to repair to Verſailles, to require them to concert meaſures for diſperſing the mob, (by whom he had been firſt threatened) which might have been eaſily done, with the aſſiſtance of the ſoldiers, who were then maſters of the ſquare in which the town-houſe is ſituated; and, if the army had refuſed to obey him, he would have had an excellent opportunity for reſigning the command of that undiſciplined militia.

[81] Journal Politique, &c. &c. tom. ii. p. 223.

[82] Hiſtoire de la Revolution de 1789, par Deux Amis de la Liberté, tom. iii. p. 305.

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ſaid, nor has the fact ever been contradicted, that they actually put to death, by hanging them, two unfortunate perſons whom they met on the road, and had afterwards the audacity to boaſt of the deed. They reached Verſailles about half paſt three in the afternoon.

At that time, the king, who, as we have ſeen, had given his anſwer to the conſtitutional decrees, and to the declaration of rights, in the morning, was peaceably enjoying the diverſion of ſhooting at Meudon, little thinking, that the marquis de la Fayette was in motion with his patriotic army, for the purpoſe of carrying him off; that the Poiſſardes and aſſaſſins were already at the gates of his palace; and that the National Aſſembly were employed in ſearching for faults in his conduct, and in preparing to load him with inſults. Such was the ſituation of that unfortunate prince, that on the ſame day, and at the ſame hour, the patriotic army wiſhed to rob him of his liberty; the Poiſſardes and Brigands to murder his wife; and the National Aſſembly to deſpoil him of his crown [83].

The Aſſembly were ſtill engaged in the debate on the ſubject of the king's anſwer, in the courſe of which it was obſerved, that the king had been adviſed to ſuſpend his adherence to the declaration of rights, as if the rights of man were not anterior to thoſe of monarchs, and independent of thrones; as if *the right of nature*[84] ſtood in need of the ſanction

[83] Journal Politique, &c. tom. ii. p. 224.

[84] On the perpetual alluſion to the rights of nature, at this time ſo prevalent in the Aſſembly, and on the illuſtration of thoſe and other rights, in their celebrated declaration, a contemporary writer has the following obſervations:—"They conſidered themſelves in their wooden houſe, as if placed in a ſecond Noah's ark, whence it appeared to them that the earth belonged to the firſt occupier, and that they were at liberty to parcel it out among a new race of men. They declared, then, in the face of the univerſe, that *all men are born and remain free; that one man could not be more than another man*; and a hundred other diſcoveries of the ſame kind, which they congratulated themſelves upon having been the firſt to reveal to the world; while they laughed, very philoſophically, at the Engliſh, for not having had the ſenſe to begin in the ſame manner, with their Revolution of 1688.

"But the joy of our deputies was of ſhort duration. The inhabitants of other countries of Europe ſoon began to inquire into the nature of this new mode of conducting people by theories and metaphyſical abſtractions; of deſpiſing all the knowledge that reſults from practice and experience; of confounding man in an abſolute ſavage ſtate, with man in a ſtate of ſociety; and natural independence with civil liberty. To ſay that *all men are born and remain free*, is to ſay, in fact, *that they are born and remain naked*. But men are born naked, and live cloathed, as they are born independent, and live ſubject to laws. Cloaths, 'tis true, reſtrain, in a certain degree, the movements of the body, but they afford it protection from external accidents; ſo laws reſtrain the paſſions, but they defend honour, life, and fortune. Thus, to have rendered themſelves intelligible, they ſhould have diſtinguiſhed between liberty and independence: liberty conſiſts in obeying the laws alone; but in this definition the word *obey* is included, while independence conſiſts in living in the woods, without obeying laws, and without acknowledging any kind of reſtraint.

"The conduct, of the Aſſembly was, therefore, deemed alike ſtrange and dangerous, in adopting the code of the ſavages, and in collecting maxims favourable to egotiſm, and to all the paſſions that are hoſtile to ſociety. The negroes in our colonies, and the ſervants in our houſes, may, with *the declaration of rights* in their hands, expel

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ſanction of kings: that he had only been led to give his acceſſion to the conſtitutional articles, that his miniſters might cenſure them under his name: but how, ſaid the members who advanced theſe arguments, can the conſtitution be expoſed to the refuſal of the executive power, and to the cenſure of its agents? If that power owes its exiſtence to the conſtitution, what right can it have to refuſe the conſtitution? Let us, at laſt, ſince they force us to it, tear off that myſterious veil, which, from reſpect for royalty, we ſuffer to conceal the bounds of its authority, and let us no longer ſuffer our condeſcendance to be abuſed for the purpoſe of violating the firſt rights of the people! No, we can no longer diſſemble as to the nature and extent of thoſe rights; the intereſt of the country which preſcribed it to us as a duty not openly to aſſert them, would render us criminal in conſenting to ſacrifice them [85].

During the debate, ſome of the members informed the preſident that a conſiderable army had juſt arrived from Paris. This news being circulated in the Aſſembly, it was moved, that the preſident ſhould repair to the palace, and entreat the king to give his pure and unconditional acceptance to the declaration of rights, and the conſtitutional articles. It was now half paſt three in the afternoon, and the Aſſembly was on the point of adjourning, when the troop of Brigands and Poiſſardes arrived at Verſailles.

The king, who had been apprized of the tumults in the capital, immediately quitted his diverſion, and haſtened back to the palace, which he reached about a quarter of an hour before the arrival of the aſſaſſins. The duke of Luxembourg, captain of the guards, aſked his majeſty if he had any orders to give, meaning with regard to the diſpoſal of the troops; but the king replied, with a ſmile, "What becauſe the *women* are "coming; you are joking, ſurely?"—Meanwhile the formidable phalanx ſuddenly appeared in the avenue leading to Paris, attended by five pieces of cannon. It was then deemed prudent to ſend ſome dragoons to ſtop them in the avenue, and prevent them from advancing further; but the factious ſoldiers diſobeyed the commands of their officers, and ſuffered them all to paſs.

After they had ſurmounted this trifling obſtacle, the Poiſſardes preſented themſelves at the door of the Aſſembly, and, inſiſting on being admitted to the bar, attempted to force

"us from our inheritances. How could an aſſembly of legiſlators feign an ignorance of this truth, that *the rights* "*of nature* cannot, for a moment exiſt by the ſide of *property?* The very day when a man takes poſſeſſion of a "field by the labour he beſtows on it, he ceaſes to be in a ſtate of pure nature; his exiſtence, like that of his "neighbours, becomes marked by induſtry and dependence. But the National Aſſembly did not chuſe to remem- "ber that the body politic is an artificial being which is indebted for nothing to nature; or that men are born un- "equal, and that the law is the art of levelling natural inequalities."—*L'Abbe Sabatier.*

[85] Hiſtoire de la Revolution de 1789, tom. iii. p. 313, 314.—The *patriotic* party here ſpoke *plainly*; they proved that, in their conception, the meeting of the States-General had effected a virtual annihilation of the monarchy, a total diſſolution of the ſocial compact; that the monarch was reduced to a non-entity, and that he could not re-exiſt until called into life and action by the creative power of the Aſſembly!!!

the guard. The preſident, however, having communicated their wiſhes to the Aſſembly, it was reſolved, by a majority, that they ſhould be admitted. A great number of them accordingly entered the hall, and placed themſelves, without ceremony, on the ſeats appropriated to the uſe of the deputies, with whom they mingled. Maillard, and another man, who acted as his adjutant, were at the head of them. The latter told the Aſſembly, that, "In the morning they had found no bread at the bakers; that, in a fit of deſpair, he, who had been a ſoldier in the French guards, was going to ring the alarm-bell; but that he had been apprehended in the attempt, and was about to be hanged, when the *ladies* who accompanied him ſaved his life."—He added—"That they had come to Verſailles to aſk for bread, and, at the ſame time, to enforce the puniſhment of the Gardes-du-Corps, who *had inſulted the patriotic cockade*; that they were good patriots; that they had forcibly ſeized all the black cockades which they had ſeen at Paris and on the road." He then drew one out of his pocket, ſaying, that he would have the pleaſure of tearing it to pieces in preſence of the Aſſembly, which he immediately did. His companion then ſaid—"*We will force every body to wear the patriotic cockade.*" Theſe expreſſions having excited ſome murmurs of diſcontent, the man exclaimed—"*Say what you will, we are all brothers.*" The preſident replied, that no member of the Aſſembly was diſpoſed to deny that all men ought to conſider themſelves as brothers; that the murmurs were only occaſioned by his threats to *force* people to wear the cockade; that he had no right to force any body; and that he ought to ſpeak with reſpect to the National Aſſembly.

The orator of the mob next ſaid—"The ariſtocrates wiſh to make us periſh with hunger: a note for two hundred livres was ſent this very day to a miller to engage him to grind no more corn; on which condition he was promiſed a weekly remittance to the ſame amount." A general cry of indignation burſt from the Aſſembly, and every part of the hall reſounded with the exclamation of "*Name the man!*" The preſident alſo deſired that he would diſcover the criminal; aſſuring him that the moſt exemplary puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on him. The two orators, after ſome heſitation, told the Aſſembly, that having met ſome ladies in a carriage, they obliged them to alight; and that, in order to obtain permiſſion to proceed, the ladies had told them that an eccleſiaſtic had denounced this crime to the National Aſſembly [86]: "*They ſay*"—purſued the orators—"*that it was the archbiſhop of Paris.*" All the members however haſtened to inform him that the archbiſhop of Paris was incapable of ſuch an act of atrocity [87].

[86] In fact, one of the eccleſiaſtical deputies, in the courſe of his diſſertation on the king's anſwer, had alluded to the circumſtance, but without adducing any proof in ſupport of it, and without even mentioning the name of the perſon accuſed.—*M. Mounier.*

[87] M. Mounier ſays—"It is difficult to conceive by what means they (the faction) had ſucceeded in inſpiring the people of Paris with ſuch an inveterate hatred of a prelate ſo virtuous, ſo great a friend to the poor, and ſo ready to make any ſacrifice in order to promote peace. It is known that he was the man who, to calm the popular effervescence excited againſt the eccleſiaſtics, propoſed to conſent to the ſuppreſſion of tithes; he afterwards offered the church plate."

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The dialogue between the leaders of the mob and the preſident of the Aſſembly was interrupted by the cries of the Poiſſardes, who, ſtanding up on the benches, all cried out, at the ſame time, for bread for themſelves and for the capital. The preſident told them, that the Aſſembly ſaw with concern the famine which afflicted the capital, and which proceeded from the obſtacles created for the purpoſe of preventing the circulation of grain; that it had done every thing in its power to facilitate, by its decrees, the ſupply of the city of Paris with proviſions; that the king had exerted his utmoſt efforts to enforce the execution of thoſe decrees; that new meaſures ſhould be deviſed for putting a ſtop to the famine, which their ſtay at Verſailles would certainly not do; that they ought to leave the Aſſembly to diſcuſs, with freedom, thoſe important points, and peaceably to return without committing any act of violence [88].

This anſwer was not capable of ſatisfying them, and M. Mounier would doubtleſs have made them another, if he had known the true ſtate of affairs in the capital at that time; if he had known that there had always been plenty of flour at Paris, and that the Poiſſardes had been followed to Verſailles by ſeveral carts, loaded with *bread*, *meat*, and *brandy* [89]. They all exclaimed—"*That's not ſufficient*;" but entered into no farther explanation, and, ſoon after, joining in the deliberations of the members, they called out to one, "*Speak, then deputy*;" to another, "*Hold your tongue, deputy*;" while their apoſtrophes were powerfully ſeconded by occaſional reports of cannon in the avenue, and all the members ſeemed to dread them, except Mirabeau, who having, of courſe, ſome particular grounds of ſecurity, ventured to addreſs them in a dictatorial and authoritative ſtile, aſking them what right they had to come and impoſe laws on the National Aſſembly [90].

The Poiſſardes *ſmiled* at this mode of interrogation adopted by their *friend*; and the Aſſembly found itſelf reduced to a ſituation replete with difficulties and diſgrace; it was aware that the majority of its members were in the ſecret with regard to the army that was about to arrive; ſome of the deputies had been heard to ſay—"*We muſt go to Paris, that's the only place in which we ſhall be able to do any thing*;" others were ſeen to prompt the Poiſſardes, and ſuggeſt motions to them. It was known, alſo, that three hundred armed Pariſians had privately entered Verſailles, the evening before; and that, as the Brigands arrived, the inhabitants called out to them from their windows,—"*Welcome, gentlemen, we expected you* [91]."

The greater the difficulty attending ſuch a ſituation, the more courage and magnanimity ſhould the National Aſſembly have diſplayed. But fear ſeems to have predominated, and their cowardice had all the effects of perfidy. They confirmed their decree

[88] Faits relatifs à la derniere inſurrection, p. 14.
[89] Journal Politique, &c, tom. ii. p. 229. [90] Idem, ibid. p. 230. [91] Idem, ibid. p. 231, 232.

on the nineteen articles of the conſtitution, and decided, that their preſident, attended by a deputation, ſhould inſtantaneouſly repair to the palace, and ſummon the king to accept the nineteen articles without delay; and, in order to add abſurdity to pride, they ordered the deputed members to exact of his majeſty a ſudden plenty for the city of Paris; as if the king, by ſigning that which reduced him to a nullity, and by an extorted acknowledgment that all men were free, could avert the ſtorm that lowered over his head, and ſupply Paris with proviſions. The conſtitution had nothing to do with the preſent proceedings; and the National Aſſembly knew, too well, that, under a pretence of aſking for bread, all the capital wiſhed for was the preſence of the king [92].

The Poiſſardes no ſooner ſaw the preſident, and the other members of the deputation, leave the hall, than they ſurrounded them, and expreſſed their determination to go with them to the palace. Mounier had great difficulty in obtaining, by dint of entreaty, a promiſe that only ſix of them would enter the royal apartments: a great number of them, however, attended him as an eſcort: he thus deſcribes their march from the hall to the palace.

"We were on foot, in the mud, and it rained very faſt. A conſiderable number of "the inhabitants of Verſailles lined, on either ſide, the avenue that leads to the palace. "The Pariſian women were collected in various groupes, intermingled with a certain "number of men, moſtly clothed in rags, with ferocious looks, threatening geſtures, "and ſhouting, or rather howling, in a moſt frightful manner. They were armed with "guns, old pikes, axes, loaded-ſticks, and large poles, with the blades of knives or "ſwords fixed to the end. Small detachments of life-guards acted as patroles, and gal-"loped through the ſtreets, amidſt the hiſſes and execrations of the mob [93]."

92 Journal Politique, tom. ii. p. 233.—The count de Lally Tolendal tells us, that he overheard a dialogue between Mounier and Mirabeau, in the Aſſembly, which while it inſpired him with the higheſt eſteem for the former, gave him an idea, that a project had been formed for alarming the royal family, and thereby inducing them to fly from Verſailles. As the ſucceſs of ſuch a project would, in the opinion of Lally, have been attended with the moſt dreadful conſequences, he immediately repaired to the palace, and imparted his apprehenſions to the king.—*Memoire*, p. 162.

The author of the *Journal Politique* expreſſed his aſtoniſhment that Mounier ſhould have conſented to accompany the deputation to the king. In *his* opinion Mounier ſhould have ſaid to the Aſſembly—"Either the army is "marching, with your conſent, againſt the king; or elſe is marching againſt you and the king too; and, in either "caſe, it is my duty, either to remain in my place, or give in my diſmiſſion."—There is no doubt, however, but that Mounier was actuated by the beſt poſſible motives, and that he entertained ſtrong hopes of being able to avert the impending ſtorm.

93 During this time, the pieces of cannon which the Poiſſardes had brought with them were ſtationed in the avenue leading to Paris, where all paſſengers were ſtopped, and this queſtion was put to them "*Etes-vous de la nation?*" if they anſwered in the affirmative, which, of courſe, they were compelled to do, they were ſtationed to guard the guns.

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In order to render this picture more clear, it muſt be obſerved, that after as many of the Poiſſardes and Brigands as the hall could contain had entered the Aſſembly, the remaining, and by much the greateſt, part had formed themſelves into a column, and marched directly towards the palace; but they were ſtopped by a line of life-guards, drawn up in front of the firſt iron gate, and by a body of Swiſs guards, ſtationed in the Place-d'Armes. The order given to theſe troops was to prevent the entrance of the mob into the palace, but *not to fire*. The populace of Verſailles, apprized of this circumſtance, joined the Brigands, the workmen of the ſuburbs of Saint Anthony and Saint Marcel, and all the rabble who were inceſſantly arriving from Paris; and continued to preſs more and more upon the avenues of the caſtle. The Gardes-du-Corps were loaded with threats and invectives, but hitherto the mob had not fired upon them. They were only employed in defending their poſts, and in diſperſing the too conſiderable bodies of Brigands that occaſionally collected, and threatened to force the entrance into the palace. The militia of Verſailles had hitherto remained ſpectators of the ſcene, and occupied different poſts, particularly on the ſide of the barracks formerly allotted to the French guards.

"As we advanced"—purſues Mounier—"we were joined by a part of the men who "were armed with pikes, axes, and ſticks. The ſtrange and numerous retinue by "which we were now followed attracted the attention of the Gardes-du-Corps, who, "miſtaking us all for one of the popular groupes, rode up to us, and diſperſed us in the "mud; and it will eaſily be conceived how great was the rage of our companions, who "conceived their right to approach the king and queen was ſanctioned and confirmed by "our preſence. We ſoon rallied, and advanced in this manner towards the palace. We "found the Gardes-du-Corps, a detachment of dragoons, the regiment of Flanders, the "Invalids, and the militia of Verſailles drawn up in the open place before it. Theſe "troops knew us, and received us with honour. We paſſed their lines, and they had "great difficulty in preventing the croud that followed us from introducing themſelves "into the palace. Inſtead of ſix women to whom I had promiſed admiſſion, I was forced "to admit *twelve*."

It was half paſt five in the evening when the preſident of the National Aſſembly, eſcorted by fifteen deputies and twelve Poiſſardes, entered the king's apartment, and repreſented to his majeſty the calamities (*fabricated* calamities) which afflicted the capital, beſeeching him to procure all the aſſiſtance in his power for the diſtracted city of Paris. The king deplored the misfortunes of the times, and promiſed to adopt every poſſible meaſure for affording the required relief. The anxiety he diſplayed affected even the Poiſſardes, one of whom is ſaid to have fainted in his preſence.

Having diſcharged this part of his duty, the preſident entreated his majeſty to fix an hour, in the courſe of that day, if it were poſſible, for receiving another deputation; and the

the king mentioned nine at night. While Lewis was engaged in converſation with one of the members of the council, Mounier embraced the opportunity to communicate to his miniſters the decree of the Aſſembly, by which he was inſtructed to demand a pure and ſimple acceptation of the conſtitutional articles, and of the declaration of rights. He repreſented, that at ſuch a time as the preſent, which might, every minute, be productive of freſh alarms, they ought to adviſe the king to avert the confuſion that would reſult from a ſecond deputation; that being charged, as preſident, to obtain, without delay, his pure and ſimple acceptation, it would be impoſſible for him to defer the demand; that all heſitation muſt be attended with infinite danger; and that the ſmalleſt delay would be conſidered as a refuſal, and might re-kindle the rage of the Pariſians, to whom it would infallibly be imparted. He told the miniſters, that if the king would give the acceptation required, it ſhould be announced to the people as a great benefit, and might poſſibly allay their fury.

Meanwhile, the Poiſſardes who had accompanied Mounier to the palace, had returned as ſoon as they had heard the king's anſwer, and ſeemed pleaſed with the reception they had experienced; but their numerous companions who were waiting for them, received them very ill, threatened them with the *lanthorn*, and compelled them to go back to the palace, for the purpoſe of obtaining the king's ſignature to the promiſe he had given them. They accordingly went thither, and gained admiſſion, when M. de Saint Prieſt, miniſter of Paris, endeavoured to ſoothe them, by explaining to them all the meaſures which the king had adopted for ſupplying the capital with proviſions; for the king and his miniſters were ſtill dupes to the artificial famines of the metropolis[94].

No words could deſcribe, if the recital of ſuch a deſcription could even be endured, the extravagance of the ſcenes which the women exhibited at the National Aſſembly, after the departure of the preſident for the palace. In proportion as they became intoxicated, which they were by no means ſlow in doing, they overwhelmed the members with their vociferation and noiſe, and, at length, they mounted into and took poſſeſſion of the preſident's chair. Amidſt a thouſand confuſed voices, thoſe were with difficulty diſtinguiſhed who called for the ſuppreſſion of the Gardes-du-Corps, the removal of the regiment of Flanders, and the deſtruction of the parliaments. The Aſſembly were proceeding to paſs a decree, with regard to the free circulation of grain, but the Poiſſardes reduced them to ſilence, and inſiſted on a great reduction of the price of bread,

94 It was on this occaſion that M. de Saint Prieſt was reported to have ſaid to the Poiſſardes—"*Formerly you had but one king, and then you never wanted bread; now that you have twelve hundred ſovereigns, you muſt apply to them for bread.*" But when Mirabeau, two days after, denounced the miniſter, for this ſpeech, to the Aſſembly, M. de Saint Prieſt, whether from dread of the conſequences, or whether becauſe the fact was really ſo, denied having uttered it. *Journal Politique*, &c.

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meat, and candles[95]. Such was the ſcene of confuſion, and ſuch the ſociety, in which the moſt awful and momentous buſineſs that perhaps was ever tranſacted by any body of men, the eſtabliſhment of a new conſtitution in a vaſt country, which went to nothing leſs than to the total annihilation of the old, and of all its appendant rights, laws, and inſtitutions, which had been confirmed by the ſanction of untold ages, was completed and promulgated.

But the tumults that by this time prevailed without were attended with more fatal conſequences than the confuſion which obtained within the Aſſembly. The Gardes-du-Corps, the Swiſs, and the regiment of Flanders had, as we have before obſerved, been ſtationed on the upper ſide of the Place-d'Armes, where they impeded the progreſs, and ſuſtained the inſults and threats of the Poiſſardes, and their aſſociates diſguiſed in women's apparel, as well as of the crowd of Pariſian workmen who kept puſhing againſt the gate of the firſt court. The Brigands, armed with pikes, and wearing pointed caps, remained behind as a corps-de-reſerve; being deſtined for an *interior* expedition, they had been cautioned not to expoſe themſelves too much on the Place d'Armes.

The good underſtanding which prevailed between the town-militia of Verſailles and the Brigands, as well as the little reliance to be placed on the ſoldiers of the regiment of Flanders, ſoon became evident. It was about ſix o'clock in the evening, when one of the ſoldiers of the Paris militia, who had accompanied the Poiſſardes, endeavoured to break the line of the Gardes-du-Corps, in order to penetrate into the firſt court. The guards, that they might not be reduced to the neceſſity of killing him, ſuffered him to pierce their ranks, well knowing that the gate leading into the court was ſhut. When he arrived, however, at the gate, he attempted to kill the Swiſs centinel, by thruſting his ſabre between the bars, becauſe he refuſed to admit him. The marquis de Savonnieres, ſub-lieutenant of the Gardes-du-Corps, then rode up to him, and complained of this act of violence; when the ſoldier ſtruck at him with his ſabre, and cut his horſes' crupper through. M. de Savonnieres returned this unprovoked attack by a few blows *with the flat part of his ſabre*; on receiving which the ſoldier fell, *pretending* to be wounded. A centinel belonging to the *city*-militia of Verſailles immediately diſcharged his piece at the marquis, and broke his arm[96].

This was the ſignal of the maſſacre. The marquis de Savonnieres rode into the middle

[95] Journal Politique, &c. tom. ii. p. 241.—Faits relatifs à la derniere inſurrection, p. 21.

[96] Journal Politique, tom. ii. p. 245.—Faits relatifs à la derniere inſurrection, par Mounier, p. 17, 18.—The truth of this account of the commencement of hoſtilities, given by M. Mounier, cannot be called in queſtion. It is almoſt needleſs to obſerve, that a very different account of the ſame inſurrection is given by thoſe ſhameful promulgators of falſhood, *Les Deux Amis de la Liberté*, and repeated, on their authority, by the authors of the Engliſh hiſtory of the Revolution.

of his ſquadron, which, faithful to the orders of their ſovereign, preſerved their ranks, and never attempted to revenge their wounded companion. A conſiderable diſcharge of muſquetry was the reward of their moderation: ſome of the Gardes-du-Corps, and many of their horſes, were ſeverely wounded; while the Poiſſardes and Brigands ſhouted with joy. At the ſame time, the militia of Verſailles, not ſatisfied with their firſt cowardly act of unprovoked and unreturned outrage, were ſeen to point againſt the Gardes-du-Corps the cannon that were placed before the barracks of the old French guards. The king, apprized of the perilous ſituation of his brave and faithful defenders, ſent them orders to retire to their hotel, in the hope that their retreat might tend to calm the fury of the mob; but the militia of Verſailles, encouraged doubtleſs by the non-reſiſtance they experienced, were daſtardly enough to renew their attack, and to pour in their fire at the extremity of the column; many of the Gardes-du-Corps were wounded, and platoons of militia followed them to their ſtables, continuing to fire all the way [97]. Guns were fired from every ſtreet, and the balls whiſtled on every ſide: but, nevertheleſs, the Gardes-du-Corps, ſeveral of whom died of their wounds, retired in good order, without ever returning the attack of their cowardly foes.

The king's *miſtaken* humanity; his extreme averſion from the effuſion of human blood, proved on this, as on too many other occaſions, the ſource of infinite calamities. The order, ſo frequently repeated, in the courſe of this diſaſtrous day, to the Gardes-du-Corps, not to fire upon the citizens, and to ſuffer themſelves to be maſſacred without reſiſtance, is equally calculated to excite aſtoniſhment and concern. What! were Poiſſards and Brigands, extracted from the dregs of the capital, to be conſidered as *citizens* who ought to be ſpared, as ſubjects who deſerved all the tenderneſs of the king whom they came to murder? While ſix hundred gallant gentlemen, of unſpotted honour, and ready to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in defence of that king, were to be regarded as ſo many automatons whoſe valour was to be reſtrained, or whoſe heads were to be devoted to a ſhameful and certain death! On an occaſion like this, it was the duty of the miniſters to reſtrain the humanity of their ſovereign, rather than the courage of his defenders!—The prohibition to fire was, in effect, both inhuman and impolitic [98]. A word would

[97] Journal Politique, tom. ii. p. 246.—Faits relatifs à la derniere inſurrection, p. 18.

[98] The miniſters could not be ignorant, that, for ſome days paſt, the Gardes-du-Corps had been rendered objects of public hatred; that their deſtruction had been ſworn; and that they were about to be given up to the rage of their enemies.—Why did not the miniſters make a direct application, in their official capacity, to the National Aſſembly, and urge them to decide, whether the mob or the militia of Paris had a right to go to Verſailles, and, with arms in their hands, dictate laws to their monarch?—*Faits relatifs a la derniere inſurrection*, p. 20.

The following curious fact will tend to demonſtrate, in ſome degree, the project that had been formed for aſſaſſinating the Gardes-du-Corps. It had always been uſual with that corps to keep a gunſmith of their own, who reſided in their hotel, and to whom thoſe gentlemen, every Sunday, on quitting guard, ſent their arms, which it was his duty to examine, to put in order, and to re-deliver, *charged*, to their reſpective owners. This man ſupplied them with powder and ball. In the night of the ſixth, ſome of the guards, on their arrival at Rambouillet, wiſhed

would have ſufficed: and the ſix hundred Gardes-du-Corps would have driven back to Paris the whole troop of Brigands, without having recourſe to the Swiſs or the regiment of Flanders, and in ſpite of the militia of Verſailles. But, in the courſe of this Revolution, and particularly of this day, no one of the miniſters had the courage to adviſe the adoption of deciſive meaſures: they were afraid, by allowing the guards to ſtand in their own defence, of irritating the militia of Verſailles; they were afraid, too, of expoſing the king to greater danger; in ſhort, fear ſeems to have preſided at their councils, and to have marked all their proceedings. If one of them propoſed an act of cowardice, a ſecond adopted it with all the avidity of terror, and a third, obedient to the ſame impulſe, recommended it to the king. The moſt vigorous project on which they ventured to decide was the flight of the royal family; but the king refuſed to fly; it was then propoſed, at leaſt, to remove the queen and the dauphin to ſome place of greater ſafety than the preſent; but the carriages were ſtopped by the inhabitants of Verſailles, who cut the traces, broke the wheels, and exclaimed that the king was going to fly to Metz. This obſtacle however it would have been eaſy to remedy, by providing carriages that were nearer at hand, and concealing them from the people [99], but the queen, as ſoon as ſhe heard of the deſign, put an end to all farther thought of it, by nobly refuſing to abandon her huſband, declaring, with a magnanimity worthy the daughter of Maria Thereſa, that, "She "would ſtay and die at the king's feet."

It has already been obſerved, that, about ſeven o'clock, the king hearing the diſcharge of muſquetry, and ſenſible of the perilous ſituation of his guards, had ordered them to retire. At half paſt eight, receiving certain information that the Pariſian army was on its march to Verſailles, he deemed it neceſſary to order the Gardes du Corps to reſume their ſtation near the palace; but a part only received the order, and formed in the Cour Royale. The reſt, who were not apprized of his majeſty's wiſhes till a later hour, repaired to the appointed place in ſmall diviſions; they were fired at in all the ſtreets through which they paſſed, and wherever they ſhewed themſelves, they were purſued like wild beaſts. Many of them were killed and wounded on this occaſion [100]: they were no ſooner drawn up before the gate of the Cour Royale, then the king, ever irreſolute, and ever unfortunate

wiſhed to diſcharge their pieces, when they found that the touch-holes of ſome of them were ſtopped up by ſhot having been poured into the barrels before the powder; others had chewed paper rammed down them; and, on examining the cartridges they had received as well for their fuſils as for their piſtols, they plainly perceived, that it had been determined to render them uſeleſs, as the balls were invariably too large for the barrels. Thus the aſſaſſins ran no riſk, even if an order had not been obtained from the king, which prevented the guards from firing upon them.—*Journal Politique*, &c. tom. iii. p. 91.

[99] Faits relatifs à la derniere inſurrection, p. 18.—Some well-informed perſons have pretended, that if the queen had attempted to make her eſcape, ſhe would certainly have been intercepted by the aſſaſſins that were poſted for that purpoſe in all the roads leading to the palace.—*Journal Politique*, tom. ii. p 251.

[100] Faits relatifs à la derniere inſurrection, p. 19.

in his reſolutions, ſent them orders to fall back upon the terrace of the orangery; ſo that, now, the palace they came to defend ſerved as a defence to themſelves, by ſeparating them from the Brigands of Paris and the citizens of Verſailles. A ſhort time after the king ſent them off to Rambouillet, under the conduct of the duke de Guiche, in order to ſcreen them from the rage of the Paris militia, who were coming to maſſacre them. All that remained at Verſailles was the *Garde de Service*; and it was the gentlemen compoſing that guard who ſuſtained the rage of the rabble on the ſucceeding days.

Between nine and ten o'clock an aid de camp arrived at Verſailles, and announced the approach of La Fayette, at the head of the Paris militia. The uneaſineſs and confuſion in which the miniſters were involved, were conſiderably increaſed by the reception of this intelligence. They knew that La Fayette had marched, by order of the populace, and that of courſe he muſt do whatever that populace wiſhed him to do. The court were far from participating in the happy confidence of a general who was ſubject to the orders of his men. They knew not what reſolution to adopt; their deliberations were marked by indeciſion, and fear gave counſel to fear. After ſo many falſe calculations, and retrograde motions; after ſo many amneſties, or, to ſpeak more properly, ſo much encouragement given to revolts of every kind; after the reſignation of his prerogative, and the ſacrifice of his amuſements, the king was at length reduced to tremble for the lives of all that were dear to him, and he had nothing but his terror to oppoſe to the impending danger.

It is certain that the march of the Pariſians to Verſailles might have been prevented with great facility; and, as Mounier juſtly obſerves, the miniſters ought to have foreſeen, that men of that deſcription had not been ſent to aſk for bread, and that they had not come from Paris with the intention of paſſing a few hours peaceably at Verſailles. Every precaution for reſiſting them ought therefore to have been adopted. Lewis the Fourteenth, in the midſt of all his magnificence, had left a paltry wooden bridge over the Seine at Séve, in order, as was ſuppoſed, that in any critical conjuncture, that communication between the reſidence of the ſovereign and a turbulent and dangerous capital might be cut off in an inſtant. But in vain had this bridge been ſuffered, for a century, to ſhock the ſight both of natives and foreigners who went to view the magnificent beauties of Verſailles; now that the moment was come, the members either forgot, or were afraid, to make uſe of a precaution which fear had impoſed on luxury and deſpotiſm: an oppoſition to its own meaſures, is, in fact, one of the leading characteriſtics of fear. It is true, the rabble might have marched to Verſailles, without croſſing the bridge, through the plains of Grenelle, but ſtill, if the bridge had been deſtroyed, their progreſs would have been conſiderably retarded, and the means of oppoſing them as conſiderably facilitated. Courts have been invariably repreſented as the center of diſſimulation, Policy, and Machiaveliſm! But certainly the court of France was intitled to no ſuch *diſtinction*, at this period; on the contrary it diſplayed a depth of imbecility, a want of foreſight, and a degree

gree of inanity, which were the more extraordinary as the men who figured moſt in the Revolution, were below mediocrity. "I fear not to aſſert"—ſays a contemporary writer—"that, in this boaſted Revolution, prince of the blood, military, deputy, phi-"loſopher, people, all were pitiful, even the aſſaſſins." Such is the difference between corruption and barbariſm: the one is more fertile in vice, the other in crimes: corruption ſo far enervates men, that it is frequently reduced to implore the aid of barbariſm for the accompliſhment of its deſigns: La Fayette and all the Pariſian heroes had much leſs reaſon to congratulate themſelves with having ſerved the people, than with having eſcaped from their fury. The moſt celebrated members of the faction, ſuch as Chapelier and Mirabeau, entered the States-General, extremely weakened by public contempt, and had juſt grounds for apprehending that the king would acquire honour to himſelf by inflicting on them the chaſtiſement they deſerved. The philoſophers of the Palais-Royal were indeed malefactors, but the hired aſſaſſins were *reaſoners*, who *diſtinguiſhed* between the king and the queen.[1]

It was about ten at night, when the king, who muſt have been ſenſible that his life was in danger, yeilded to the entreaties of Mounier, and ſigned his pure and ſimple acceptation of the declaration of rights, and of the conſtitutional articles which had been preſented for his ſanction.[2] The deputation immediately returned to the Aſſembly, when the preſident was extremely ſurprized to find that almoſt all the members had left the hall, which was occupied by a motley and ferocious band of drunken women, and profligate ruffians. He requeſted the municipal officers of Verſailles to call together, by beat of drum, all the deputies that could be found; and while this was doing he announced

[1] On the day of the expedition to Verſailles, four aſſaſſins, diſguiſed like women, went to a tavern at Séve, and as they were drinking their glaſs, one of them ſaid to his companions, "*Faith, I cannot prevail upon myſelf to kill* "*him, that would not be juſt; but as for* HER, *moſt willingly.*" The one that was ſitting next to him replied, "*Let* "*them eſcape that can; we muſt ſee what is to be done when we are there.* The man who overheard this, repeated it at Paris, but in vain, the committee of reſearches were too buſily occupied in inveſtigating the new-invented crimes of *lèze nation*, to attend to ſuch *trifling* circumſtances. *Journal Politique, &c.* tom. 2. p. 255.

[2] M. de Lally, who was at the palace at the time the king delivered his acceptation to the preſident, tells us that a perſon, who was a ſtranger to him, went up to him, and ſaid, "*You are like thoſe uſurpers who promote or ſelect times of* "*trouble for enforcing the reception of their laws under the influence of terror.*" M. de Lally ſtarted, "It is not I"—purſued the ſtranger—"who ſay this, I do but repeat verbatim the ſaying of one of our maſters." *The time choſen for an inſtitution is one of the moſt certain characteriſtics by which the work of the legiſlator may be diſtinguiſhed from that of the tyrant.** The count obſerved that the king had only extended to the declaration of rights the acceſſion which he had given in the morning to the conſtitutional articles, and for which application had been made to him ſeveral days before. "True"—replied the other—"on the firſt of October you placed him between the acceptation of your articles "and a national bankruptcy." M. de Lally confeſſes, that he felt too ſenſibly the juſtice of the reproach to continue the converſation. *Mémoire de M. Le Comte de-Lally-Tolendal*, p. 162, 163.

* J. J. Rouſſeau; *Contrat Social.*

to the people in the hall, the king's acceptation, which he held in his hand. The mob ſeemed pleaſed, and preſſed round him in order to obtain copies of it: but ſo little were they aware of the nature and conſequence of this acceptation, that numbers of them aſked *if it would be very advantageous*; while others exclaimed, "*Will that give bread?*" "*the poor people of Paris?*"[3] They ſoon after complained of being hungry, declaring that they had eaten nothing the whole day. M. Mounier was at a loſs how to fill ſo many mouths, without bread and without a miracle, at that late hour of the night; he did not know that the duke of Orleans was a true providence to the Brigands: and he was, therefore, not a little ſurprized to ſee meat, wine, and liquors brought in of a ſudden at every door of the hall; while the deputies of the nation aſſiſted at the banquet of the PEOPLE-KING.

Between eleven and twelve, an officer of the Paris militia entered the Aſſembly, and informed the preſident, that M. La Fayette was at a ſmall diſtance from Verſailles. M. Mounier requeſted M. Goui d'Arcy, one of the members, to go and meet the general, and inform him of the king's acceptation, and requeſt at the ſame time that he would communicate it to his troops. In the interval that occurred between the arrival of the aid-de-camp and that of the general, the women who ſurrounded his chair entered into converſation with the preſident; many of them expreſſed their regret at his having defended that *naſty veto* (ce vilain veto) and admoniſhed him to *beware of the lanthorn*.

La Fayette, aware of the evil intentions of his army, had contrived to exact an oath, (probably from the officers only, who anſwered for the men) that they would reſpect the National Aſſembly and the law, in defiance of which they had marched, and obey the king, whom they came to force from his blood-ſtained manſion. That general becomes an object of pity, who places himſelf between ſtupidity and perfidy, and who cannot obtain indulgence without forfeiting eſteem. In fact, if the marquis de la Fayette had not had certain *natural* claims to indulgence, he ſhould have been aſked why he did not make his army ſwear to drive away the Brigands and Poiſſardes, and to clear the reſidence of his ſovereign and the ſeat of the National Aſſembly of the ferocious bands of thieves and ruffians by which they were infeſted? It was indeed the duty of the Aſſembly itſelf, to have declared that general an enemy to his country, who had the preſumption to march againſt the king and the repreſentatives of the people. But it was deſtined, that rebellion ſhould have its full ſcope on this diſgraceful day, and that the ſpirit of revolt ſhould meet with no check from the adoption of reſolute and deciſive meaſures either by the court or the National Aſſembly.

It was near midnight when La Fayette entered the hall, and aſſured the preſident, that the oaths of fidelity and obedience he had exacted from his troops, who had alſo ſworn

[3] Faits relatifs à la derniere Inſurrection, p. 21.

neither

neither to commit nor to ſuffer the commiſſion of any act of violence, were ſufficient to remove all the apprehenſions which their arrival might tend to excite. M. Mounier very properly, aſked him, what was the object of ſuch a viſit, and what were the intentions of his army? La Fayette replied, that whatever had been the motives which had induced them to march to Verſailles, ſince they had promiſed to obey the king and the National Aſſembly, they would not ſeek to impoſe any law; that, nevertheleſs, in order to calm in ſome degree the diſcontent of the people, it would probably be of uſe to remove the regiment of Flanders, and to make the king ſay a few words in favour of the *patriotic cockade*[4] *!!!* To the eternal diſgrace of the Aſſembly they ſuffered this language to paſs not only without diſplaying any mark of indignation, but without even daring to make the ſmalleſt comment thereon. The thundering eloquence of Mirabeau, which had been ſucceſsfully exerted in reprobating the collection of the troops under Broglio, was not heard on this memorable night, when it had a ſcope for diſplay ſo much more ample; all the popular leaders were ſilent, while a band of *civic* ruffians were advancing to beſiege their own hall, and the palace of their ſovereign; and this circumſtance alone, when contraſted with their conduct on a ſimilar occaſion, referred to above, ſuffices to prove that they were either the actual accomplices of the inſurgents, or elſe hoped to profit by the inſurrection, in order to accompliſh their own views.

La Fayette, on leaving the Aſſembly, rejoined his army, which he ſtationed on the Place d'Armes, at the entrance of the avenues, in the ſtreets, and in ſhort wherever they choſe to remain; he then went to the palace, and told the king that he had rather choſen to come and throw himſelf at his majeſty's feet *(attended by twenty thouſand men)* than to periſh on the Place de Grève. He added, that in other reſpects Paris was tranquil enough[5]. After this declaration he had a private conference with the king, to whom he aſſigned ſo many motives for ſecurity, that the preſident of the National Aſſembly, attended by ſeveral of the members, having, in compliance with the requeſt of his majeſty, repaired to the palace, the king ſaid to him—"It was my wiſh to be ſurrounded by the repreſentatives of the nation, and to profit by their advice, at the time I was to receive M. de la Fayette; but he has arrived before you, and I have now nothing to ſay to you, except that it was never my intention to quit the palace, and that I will never ſeparate myſelf from the National Aſſembly[6]."

The preſident and the members returned to the hall about midnight, and continued the buſineſs of the Aſſembly, amidſt the populace by whom they were ſurrounded. As

[4] Faits relatifs à la derniere inſurrection, p. 24, 25. [5] Journal Politique, &c. tom. ii. p. 262.
[6] The king here alluded to the report that had been induſtriouſly circulated, in the courſe of the evening, that he meant to fly to Metz. Mounier.

they were in fact only waiting for the event, in order to gain time, they entered into a diſcuſſion upon the criminal laws. The people however interrupted them every moment, with the cry of "*Bread, bread! not ſo many long ſpeeches!*" Not that there was a ſcarcity of bread; for, the moment the troops arrived, they were received with ſhouts of joy by the Brigands and the militia of Verſailles; and immediately joined the dragoons, and that regiment of Flanders which had been the object of ſo much alarm, and the pretext of this very inſurrection. As the night was cold and rainy, the *allied* troops took ſhelter in the public-houſes, ſtables, coffee-houſes, and under the gate-ways, and in the courts of the houſes. An immenſe ſupply of bread and meat was diſtributed among them, together with a ſuperabundance of the ſtrongeſt liquors [7]. La Fayette, who was a witneſs to the plenty and conviviality which prevailed in his army, far from apprehending any evil conſequences from that circumſtance, conceived it to be an infallible ſymptom of their peaceable diſpoſition. Satisfied with the precautions he had taken, to place a few centinels, and to garriſon certain poſts with his Pariſian guards, he went to the king, to whom he communicated the contagion of ſecurity. He made himſelf reſponſible for the good intentions of the militia, and for the maintenance of order during the remainder of the night. His aſſurances were ſo ſtrong as to quiet every apprehenſion; and, at two in the morning, his majeſty was prevailed on to retire to reſt. When La Fayette left the king, he ſaid to the crowd who were waiting in the anti-chamber—"I "have made him ſubmit to ſome ſacrifices, in order to ſave him [8]." He, at the ſame time, mentioned the precautions he had taken, and expreſſed himſelf with ſo much tranquillity and content, that he ſucceeded in inſpiring all thoſe who heard him with the deſire of going to bed. Proud of his ſucceſs, he next conceived the idea of ſending the whole National Aſſembly to bed; he, accordingly, repaired to their hall, and adminiſtered to the preſident the ſame potent ſoporifics [9] which he had, ſo ſucceſsfully, employed at the palace. But M. Mounier, though overcome with fatigue, having kept his poſt for eighteen hours, told the marquis, that if he entertained the ſmalleſt apprehenſions of a tumult, he had but to ſpeak, and he would retain the members in their places till day. La Fayette, however, replied, that he was ſo certain of the good diſpoſition of the ſoldiery, and ſo thoroughly convinced that no interruption of the general tranquillity could poſſibly occur, that he ſhould himſelf retire to reſt. The Aſſembly was then adjourned, and all the members retired [10], except Barnave, Mirabeau, Petion, and ſome other of the zealous demagogues, who would not quit the crowd that filled the hall and

7 Journal Politique, &c. tom. ii. p. 263. 8 Idem, ibid. p. 264.

9 La Fayette acquired, on this occaſion, the appellation of *General Morpheus.*

10 Mounier, on his return home, found that a ſcore of ruffians had been enquiring after him, and had told the porter, that if they could not have his head then, they ſhould know where to meet with him. He was alſo informed, that a number of the inhabitants of Verſailles had aſſembled under his window, at the cloſe of day, and ſaid to the men of the ſuburbs of Saint Marcel and Saint Anthony—"*Enter this houſe, an ariſtocrate lives here, whoſe* "*head you muſt cut off.*"—Faits relatifs à la derniere inſurrection, p. 25. note 2.

all the adjoining apartments. Alone they reſiſted the ſoporifics of La Fayette, and refuſed, like another Ulyſſes, to ſleep on the edge of a rock. They watched all night over *the veſſel of the ſtate*; but, as they did not prevent the crimes of the morning, but, on the contrary remained paſſive ſpectators thereof, hiſtory muſt condemn their preſence at leaſt as much as the abſence of their fellow members.

The conduct of La Fayette, on this occaſion, is highly extraordinary, and indeed ſeems to have been the effect of infatuation. He well knew the cruel and bloody diſpoſition of that numerous crew of male and female ruffians, who filled and ſurrounded the whole city and its environs; and if he thought at all, he could not but expect, knowing ſo well as he did the motives and objects of their coming, that they would take ſome fatal advantage of his going to reſt. Nor were the National Aſſembly at all excuſable in purſuing his advice, knowing on what feeble grounds it was founded; and as they had ſo lately made no difficulty in ſitting up and watching a night for their own protection, they ſhould not have heſitated in paying a ſimilar attention to the ſafety of their ſovereign at a moment of ſuch imminent danger, when his life, and the lives of his whole family, were evidently at ſtake. In ſhort, had La Fayette been an actual accomplice of the Brigands, he could not have ſerved their purpoſe more effectually than he did; ſo true it is, that in ſituations of importance, a weak head has often all the effects of a bad heart!

Amidſt ſuch perfidiouſneſs of every kind; on that theatre, where fear and cowardice led weakneſs to its ruin, one illuſtrious character diſplayed that dignity and reſolution which became her birth and ſtation. Surrounded by men, who were involved in conſternation and alarm, the queen preſerved a countenance on which the tranquillity of unſhaken firmneſs was ſtrongly marked; nor did the errors and confuſion of her courtiers and attendants prevent her from betraying an extraordinary preſence of mind. During the evening of the fifth of October, ſhe was ſeen to receive a number of perſons in her great cabinet, to all of whom ſhe ſpoke with dignity and force, communicating her aſſurance to thoſe who were unable to conceal their alarms from her. "*I know*"—ſaid ſhe—"*that they are come from Paris to aſk for my head: but I have learned from my mother* "*not to fear death, and I ſhall meet it with firmneſs*[11]." An officer of the Gardes-du-Corps, ſpeaking, with great ſeverity, and unguarded warmth, of this new attempt of the factious and ill-diſpoſed, and of the tranſactions of the day, the queen turned the converſation, but without appearing to intend it. A moment after, ſhe turned to one of the deputies of the nobleſſe of Burgundy, and ſaid to him, in a low voice,—"I changed the "converſation, becauſe I perceived a valet-de-chambre of the duke of Orleans in the "room: how he came there I don't know."—Notwithſtanding the horrors of her ſi-

[11] Journal Politique, &c. tom. ii. p. 266.

tuation, the hearing her life repeatedly threatened, and her blood howled for, ſuch were her coolneſs and intrepidity, that ſhe retired to reſt at two o'clock, and ſlept ſoundly. We ſhall preſently ſee her, in the hour of danger, diſplay the magnanimity of her mother; and if, with the ſame courage, ſhe had not the ſame ſucceſs, the reaſon is, that Maria Thereſa had to deal with the nobility of Hungary, and the queen of France with the *Bourgeoiſie* of Paris.

From three in the morning till half paſt five, nothing tranſpired, and every thing ſeemed buried in the gloomy horror of the night. But yet the obſervation of men who had leiſure and coolneſs to reflect amidſt the confuſion of this extraordinary ſcene could ſcarcely fail to be attracted, by the ſituation of the royal family, lulled into the moſt profound ſecurity, and ſleeping, without defence, in the midſt of a horde of aſſaſſins, reinforced with twenty thouſand troops, and that, on the word of a general, who himſelf acknowledged, that he had only been induced to head, or rather follow, his army, through the fear of being hanged on the Place de Grève! This was, probably, the firſt time that ſuch great fear inſpired ſuch great confidence!

There were, however, ſome perſons, during this night, who did not partake of this ſecurity, and whom a ſpirit of precaution prevented from ſleeping. One, in particular, impelled by a ſecret inquietude, left his houſe, and walked towards the palace. This gentleman, whoſe veracity cannot be queſtioned, ſaw that the poſts were occupied by the ancient French guards and the militia of Verſailles, but that there was not one ſentinel more than uſual. He only found, near the marble-court, a little hump-backed man on horſeback, who ſaid he was ſtationed there by the marquis de la Fayette, and who, when the gentleman expreſſed his fears with regard to the Brigands, added, "that he was reſponſible for every thing; and that the men with the pikes and pointed caps knew him well." "But"—purſued the gentleman—"ſince your general is gone to bed, and the palace is "left in a defenceleſs ſtate, what could you do in caſe the national guards were want-"ed?"—The other replied—"*There can be no danger till morning.*" This obſervation filled the gentleman with alarm, but he could find no one to whom he could impart his apprehenſions. He traverſed the Place d'Armes, the avenue of Paris, and the environs of the National Aſſembly. He ſaw large fires blazing, at ſhort diſtances from each other, ſurrounded by groupes of Brigands and Poiſſardes, who were employed in eating and drinking. The hall of the Aſſembly was crowded with men and women, among whom were to be deſcried certain members of the popular party. The Paris militia were diſperſed in every quarter of the town; and all the ſtables and publick-houſes of every denomination overflowed with them Such was the ſituation of Verſailles from three in the morning until break of day.

Quid moror? irrumpunt thalamo; comes additur unà
Hortator ſcelerum AURELIDES.

About

About ſix o'clock, the different groupes united, and, after a ſhort time employed in previous arrangements, ruſhed impetuouſly forward, in a body, towards the hotel of the Gardes-du-Corps, ſhouting and exclaiming, "*Kill the Gardes-du-Corps! No quarter!*" The hotel was forced in an inſtant; ſeveral of the guards were maſſacred; the reſt, endeavouring to eſcape, were purſued like wild beaſts; fifteen of them were ſeized and conveyed to the iron-gate of the court before the palace, where part of them were inſtantly murdered, and the reſt only reſerved until the ruffians, who were debating on the ſubject, could agree as to the manner in which they ſhould be put to death. Before this point was ſettled, the grand body of the Brigands and Poiſſardes, having completely pillaged the hotel, joined their aſſociates at the iron-gate. They now forced an entrance into all the courts, in preſence of the Paris militia, and, wholly unreſiſted by the centinels ſtationed by La Fayette, penetrated, ſome of them by the great ſtair-caſe, and others by the ſide towards the chapel, into the interior apartments of the palace, and broke open that which was appropriated to the *Cent-Suiſſes*. They had previouſly murdered two of the life-guards, Meſſieurs de Huttes and Varicourt, one of whom was poſted at the iron-gate, and the other under the arch-way. Their palpitating bodies were dragged under the windows of the king's apartment, where their heads were cut off by a monſter, armed with an axe, and wearing a long beard, and a pointed cap of extraordinary height. This ſelf-conſtituted executioner, whoſe name was Nicolas, had taken up the buſineſs from liking, and, from the beginning of the troubles, had gloried in mangling and beheading all the ſuſpected royaliſts that were put into his hands.—It was the heads of theſe two gentlemen that were afterwards diſplayed in the ſtreets of Verſailles, carried in triumph before the royal carriages, and exhibited to the ſavage inhabitants of the metropolis.

After the aſſaſſins had forced their way into the apartment of the *Cent-Suiſſes*, and killed a third Garde-du-Corps, at the top of the marble ſtaircaſe, they called aloud for the head of the queen; the whole palace reſounded with the horrid threats and ferocious ſhouts of this execrable banditti; the Gardes-du-Corps formed a kind of barricade in their own apartment, and fell back towards the antichamber, called the *Oeil de Bœuf*; but their barricade was ſoon broken down, and they were purſued from room to room. The centinel, M. DE MIOMANDRE, who was ſtationed at the outward door of the queen's apartments, defended the entrance, with moſt heroic valour, until he had effectually given the alarm to thoſe within; when he found himſelf entirely overpowered, he called out, with a loud voice, "Save the queen, her life is aimed at! I ſtand alone againſt *two thou-*" *ſand tigers!*" He ſoon after ſunk down covered with wounds, and was left for dead; but recovering the uſe of his ſenſes he had the good fortune to creep away unobſerved through the crowd; and it will afford pleaſure to all virtuous minds to know that he was afterwards cured of his wounds.—Brave and generous ſoldier! who, amidſt the growing baſeneſs and defection, preſervedſt untainted thy honour and fidelity; with grateful

pride

pride does hiſtory conſecrate thy name, and hold thee forth as a model and example to ſucceeding times, if any ſuch ſhould unhappily occur, when ſimilar circumſtances ſhall call for ſimilar exertions!—The unhappy queen, awakened by the efforts of her gallant protector, flew, in her ſhift, through a long balcony placed before the windows of the interior apartments, t ll ſhe came to a private door that opened into the Oeil de Bœuf; after waiting five minutes, in a ſtate too horrid to admit of deſcription, ſhe obtained admittance, and ran to the king's apartment. She had no ſooner left her own chamber, than it was entered by a band of aſſaſſins (two of whom were men diſguiſed in women's cloaths) who, advancing to the ſide of her bed, drew aſide the curtains with their *pikes*[11]. Rendered furious by the loſs of their victim, they haſtened back into the gallery, with the intention of forcing an entrance into the king's apartments, when there can be little doubt but that the views of the Orleans' faction would have been effectually accompliſhed, by the murder of the royal family[12].

The king, awakened by the noiſe, had fled through a private paſſage to the queen's apartment, in order to ſave her life, or to periſh along with her. He was met by ſome of his guards, who eſcorted him back to his own chamber, where the queen was already arrived, and the children were brought ſoon after. The guards were in the mean time hunted from place to place, through all the purlieus of the palace, much in the ſame

[11] Dr. Prieſtly, in his "Letters to Mr. Burke," has inſerted the following note—"I am informed by a gentleman who was at Paris during the whole of theſe tranſactions, that there is no truth at all in what Mr. Burke ſays of the queen's bed-chamber being broke into, or the centinel killed. Nothing of the kind, he ſays, was ever heard of till a conſiderable time after the event, and the report aroſe from the ariſtocrates."—If doctor Prieſtly was in the habit of truſting to ſuch vague information as he ſeems, in this inſtance, to have received from his friend at Paris, the frequent errors and miſrepreſentations which occur in many of his works are eaſily to be accounted for. His friend muſt certainly have taken a long nap in a conventicle, or elſe his auricular nerves muſt have been ſo tickled with the delightful ſound of "*Tous les Eveques a la Lanterne*," as to have been rendered incapable of receiving any other impreſſion; for the circumſtances of an attempt to aſſaſſinate the centinel, and the breaking into the queen's bed-chamber were notorious, at the time, both at Paris and Verſailles.—M. Mounier, who retired into Dauphiny, on the tenth of October, only *four days* after the tumult, takes particular notice of them as facts coming with his own cognizance; M. de Lally-Tolendal, who left Verſailles about the ſame time, alſo ſpeaks of them in the ſame manner: and the teſtimony of theſe gentlemen, who were themſelves principal actors in the ſcenes they relate, cannot ſurely be ſuſpected. Beſides the facts are fully corroborated by the depoſitions taken before the Châtelet. Tis true, that the centinel was not *killed*; nor does Mr. Burke poſitively ſay that he was: his words are "Inſtantly he was cut down," which was really true. But it is equally true, that the aſſaſſins left him for dead; and Mounier, as well as all thoſe who left Verſailles ſoon after the affair, believed him to have been *killed*.

Had doctor Prieſtly poſſeſſed the ſmalleſt inclination to inveſtigate the truth of the matter in queſtion, he might ſurely have accompliſhed his wiſh, ſince his public tion did not appear till 1791, and both Mounier and Lally had publiſhed their accounts of the buſineſs in the year 1789. But ſo that he could induce his readers to queſtion the veracity of his opponent, and impreſs a belief that the horrid enormities committed in France had been groſsly exaggerated, his purpoſe was anſwered.

[12] Journal Politique, &c. tom. ii. p. 270, 271, 272.—Faits relatifs à la derniere inſurrection, p. 25, 26, 27.

manner

manner as the Hugonots had been after the maſſacre of Saint Bartholomew. A conſiderable party of thoſe who had been on duty in the interior part of the palace, had only time to barricade themſelves in the rooms adjoining the king's apartment, and being there compleatly encloſed, the ruffians who had been to the queen's chamber, having joined their aſſociates, were in the act of forcing open the doors. At this critical moment, La Fayette and his officers fortunately appeared, and prevented the accompliſhment of their diabolical project. That general, awakened by the tumult, had ſtarted from his bed, and mounting his horſe, rode towards the palace. Deeply affected by the fatal conſequences of his credulity and miſconduct, he addreſſed, with impaſſioned energy, the grenadiers of the French guards incorporated in the Paris militia; repreſented to them, in ſtrong terms, the danger to which the life of their ſovereign was expoſed; and offered himſelf as a victim to gratify the rage of the populace [13]. The grenadiers, feeling a momentary impulſe of returning loyalty, repaired to the palace, favoured the retreat of the Gardes-du-Corps to the apartment adjoining the king's chamber, where thoſe gallant men bravely reſolved to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in defence of their ſovereign, and reſtrained the fury of the aſſaſſins. Thoſe ruffians, however, though detected in the very acts of murder and treaſon, were reſpected by the grenadiers [14]. Almoſt at the ſame inſtant, La Fayette perceived the Gardes-du-Corps, who had been firſt ſeized and conducted to the iron gate, where the mob were deliberating on the mode of their death—thither the general ran, and, by haranguing the populace, gained time, until a ſecond troop of grenadiers came that way. He immediately called to them—"Grenadiers"—ſaid he—"will you then ſuffer theſe brave men to be thus baſely murdered? I place "them under your protection. Swear to me, on the faith of a grenadier, that you will "not ſuffer them to be aſſaſſinated!" The grenadiers took the oath required, and placed the Gardes-du-Corps in the midſt of them.

But, at ſome diſtance from thence, the populace, who had quitted the palace, enraged at their diſappointment, and admirably ſeconded by the militia of Verſailles, had ſeized another party of the Gardes-du-Corps, and were preparing to maſſacre them. The deſire of rendering their execution more ſplendid and cruel, by murdering them under the windows of the king's apartment, fortunately proved the means of preſerving the lives

[13] Journal Politique, &c. tom. ii. p. 274.—Faits relatifs à la derniere inſurrection, p. 26.

[14] The Pariſian guards had already declared that they would not uſe force againſt their fellow-citizens, in which deſcription they included all the banditti who were now in and about Verſailles; and a few of them had, that very morning, afforded a ſpecimen of the diſpoſition and conduct to be expected from the whole; for being on duty near the ſpot where Meſſieurs de Huttes and Varicourt were ſo barbarouſly murdered, and in full ſight of that inhuman tranſaction, no principle of generoſity or ſympathy could induce them to interfere, or make the ſmalleſt attempt to ſave them. And though they were now, by the earneſt perſuaſions of their general, led to the adoption of a different line of conduct, with regard to thoſe brave men, nothing could urge them to inflict on their aſſaſſins that puniſhment which they ſo richly merited.

of theſe devoted victims. An officer of the Paris militia reſcued eight of them; and among thoſe that remained were ſome brigadiers, grown grey in the ſervice, who thus addreſſed the ſurrounding crowd—"Our lives are in your hands; you may put us to "death; but the period of our exiſtence will only experience a trifling abridgment, and "we ſhall not die diſhonoured."—This ſhort harangue produced a kind of revolution in the minds of the mob. An officer of the national guard, affected by the dignified expreſſions and venerable air of theſe military veterans, threw his arms round the neck of the oldeſt of them, and exclaimed—"We will never maſſacre ſuch brave men as you!" His example was followed by ſome other officers of the Paris militia.

At that inſtant, the king, who, accompanied and protected by La Fayette, had gone through the palace—his mind being ſo occupied by the danger of his guards, that it could dwell on no other ſubject than that of recommending them to the mercy of the crowd, with aſſurances to all that they were unjuſtly accuſed—went to a balcony, and repeated the ſame interceſſion to the mob below. The guards who were near his perſon, anxious to ſave the lives of their comrades, threw down their belts to the people, and, grounding their arms, exclaimed, "*Vive la nation!*" The condeſcenſion of the king, and the conduct of his guards, produced a tranſitory effect, by flattering the pride, and ſoftening the ferocity of theſe tigers, who now made the courts of the palace, and the whole extent of the Place d'Armes, reſound with repeated cries of "*Vive le roi!*" In a moment the victims, who were on the point of being maſſacred, were embraced by the mob, and carried, in a kind of triumph, under the windows of the royal apartment; while the guards above were invited to join their comrades. The invitation was accepted; and they were loaded with careſſes by that populace, who had ſo lately been anxious to aſſaſſinate them, and who, ſoon after, took a barbarous pleaſure in expoſing them to every kind of inſult and degradation.

Though the people had condeſcended to promiſe that they would murder no more of the Gardes-du-Corps, they did not loſe ſight of the principal object of their enterprize; but inſiſted, in the moſt determined manner, that the king ſhould fix his reſidence at Paris. La Fayette communicated this demand to his majeſty, who, alarmed, ſolicited, preſſed on all ſides, at length complied, and promiſed to depart for the capital at noon. This promiſe was ſoon notified to all the parts of the crowd, by papers immediately diſperſed for the purpoſe; and the acclamations of the people were anſwered by the diſcharge of cannon and muſquetry. His majeſty appeared at the balcony to confirm his promiſe.

On this ſecond appearance, the joy of the Pariſians was no longer confined within bounds, but diſplayed itſelf under a thouſand hideous forms. They ſeized the Gardes-du Corps, to whom they had ſo recently granted their lives, tore off their uniform, and made them put on the dreſs of the national guard; after which they were reſerved as priſoners,

priſoners, or hoſtages, deſtined to embelliſh the triumph of the victors. The militia of Paris and that of Verſailles continued, for ſome hours, to congratulate each other in a manner that was peculiarly inſulting to their ſovereign and his family. The monſter, with the pointed cap and long beard, whom we have before noticed, ſtrutted about the place before the palace, oſtentatiouſly exhibiting his face and hands, covered with the blood of the Gardes-du-Corps, and lamenting that he had been brought to Verſailles to cut off *only* two heads [15]. But nothing could equal the inhuman delirium of the Poiſſardes; *three of them were ſeated on the body of a murdered Garde du Corps, eating, or rather devouring, the fleſh of his horſe, which their companions cut up and prepared for them; while the Pariſians were dancing around them* [16] *!!!* By their tranſports, their geſtures, their inarticulate and barbarous cries, Lewis the Sixteenth, who beheld them from his window, might have fancied himſelf king of the cannibals, and of all the Anthropophagi of the New World.

Soon after, the mob and the militia, as if anxious to encreaſe their intoxication by a freſh inſtance of ſucceſs, roared out, with the utmoſt violence and indecency, for the queen. La Fayette, accordingly, went for her. She heſitated a moment, and aſked if her preſence were neceſſary to appeaſe the people? He aſſured her it was.—"Then"—ſaid ſhe—"I would go, even if I were ſure that I went to execution." She accordingly appeared in the balcony, accompanied by the dauphin and his ſiſter; but twenty thouſand voices inſtantaneouſly exclaimed, "*No children!*" She therefore ſent the children away, and remained in the balcony alone. Then her air of dignified majeſty in this ſtate of humiliation; and this proof of her courage in an obedience ſo perilous—for in the depoſitions given before the Châtelet it is teſtified, that *muskets were*, at that very time, *ſeen levelled in the crowd, which appeared to the deponents to be pointed directly at the queen*—ſoftened, by dint of ſurprize, the ferocity of the mob; and ſhe was received with univerſal applauſe.

[15] Journal Politique, &c. tom. ii. p. 278.—Faits relatifs à la derniere inſurrection, p. 27.

[16] Journal Politique, p. 278, 289.—M. Mounier ſays—"I ſhall not enter into the particulars of various ſcenes of "horror, worthy of the moſt atrocious cannibals, which paſſed in preſence of the *national* militia, who never made "the ſmalleſt attempt to apprehend or puniſh the miſcreants."—The inhabitants of the provinces were ſo far deceived, that numbers of them were convinced that the Paris militia had marched to Verſailles for the ſole purpoſe of preventing diſorders. They knew not that on the fifth of October there had been an inſurrection at Paris; that the town-houſe had been beſieged; that the militia had *forced* their general to place himſelf at their head; and that they arrived at Verſailles in the middle of the night. It is true, that, at laſt, they protected the guards, by interceding for them; but they did not attack any one of the Brigands whoſe crimes they had witneſſed. On the contrary, *their preſence rather tended to encourage than intimidate the aſſaſſins*; and, doubtleſs, nothing but the fear of diſpleaſing them could have influenced the order for the retreat of the guards ſtationed on the terrace; or could have induced thoſe who remained at their poſts to ſuffer themſelves to be maſſacred without making any defence.—It would have been ſuch an eaſy matter to repel the aſſaſſins!—Faits relatifs à la derniere inſurrection, p. 27. note.

After the king and queen had retired to prepare for their removal to the metropolis, a conſiderable degree of agitation was diſcernible upon the Place d'Armes, among the factious, who were in deſpair at having miſſed their blow; and the demagogues, who were in raptures at this laſt victory of the people. Liſts of proſcription were induſtriouſly circulated among the mob, on which were inſcribed the names of the moſt virtuous members of the Aſſembly.

The duke of Orleans, who muſt be conſidered as the author of theſe diſturbances, had paſſed the preceding evening at Paſſi, in company with madame de Sillery, whither his emiſſaries and couriers were continually arriving from Verſailles, with the news of what was paſſing at the palace and at the National Aſſembly [17]. In the morning, between the hours of ſix and ſeven, he was himſelf preſent in diſguiſe among the mob who were deſtined to attack the palace, and to whoſe leaders he was revealed by certain diſtinguiſhing marks or ſignal. The principal ſervice which this illuſtrious miſcreant intended to perform, was, from his intimate knowledge of the interior of the palace, to lead the banditti by the neareſt way to the royal apartments; in which caſe, it has been ſuppoſed, and the juſtice of the ſuppoſition cannot reaſonably be doubted, that all that part of the royal family would have been inſtantly ſacrificed. Fortunately, however, his heart, according to its uſual cuſtom, is ſaid to have failed when he arrived at the ſcene of action; and he accordingly ſlunk away from his aſſociates, whoſe numbers, violence, and ferocity, might poſſibly tend to encreaſe his terror. Mirabeau, enraged at what he conſidered ſuch ſhameful conduct in his patron, is reported to have made the following ſarcaſtic obſervation—"That man conſtantly carries a cocked piſtol loaded with miſchief in his "hand, but his cowardice is ſo extreme that he never can draw the trigger."—The duke d'Aiguillon, it is alſo confidently affirmed [18], was one of the perſons who mixed with the mob, diſguiſed in woman's apparel; a circumſtance which juſtifies the ſuſpicions which have been before thrown out, of the purity of thoſe motives which influenced the ſacrifices he voluntarily made on the night of the fourth of Auguſt.

At eight o'clock in the morning, and before he had given his word to follow the rebels to Paris, the king had expreſſed, to ſome of the deputies of the nobility, his earneſt

[17] Journal Politique, &c. tom. ii. p. 243.

[18] The private information we have received, on the ſubject of this nobleman's conduct, on this too memorable occaſion, does not permit us to doubt the truth of the affirmation. Could we conceive ourſelves juſtified, in any caſe, in departing from the rigid duty of an hiſtorian, we might, probably, have been induced to ſuppreſs this fact, from the hope that the ſubſequent emigration of the duke has been influenced by a conviction of the impropriety of his connections and proceedings, at the commencement of the Revolution: but we are too ſenſible that the ſtricteſt regard to veracity conſtitutes our firſt duty, not to make it, in all caſes whatever, riſe paramount to every other conſideration.

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wiſh to have all the members of the National Aſſembly around him, in order that they might aſſiſt him with their advice at ſo alarming a criſis. Theſe deputies haſtened to the preſident's apartments, who had juſt been awakened by a perſon that brought him a note from one of the members, couched in theſe terms—"*In the name of God, ſave my brother, whom the people are about to maſſacre*;" on their way, the deputies requeſted ſome of their aſſociates whom they met to repair to the palace; they even went to the hall, where having found a conſiderable number of members aſſembled, they communicated to them the king's deſire, in the name of the preſident. Mirabeau obſerved, "*That the preſident could not make them go to the palace, without deliberating.*" The galleries, filled with the dregs of the capital, ſupported their friend Mirabeau, and declared that the members ſhould not quit the hall.

About ten o'clock the preſident took the chair, and formally announced the king's deſire; when Mirabeau ſaid—"That it was *beneath the dignity* of the Aſſembly to go to "the king; that the palace of the ſovereign was no place for debate; that their delibe- "rations would be expoſed to ſuſpicion; and that it would be ſufficient to ſend a depu- "tation of ſix-and-thirty members.

This obſervation was equally marked by folly and hypocriſy. To talk of the *dignity* of the Aſſembly, after it had been reduced to the loweſt poſſible ebb of degradation; after it had baſely ſubmitted to be dictated to, to have laws impoſed on it, by the meaneſt and moſt profligate miſcreants in the kingdom; after it had ſuſtained all thoſe inſults which had reduced it almoſt below contempt, to talk of its dignity was to inſult the common ſenſe of mankind! Beſides, could it be deemed derogatory to that dignity to wait on the chief of the nation? Or was dignity alone to be conſulted at ſuch a time? The king was on the point of being forcibly carried off from his palace, and perhaps maſſacred; he aſked for aſſiſtance and advice, and they pretended to dread the influence of his authority, when he was not even ſure of his life! The king, too, by imploring the aid of the Aſſembly, furniſhed them with an opportunity of proving that they were not in league with the Brigands; and ſome of the members, whoſe addreſs was not equal to their evil deſigns, made them, by refuſing to comply with his requeſt, loſe that opportunity. The preſident, M. Mounier, in vain proteſted againſt the refuſal; in vain did he inſiſt that their dignity conſiſted in diſcharging their duty; that they had no duty to fulfil that was more ſacred than that of attending the king in the hour of danger; and that if they neglected to fulfil it, they would ſubject themſelves to eternal reproach; they did not attempt to anſwer his arguments, but contented themſelves with dividing the houſe, when the majority voted for the deputation.

As they were employed in ſelecting the members who were to compoſe it, they received information, that his majeſty, reduced to the laſt extremity, had engaged to ac-

company the Brigands and Pariſian heroes to the capital. Without enquiring into the circumſtances which had induced the king to adopt a reſolution ſo extraordinary, that ſame Mirabeau who had inſiſted that ſix-and-thirty deputies were ſufficient for him, in the hour of peril, now propoſed that he ſhould have an hundred to witneſs his captivity; and, though he had refuſed to be one of the members of the firſt deputation, which might have been expoſed to ſome danger in aſſiſting the king, he offered himſelf as one of the ſecond, which was only deſtined to degrade his majeſty, by ſwelling the train of his conquerors. He, at the ſame time, moved, though without ſucceſs, that an addreſs to the provinces ſhould be publiſhed by the Aſſembly, to tell them—*that the veſſel of the ſtate was about to ruſh forward with greater rapidity than ever, towards its regeneration.* Mounier declares, that the joy of Mirabeau, Barnave, and others of the moſt violent leaders, was ſo extreme, as to become indecently apparent; whilſt the members on the other ſide, expecting every moment to be ſurrounded with an armed rabble, trembled for their lives, and dared not utter a word.—To paſs away the time, it was decreed, that the National Aſſembly was inſeparable from the king; after which any trifling buſineſs that could be thought of was brought forward, to afford ſome appearance of debating until the buſineſs at the palace was entirely over.

It was one o'clock before the king left Verſailles, and the mob had, for ſome time, expreſſed, in loud murmurs, their diſcontent at the delay. The proceſſion which now commenced has been juſtly characterized as one of the moſt degrading and melancholy of which there is any record in hiſtory. The ſovereign of one of the greateſt, moſt powerful, and moſt ſplendid monarchies in the univerſe, governing a people long and far renowned for arriving near the ſummit of civilization, learning, arts and ſcience; a nation, likewiſe, particularly famed for the valour, generoſity, and rare attention to honour, which has diſtinguiſhed its nobility, through a courſe of ages; and yet this ſovereign, without foreign invaſion or war; without any *avowed* domeſtic competitor for his throne; and even without any acknowledged rebellion of his ſubjects, was, in the face of day, with his queen and family, dragged from his palace, and led captive, in ſavage triumph, by bands of the meaneſt and moſt contemptible ruffians and profligates, of both ſexes, in his dominions !!!

At the head of the proceſſion marched the main body of the Paris militia, *every ſoldier carrying a loaf fixed to the point of his bayonet*[19]. Then followed thoſe modern furies, the Poiſſardes, drunk with joy and wine, carrying branches of trees decorated with ribbands; ſome of them ſat aſtride on the cannon; others were on horſeback, having on their heads the hats belonging to the Gardes-du-Corps: a part wore cuiraſſes, before and behind; and another part were armed with ſabres and muſkets. They were ſurrounded

[19] Journal Politique, &c. tom. ii. p. 29.

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by the multitude of Brigands and Pariſian workmen; and in the midſt of them marched two ruffians, with naked arms ſtained with human blood, bearing long pikes, to the ends of which were fixed the mangled heads of the two life-guards who had been murdered in the morning[20]; and theſe, it is ſaid, were frequently and deſignedly exhibited before the windows of the carriage which conveyed the royal captives, whoſe ears were deſtined to be ſhocked, not leſs than their eyes, by the moſt obſcene, ſavage, and horrid expreſſions, uſed by the beaſts of women, in the hearing of the queen.

A number of carts loaded with corn and flour, which the mob had ſeized at Verſailles, formed a convoy, which was followed by the grenadiers, who had taken poſſeſſion of the Gardes-du-Corps, whoſe lives the king had redeemed. Theſe gallant men, treated as captives, were diſarmed, and marched, one by one, on foot, and with their heads uncovered. Before, behind, and on either ſide of the royal carriages, were the dragoons, the regiment of Flanders, and the Cent-Suiſſes. The king was accompanied by the queen, the reſt of the royal family, two prelates of the council, and the governeſs of his children.

As if this proceſſion were not, of itſelf, a ſufficient inſult and degradation to fallen majeſty, a journey of four leagues was protracted to ſix hours. Their departure from Verſailles was celebrated by the militia of that place and of the capital, by a general diſcharge of muſquetry, "as a mark of triumph after gaining a battle[21]." At certain fixed diſtances the whole proceſſion ſtopped, and the diſcharges were repeated, when the Poiſſardes, quitting their cannon and their horſes, formed themſelves into circles around the mangled heads of the Gardes-du-Corps, which they contemplated with ferocious joy, and immediately before the king's carriage, where they danced; uttered the moſt horrid yells; embraced the military partners of their crimes, and ſang licentious ſongs, the unvaried burden of which was, "*Voici le boulanger, la boulangere, et le petit mitron*[22]!" On the

[20] One of theſe unhappy victims, the young chevalier de Varicourt, was brother to the marchioneſs de Villette, ſo much admired, and ſo celebrated, by Voltaire.

[21] Faits relatifs à la derniere inſurrection, p. 31.

[22] "*Here are the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's little foreman.*"—It would be difficult to find, in any hiſtory whatever, a more groſs miſrepreſentation, a more ſhameful perverſion of fact, than the following deſcription of this horrid proceſſion exhibits:—"During the progreſs all was gaiety and joy among the ſoldiers and ſpectators; "and ſuch was *the reſpect in which the French nation ſtill held the name and perſon of their king*, that the multitude were ſu- "perſtitiouſly perſuaded that the royal preſence would actually put an end to the famine. The *popular* exclamation "was, as they proceeded along, "We are bringing the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's little journey- "man."—*Hiſtory of the Revolution*, tom. i. p. 249.

This is the firſt time we have ſeen a brutal inſult conſtrued into a mark of reſpect; or the gentle expreſſion of "all was gaiety and joy" applied to ſuch ſcenes of abomination, as were exhibited by the ruffians and furies of Paris, during this proceſſion. By the ſame rule, we ſuppoſe, we ſhall be told that the aſſaſſins who diſcharged their muſkets into one of the royal carriages—a fact confirmed by M. Lally on no leſs irrefragable evidence than *ocular demonſtration*—

the high road, not far from Paſſy, ſtood the **duke of Orleans**[23], like the great father of ſin, contemplating, with malignant joy, the fatal effects of his own infernal machinations!

Such was the manner in which Lewis the Sixteenth, king of France, was forced from the reſidence of his anceſtors by the murderers of his ſervants, and conveyed, by a rebel army, a captive to his metropolis!

Hæc finis Priami fatorum, hic exitus.

It was ſeven o'clock when the proceſſion reached the gates of Paris; the royal family were immediately conducted to the town-houſe, amidſt the ſhouts and cries of a mad populace, who had been waiting ſeveral hours for their prey. The king was harangued by Moreau de Saint Mery, who expoſtulated at large on the inviolable loyalty and fidelity of the Pariſians, of which, it muſt be confeſſed, they had juſt given a notable example. After paſſing a conſiderable time at the town-hall, their majeſties were conducted to the old palace of the Louvre, which had remained uninhabited ſince the days of Lewis the Fourteenth, and where not the ſmalleſt preparation had been made for their reception. Monſieur and his conſort eſtabliſhed their reſidence at the Luxembourg. The city was illuminated, and the remainder of the night was paſſed by the Pariſians in teſtifying their joy at the victory they had obtained over their ſovereign, by indulging in every exceſs of licentiouſneſs; while the heads of the two Gardes-du-Corps were oſtentatiouſly diſplayed, in all the ſtreets of the capital[24].

When all the circumſtances of horror and iniquity, preceding and attending the diſgraceful tranſactions of the ſixth of October, are conſidered, it appears almoſt impoſſible that men could be found with minds ſo ſtrangely formed as to contemplate the ſcene with joy and exultation. Yet doctor Price ſeems to have regarded it as the laudable effort of a people "indignant and reſolute, ſpurning at ſlavery, and demanding *liberty* with an "irreſiſtible voice: their king led in triumph, and an *arbitrary* monarch ſurrendering "himſelf to his ſubjects"—This rhapſody, (for what other denomination can it deſerve?) is marked by falſhood and miſrepreſentation. No one feature of liberty is to be diſcerned in the machinations of the faction that projected, or in the proceedings of the mob that conducted, this abominable triumph.—"*Liberty*"—ſays the citizen of Geneva—"muſt *always* follow the fate of the *laws*; it muſt reign or periſh with them." But,

"*demonſtration*—only meant to give their majeſties a proof of their *affection*; and that the cry of "*Tous les Eveques*
"*a la Lanterne!*" was a mere effuſion of *innocent mirth!*

[23] Journal Politique, &c. tom. ii. p. 291. [24] Idem, ibid. p. 292.

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in this inſtance, the laws were diſobeyed; all the conſtituted authorities oppoſed; and the firſt principles of that declaration of rights, which the French themſelves conſidered as the pledge and ſurety of their liberty, violated. We have ſeen, in the firſt place, the ſeat of municipal juſtice invaded; next, the conſtitutional commander of the military threatened and controlled; and, laſtly, the perſon of the monarch, ſo ſolemnly proclaimed ſacred and inviolable, attacked; his reſidence, and the ſeat of the National Aſſembly, forcibly entered; his lawful defenders barbarouſly murdered, and himſelf and family dragged, in captivity, to the capital! In ſhort, every part of theſe proceedings was marked by a ſpirit of licentiouſneſs abſolutely deſtructive of all rational freedom.—Liberty, heaven-born goddeſs! eternal object of our veneration! it was not at thy ſhrine, unſtained by the blood of virtue, the baſe Pariſians bowed their guilty heads!—No, the baſe detractors robbed thee of thy name, and gave it to an hideous idol of their own creation!

The application of the epithet *arbitrary* to the unhappy Lewis, at this period, is an inſult to common ſenſe, and could only be uſed as a neceſſary ſanction to the exultation expreſſed by the preacher at ſeeing him *led in triumph*. Deſpoiled not only of every part of his power which could be employed to the prejudice of the national welfare, but ſtripped even of many of thoſe prerogatives which were eſſentially conducive to the real intereſts of the nation, this unfortunate monarch, ſo far from being deſpotic, was himſelf the victim of deſpotiſm!—Strong, indeed, muſt be the current of prejudice, when even the pulpit is proſtituted to the propagation of calumny!

On the evening of that diſaſtrous day, in which the king was torn from his family, the broken remnants of the middle or moderate party in the National Aſſembly, of whom Mounier was the head, and who had endeavoured to eſtabliſh what they conceived to be the ſafeſt and moſt permanent ſyſtem of liberty for the people, under the form of a limited monarchy, to be regulated and kept within proper bounds by a conſtitution bearing ſome reſemblance to that of England, held a meeting, at which it was ſtated, that having long, with great peril to themſelves, diſcharged their duty as honeſt men, in endeavouring to ſtem the torrent of republicaniſm; to defeat the unavowed, and therefore more dangerous, deſigns, of ſome of the factious leaders; to eſtabliſh the liberty of the people, and, at the ſame time, to preſerve the proper and neceſſary rights of the monarchy inviolate; that after this long and virtuous ſtruggle, it was now a matter of grievous reflection to perceive, not only that all their efforts were fruitleſs, but that a directly contrary and moſt dangerous ſtate of affairs had taken place. They ſaw the monarchy overthrown; the king a priſoner, not merely to his own ſubjects, conſidered generally as ſuch, but to the rabble of Paris; while his life hung ſuſpended by a hair, which it was in the power of every ruffian to ſnap or to cut in a moment. They ſaw that liberty for which they had ſo much contended now placed in ſuch a train, that, if

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cauſes produced their proper effects, it was likely to be deſtroyed before it was completely formed. The National Aſſembly muſt now remove to Paris, which had, for ſome time, been the prime wiſh and chief object in view, with ſome of the moſt dangerous of the factious leaders who ruled that body. In Paris, the repreſentatives of the people would become as abſolute priſoners as the king; and France would be governed by laws framed by theſe leaders, and enforced on the Aſſembly by the terror of their inſtruments, the cabals and mobs of the capital. As for themſelves, the purity of their views and the integrity of their conduct could not preſerve them from continual danger, and menace to their lives; indeed, it was, unhappily, ſhewn too clearly, that theſe were qualities now ſo little regarded, that they could procure neither eſteem nor ſafety. The queſtion now for them to conſider was, whether, having fulfilled the duty they owed to the public to the utmoſt of their power, but without effect, and finding affairs now in a ſtate which not only rendered them totally uſeleſs for the preſent, but which cut off all hope of their ever being otherwiſe under the preſent ſyſtem, they ſhould, notwithſtanding, perſevere in the ſame fruitleſs toil, and devote their lives, without a competent object, by placing them in the hands of the Pariſians; or whether they ſhould at once ſecede from the Aſſembly, and ſubmit their conduct, along with the cauſes of this procedure, to their conſtituents, as well as to the public at large?

The greater part of the members preſent, notwithſtanding theſe reaſons, in the veracity of which they all equally agreed, were yet unwilling to abandon their ſeats. Mounier and Lally-Tolendal were at the head of the ſeceders [25].

25 M. de Lally-Tolendal, in his ſecond letter to a friend, aſſigns the following cogent motives for his ſeceſſion.—"I was no longer able to endure the horror I experienced at the ſight of that blood—thoſe heads—that queen *newly* "*maſſacred*—that king, carried off as a *ſlave*, entering Paris in the midſt of his aſſaſſins, and preceded by the heads "of his unfortunate guards: thoſe perfidious Janiſſaries, thoſe aſſaſſins, thoſe female cannibals, that cry of "ALL "THE BISHOPS TO THE LANTHORN!" at the moment that the king was entering his capital, with two prelates of his "council in the carriage with him: *a muſket which I ſaw fired into one of the queen's carriages:* M. Bailly calling that a "*Glorious day!*—The Aſſembly having coolly declared, in the morning, that it was incompatible with its dignity "to go in a body and ſurround the king: M. Mirabeau obſerving, with impunity, in that Aſſembly, that the veſſel "of the ſtate, far from being impeded in her courſe, would ruſh forward with greater rapidity than ever towards "its regeneration: M. Barnave laughing with him, while ſtreams of blood were flowing around us: the virtuous "Mounier miraculouſly eſcaping from twenty aſſaſſins, who were anxious to make an additional trophy of his "head.

"This it was that made me ſwear never more to ſet foot in *that cavern of Anthropophagi* (the National Aſſembly), "where I had no longer the ſtrength to raiſe my voice; where, for the laſt ſix weeks, I had raiſed it in vain. I, "Mounier, and all virtuous men, were of opinion that the laſt effort we had to make for the public welfare was to "leave it. No idea of fear ever entered my head: if it had, I ſhould be aſhamed to diſown it. I had received on "the road [he was one of the deputation that accompanied the king to Paris] from the people, leſs criminal "than thoſe who had excited their fury, acclamat ns and plaudits that would have gratified others, but which "made me ſhudder. It was to the indignation, the horror, the phyſical convulſions, I experience at the mere ſight "of blood, that I yielded. A man may brave death once; he may face it many times, when his courage can be of "uſe to his country; but no power under heaven, no public or private opinion, can condemn me to ſuffer uſe-

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But before Mounier had quitted the preſident's chair, he had the addreſs, with the fervent aid of his friends, to carry a very important reſolution, and which there was little reaſon to expect would have been paſſed. This was an order for an enquiry into the horrid maſſacre, intended, and actually commenced, on the ſixth of October, and for proſecuting the authors thereof. This was the foundation of all the proceedings which were conducted in the Châtelet upon the ſubject; and though ſubſtantial juſtice was not obtained, nor probably could be expected, yet it could not fail to produce ſome good effect, by convincing the perpetrators of wanton and unprovoked murders, that they might not always be ſafe in the gratification of that horrid propenſity; and reminding them, that public enquiries, and public proſecutions, were not pleaſant matters to play with. It would have done much honour to the National Aſſembly, would have prevented much well-founded reproach, which will not wear off while the memory of any of their acts continue, and would have prevented acts which will be an eternal ſtain to their country, if they had paſſed, and ſupported with vigour, many ſimilar reſolutions; inſtead of turning accounts of the moſt inhuman murders to ridicule, and ſhamefully joking upon the purity or impurity of the blood thus ſhed.

Nothing, at the ſame time, can afford a ſtronger demonſtration of the homage paid to Mounier's character, and of the awful aſcendancy which virtue holds even over thoſe who abhor its name, than that he ſhould have been able to carry a reſolution ſo abhorrent to the diſpoſition of all the principal leaders of the factions;—they evidently ſhrunk before it. He has declared himſelf, that the reflection of his having carried this meaſure of humanity and juſtice was no ſmall ſolace to him in his ſubſequent troubles and misfortunes. This was his laſt public act: and he, who had not long ſince been one of the moſt popular men in the kingdom, was, at no diſtant period, deſtined to fly from his country, and to retire to Geneva for the preſervation of his life. This obligation he owed to Barnave and other of his brother deputies, who, unable to reſiſt or endure his virtue when preſent, took care to prepoſſeſs the minds of the people ſo effectually againſt him, as to prevent the poſſibility of his being ever again troubleſome.

Mounier was, with reſpect to ſtrictneſs of integrity, purity of principle, love and admiration of virtue, undoubtedly the firſt man in the Aſſembly. In talents and abilities he was ſecond to none in that body; but having more ſubſtance than ſhow in them, they were by no means calculated *ad captandum vulgus*; ſo that his popularity muſt have ariſen from the general ſenſe entertained of his virtue. He was an enthuſiaſtic lover of liberty, and as determined a foe to tyranny in every ſhape and form; but the liberty which

"leſsly a thouſand deaths a minute; and to periſh through deſpair and rage, in the midſt of *triumphs*, and crimes "which I have been unable to prevent.—They will proſcribe me; they will confiſcate my property:—I will cul- "tivate the earth, and ſee them no more,—Such is my juſtification.

he adored, and wiſhed to eſtabliſh, was a rational and regular one, ſenced in with inſuperable reſtraints againſt its degenerating into licentiouſneſs and anarchy, as well as with impaſſable mounds againſt the inroads of deſpotiſm. His chief faults in political affairs were too great a degree of refinement, too great a partiality for ſpeculative doctrines, and a pertinacity in adhering, ſometimes too ſtrongly, to his own opinions.

Mounier declared to a few particular friends, at his departure from Paris, how much he was oppreſſed by the melancholy reflection, that all his efforts in favour of liberty had only ended in enſlaving France to the deſpotiſm of faction, inſtead of the deſpotiſm of royalty.

Two factions, with views totally different and incompatible, had contributed in promoting the late diſorders and violence. The republican levellers intended, by the removal to Paris, to place the unhappy ſovereign ſo entirely in their own power, and, by the aid of the Pariſians, to purge the Aſſembly ſo totally of all who oppoſed them, that neither the king, the nobles, nor the clergy, could find it poſſible afterwards to defend any of their rights, not only by arms, but even by legal reſiſtance. And they well ſaw that the bare name of the king, which did not produce the ſmalleſt benefit to himſelf, might be turned to great account by affording ſome ſanction to their proceedings, and thereby become a moſt uſeful inſtrument in the confirmation of their power. Upon theſe principles, no deſigns that affected the king's life could originate in this party.

The other faction, of which the duke of Orleans was the real, but Mirabeau the oſtenſible, head, and the leaders of which were generally called the Cabal, held very different views, though they purſued the ſame means, and uſed the ſame inſtruments, the mobs of Paris, for their attainment. The firſt, as we have ſeen, wiſhed to confine the king, perhaps for life, within the walls of the capital; but the ſecond hoped either to procure his aſſaſſination, in the firſt inſtance, or to terrify him into a flight, in which caſe they would have proceeded to depoſition; and poſſibly the circumſtances of the flight might have afforded an opportunity for greater and more deciſive violence. Though theſe aſſumed the character of Republicans, and generally acted along with them, yet ſo far were they from wiſhing the overthrow of the ſovereignty, that they very reluctantly admitted even the reductions that were made in its authority; they wiſhed it to continue perfect and whole, but wanted to change the hands in which it was placed; ſo that having ſet up a phantom of power, which, from its weakneſs, they knew they could manage as they pleaſed, a very few of their principal leaders would be enabled afterwards to govern with ſupreme authority. This party was, from two cauſes, particularly dangerous; —one was the extreme profligacy, and total want of principle, joined with a conſiderable portion of talents, of ſome of the leaders; the other was the profound ſecrecy with which its obſtinate views were kept concealed, ſo that the real object of its purſuits and conduct was never apparent.

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The republican party were triumphant upon this occaſion; and the views of the cabal, if not entirely ſeen through, were, at leaſt, ſo far underſtood, as to excite much miſtruſt, and draw no ſmall degree of odium upon their leaders.

On the morning after the king's arrival at Paris, all the diſtricts met at an early hour, and orders were given to ſurround all the avenues of the Tuilleries, which had been only defended, during the night, by a common guard. A thouſand troops were immediately ordered on that duty, and all the gates of the palace were ſecured by a train of artillery, to prevent the poſſibility of ſurprize or eſcape. In the evening, the diſtricts of Paris, by an aſſumption of power perfectly conſiſtent with their paſt proceedings, paſſed a reſolution, that the regiment of the Gardes-du-Corps ſhould be broken and never more revived; and that, in future, his majeſty ſhould be guarded by *citizens*, inſtead of ſoldiers.

The National Aſſembly had now another glorious opportunity, when the king, after being forced from his habitation by a factious mob, was confined to the precincts of that palace which he had been compelled to accept for his reſidence, to recover their loſt dignity and importance, by a proper exertion of vigour, and the diſplay of a becoming ſpirit of independence. The ſhackles impoſed by a democratic faction are probably more dangerous, and certainly more diſgraceful, than thoſe of a deſpotic ſovereign. Hence it became the Aſſembly to reſiſt, with determined reſolution, the unconſtitutional efforts of the Pariſians; and boldly to demand the immediate releaſe of their monarch. By the adoption of ſuch a line of conduct, they might ſtill have rendered themſelves reſpectable in the eyes of all Europe, and have proved themſelves worthy to be the champions of freedom; but though their courage was ſufficient to withſtand the oppoſition of an impotent king, it vaniſhed before the threats of an armed multitude. The inſidious deſigns of ſome, and the terror experienced by others, influenced the determination to confirm their former decree, which declared them inſeparable from the king, and to repair to Paris. Accordingly, after tranſacting ſome buſineſs of little moment, and preparing an addreſs to their conſtituents, in which they ſaid—"*This day*" (the ſixth of October) "*is* "*a day of triumph, and the monarch is our conqueſt*[26]," thus repreſenting the Brigands as a victorious army, under the orders of the Aſſembly, they went thither, and aſſembled in the great hall of the archbiſhop's palace, which had been prepared for their reception.

The firſt ſtep they took, after their arrival in the metropolis, was to ſend a deputation to the king, headed by the preſident, who addreſſed his majeſty in a curious ſpeech, in which he told him, that the National Aſſembly, having voted themſelves inſeparable from his auguſt perſon, were now led by their affection to approach him, and offer him

[26] Journal Politique, &c. tom. iii. p. 99.

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the homage of their immutable love and reſpect; he obſerved, that the love of the French people to their monarch had been unbounded (it muſt be confeſſed they had recently exhibited a ſingular proof of their affection!) ever ſince that day when the public voice hailed him *the Reſtorer of Liberty*, to which it only remained for him to add the endearing title of *the beſt friend to the nation*; a title to which his claim was indiſputable, as the whole nation had ſeen his majeſty firm and tranquil in the midſt of danger, running every riſk for the good of the ſtate, and ſupporting and encouraging a beloved people by his preſence and protection. The ſpeech contained many ſimilar declarations equally deſtitute of ſenſe and meaning.

Though the Revolution was now completed, and no viſible obſtacle remained which could check the republicans in their future career, yet the idea of ſhutting themſelves up within the walls of the turbulent city of Paris, where a hundred thouſand pair of jealous and ſuſpicious eyes were to be an eternal watch upon their conduct and actions; where they were to be ſubjected to the caprice of a frantic and bloody populace, who had conſtituted themſelves both judges and executioners of the law in all caſes of life and death; and where the moſt zealous patriot was liable to become an inſtantaneous victim to the falſeſt report, or the moſt unfounded ſuſpicion; theſe conſiderations, acting conjointly, could not but inſpire a great part of the Aſſembly with the moſt ſerious and alarming apprehenſions, and thereby tend conſiderably to diminiſh that ſatisfaction and exultation of pride and ſucceſs, which their ſignal triumph over the crown, and extreme and abject ſtate of degradation to which it was reduced, might otherwiſe have afforded.

In order, by every means in their power, to guard againſt this danger, which, however unavowed, was equally obvious to all, the Aſſembly immediately paſſed the ſtrongeſt reſolutions that could be framed, reſpecting the ſacredneſs and inviolability of their perſons. But theſe being in no degree ſufficient to remove the general impreſſion of danger which had taken place, ſo great a number of members were continually applying for leave of abſence, that it ſeemed, at length, as if the Aſſembly would be entirely deſerted; and it was found neceſſary, as a remedy for the evil, to paſs an order or reſolution, that no farther applications for leave ſhould be received.

Theſe apprehenſions had not, however, time to wear off, before an event occurred which ſufficiently ſhewed that they were by no means ill founded. For the Aſſembly had not been long in Paris, when theſe loyal and peaceable citizens, being perhaps apprehenſive that their rights and authority might, without frequent exertion, become dormant, and lapſe into what the lawyers call a ſtate of deſuetude, determined to give their new viſitants of the Aſſembly an early ſpecimen of what thoſe rights and that authority were, ſo as to prevent all future miſtakes about their nature and extent, and at the ſame time to afford a ſtriking inſtance of their own due qualification, from the eaſe and facility

lity with which they adminiſtered ſummary juſtice. There could be no want of an object on which to diſplay their juſtice and dexterity, while there remained a baker ſtill in exiſtence. The lot accordingly fell upon an unfortunate member of that fraternity, named François, who reſided in the vicinity of the National Aſſembly. Accuſed of monopoly by a woman who is ſaid to have been influenced ſolely by perſonal enmity, the mob forced an entrance into his houſe, and though the charge was not only proved to be notoriouſly falſe, but it was demonſtrated that the man had even made uncommon exertions to ſupply the public with bread, he was dragged to the town-houſe, and, after a ſhort examination, in which his innocence was completely eſtabliſhed, was taken from the magiſtrates by the populace, and hanged on the Place de Grève, in preſence of the national guard, who remained paſſive ſpectators of the whole tranſaction. or, at leaſt, made only that kind of oppoſition which was calculated rather to encourage than intimidate the aſſaſſins.—The conduct of theſe *citizen-ſoldiers* is thus curiouſly accounted for by the "Two Friends to *Liberty*."—"The national guards, agitated by the ſame miſtruſt by "which the major part of the citizens were at that time tormented, and *fearful of dip-* "*ping their hands in the blood of their brethren*, in whoſe diſtreſs they participated; and "of *incurring the guilt of homicide* in order to ſave one who was perhaps guilty, oppoſed "but a feeble reſiſtance [27] !!!"—It is eaſy to perceive that a reſiſtance thus characterized muſt have amounted to a poſitive encouragement. The head of the unhappy victim was ſeparated from his body, and being placed on a pike. was exhibited to his wife, then in a ſtate of pregnancy, who, at the horrid ſight, fell ſenſeleſs to the ground.—The king and queen, anxious to ſoothe this unfortunate woman, ſent her two thouſand crowns, to enable her to continue the buſineſs, and undertook to become ſponſors at the baptiſm of her child.

While the Aſſembly were at a diſtance, matters of this ſort were paſſed over without concern or notice; but this tumult taking place under their eyes, and the danger ſeeming already at their own doors, the alarm and apprehenſion excited by it were beyond deſcription. This paroxyſm of terror, however, produced an excellent effect; it rouſed the Aſſembly into a degree of exertion, the want of which had been long and lamentably felt; and its very exceſs proved the means of inſpiring them with courage. They likewiſe could not but feel how much their authority and dignity were ſet at nought and degraded; and that public opinion, upon which every thing depended, would be ſhaken, if ſo violent an outrage, committed almoſt in their preſence, and as if it had been to ſhew who were in future to be their maſters, had been ſuffered to paſs with impunity. Under theſe and ſimilar impreſſions, the Aſſembly immediately paſſed a very effective and ſevere law, founded much upon the principle of the Engliſh riot-act, by which the municipal magiſtrates were obliged to proclaim martial law whenever the mob

[27] Hiſtoire de la Revolution de 1789, et de l'Etabliſſement d'une Conſtitution en France, tom. iv. p. 66.

proceeded to outrage; and were, beſides, furniſhed with a red flag, which, upon ſuch occaſions, was to be diſplayed from the town-houſe, as a formidable emblem of the conſequences which would enſue. This regulation, notwithſtanding its evident neceſſity, was moſt violently oppoſed by Robeſpierre, Buzot, and ſome other violent men, who inſiſted that the penalties of the law were rather directed againſt *hunger* than *tumult*. They ſaid, that the people, when in want of bread, could not be blamed for their violence; and that it was impoſſible tranquillity ſhould ever be reſtored until the people ſhould ſee the National Aſſembly ſeriouſly occupied in attempts to nouriſh and *avenge* them: they urged the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing tribunals and appointing judges for the trial of ſuch as had been guilty of *léze-nation*; and for immediately proceeding with vigour againſt criminals of that deſcription, that the lives of the citizens might be protected againſt the reſentment of *a multitude driven to extremities by the impunity which the audacity of their enemies excited*[27]. Some of the diſtricts of Paris, actuated by the ſame ſpirit, alſo proteſted againſt the decree, and even propoſed to oblige all the citizens to throw off *the national dreſs*, until it were repealed, and to ſhoot all ſuch as oppoſed the repeal[28]. Indeed, it is not to be wondered at, that the people of Paris, who had ſo frequently heard themſelves proclaimed the ſaviours of the ſtate, ſhould be enraged at a law which converted them into rebels, and which tended, hereafter, to render criminal and impracticable thoſe very means which the Aſſembly themſelves had rendered invincible and ſacred!—Fortunately for the city, however, the decree was enforced with ſalutary vigour, and the rabble had the mortification of beholding two of the moſt notorious of their brethren, who were concerned in the late tumult and murder, publickly hanged. Theſe deciſive meaſures produced an immediate happy effect; and order and quiet were for ſome time eſtabliſhed.

About the ſame time a kind of inquiſitorial tribunal, entitled, a "Committee of Reſearch," was inſtituted at Paris, for the purpoſe of receiving informations and depoſitions, concerning any plots or conſpiracies that might be diſcovered; of arreſting, in caſe of neceſſity, the parties accuſed; of examining them, and of collecting and digeſting the proofs to be adduced againſt them on their trial. Conſiderable rewards were holden out as a ſtimulus to the zeal of informers; in ſome inſtances, no leſs than fifty thouſand livres were offered. And the king, at the ſolicitation of the municipality, was induced to promiſe a free pardon to any perſon concerned in a plot that ſhould diſcover his accomplices.—Thus was all the odious rigour of the old police revived, without any of its ſalutary effects.

Theſe regulations were followed by an event which could not fail to aſtoniſh all thoſe who were not admitted deeply into the ſecrets of affairs. This was the extraordinary meaſure of ſending the duke of Orleans out of the kingdom. To render this tranſac-

[27] Hiſtoire de la Revolution de 1789, &c. tom. iv. p. 70. [28] Idem, ibid. p. 78.

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tion more intelligible, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that nothing could exceed the indignation of La Fayette at the diſobedience which he experienced from his troops on the fifth of October, though ſuch a circumſtance was by no means calculated to excite the ſurprize of men who reflected on the nature of the national guard, its formation, and diſcipline. All the mutual ties which ſhould unite a general and his army, and which he knew to be abſolutely neceſſary to the preſervation of that force which conſtitutes the utility of an army, ſeemed at once diſſolved; and, beſides the diſappointment, and wound to his pride, the perſonal ſecurity of a commander ſeemed in a very precarious ſtate, whoſe troops diſdained to obey, and who made no ſcruple of flying in the face of his authority and command. He well knew that their diſobedience and mutiny did not originate with themſelves, but were produced by the machinations of the Cabal; and he directed all his indignation and reſentment to their proper object, the father of that faction. For whatever La Fayette's private political views might have been, there certainly was nothing farther removed from them, or which he abhorred more, even in idea, than that the duke of Orleans, through any convulſion, or change of circumſtances, or under any denomination, of Regent or otherwiſe, ſhould ever be placed at the head of public affairs. He ſaw that the ſeaſon was highly favourable to the gratification of his enmity; that the views of the Cabal were thoroughly ſeen through, and that they had conſequently loſt all influence, weight, and confidence in the Aſſembly; that Mirabeau had not been more unfortunate in his views to aggrandize his principal than himſelf; and that his deſign of forcing himſelf into the royal adminiſtration had excited diſguſt and abhorrence.

It is ſuppoſed, that the leading party in the Aſſembly had already derived all the benefits from the duke which they wiſhed, or at any time intended: his pecuniary aid had from the beginning been indiſpenſably neceſſary to the accompliſhment of their ſchemes; without it their efforts would have been fruitleſs and unavailing; but now things were totally changed: if his treaſures had not even been pretty well exhauſted, they were not, however, in that ſtate of neceſſity which once rendered them indiſpenſable; he had been as long the inſtrument to their purpoſes as was neceſſary; to continue it longer would be folly. Beſides, that his ſervices were no longer wanting, his preſence was becoming troubleſome; and might, under certain circumſtances, through his influence with the rabble, poſſibly prove dangerous.

Whether the opinion that theſe motives operated upon the Aſſembly be well-founded or not, it ſeems evident, that La Fayette muſt have had a certainty of being well ſupported when he ventured upon ſo bold, and, ſeemingly, ſo dangerous a meaſure. He ſettled the buſineſs, like a ſoldier, with little ceremony, but peremptory effect. In a ſhort and ſudden conference with the duke, he informed him, in a few words, that his preſence in France was, at this juncture, incompatible with the good of the nation;

that England, where he was well acquainted, was deemed the moſt proper country for him to retire to; that a paſſport from the king was ready for him; and that, to conceal the real motive of his abſence, he ſhould be apparently ſent to execute a private commiſſion from his majeſty in that country. The mandate was ſo peremptory, delivered with ſuch firmneſs, and accompanied with an air of ſuch deciſive authority, that the duke, ſurprized and ſubdued, ſhrunk under its effect, and, every thing being prepared, was diſpatched to England.

Mirabeau's rage was unbounded at this cowardly ſubmiſſion, as he termed it, of the duke. It was given in evidence before the Châtelet, that he concluded a torrent of the groſſeſt abuſe by exclaiming, "He does not deſerve the trouble that has been taken for "his ſake."

As ſoon as the new law for reſtraining the judicial violences of the mob had produced ſome degree of order and ſecurity in Paris, the National Aſſembly applied itſelf cloſely and without interruption for ſeveral months to the adjuſtment of public buſineſs, of which they had ſtill ſuch abundant quantity on their hands, that, viewed as a whole, it ſeemed to preſent ſuch an inextricable wilderneſs of jarring elements, fortuitouſly jumbled together, as no time or care could be ſufficient to reduce to order: for what they had hitherto done was rather to be conſidered as an outline, containing haſty ſketches of what was farther intended, than as any completion of the ſeparate parts of the deſign. But, independent of the old, which they had already in any degree gone through, they had an infinite quantity of new matter to conſider, arrange, and decide upon.

Among the moſt remarkable of the meaſures immediately adopted, was the political annihilation, at one blow, of the two firſt orders, in point of dignity, and the two moſt ancient and only original orders of the ſtate; while things were now arrived at ſuch a paſs, that this degradation of the nobles and clergy, and this total change of the conſtitution, was effected without a ſingle ſtruggle, by a ſimple decree, which only announced, *totidem verbis*, "That there was no longer any diſtinction of orders in France." The Aſſembly then entered upon the buſineſs of elections, which required an entirely new code of laws or regulations, to render it conformable to the preſent ſyſtem. No reference to the ancient form of electing repreſentatives for the different orders could of courſe be admitted or thought of. The regulations went, in the firſt inſtance, to the election of deputies in the primary aſſemblies, who were again (as we have already ſeen) to proceed to the election of thoſe deputies who were to repreſent the nation in the Aſſembly.

Though the right of election in the primary aſſemblies was extended to the citizens at large, that is, to every Frenchman, by birth or naturalization, (except ſervants) who had compleated

compleated his twenty-fifth year, and had reſided one year within the diſtrict where his vote was to be given, yet a ſmall qualification, with reſpect to property, was required to entitle them to vote—viz. the payment of taxes, in any part of the kingdom, equal in amount to the produce of three days labour; and this qualification, ſlender though it was, afforded no ſmall ſatisfaction to the friends of property and a government by law, who fancied that both would from thence derive ſome degree of ſecurity. It was farther decreed, that the men thus entitled to vote in the primary aſſemblies, ſhould have their names regiſtered in books kept for the purpoſe, and ſhould be characterized under the diſtinctive appellation of *active citizens*.

The qualification of thoſe who were choſen electors was fixed at the payment of a contribution equal in amount to the produce of *ten* days labour; and it was required that every candidate for the office of repreſentative ſhould be aſſeſſed at a mark of ſilver, and be poſſeſſed of ſome property, either real or perſonal [29]. The paying any, even the ſmalleſt, attention to property, was deemed, on one ſide, a conſiderable point gained; on the other hand, the moſt violent of the republican and levelling party were much out of humour and greatly diſſatisfied at this decree; for they wanted to throw the elections into the hands of the whole people, without diſtinction, and no other diſqualifications to operate upon votes, than thoſe ariſing from infancy, ideotiſm, or abſolute infamy of character [30].

Notwithſtanding all that had been ſaid of the alacrity with which the provinces ſurrendered their peculiar rights and privileges, it now appeared that theſe accounts required to be received with all the caution and doubt which were ſo generally neceſſary with reſpect to every thing that was given out or publiſhed at this period. The caſe undoubt-

[29] Hiſtoire de la Revolution de 1789, tom. iv. p. 111, 112, 113.

[30] The hiſtorians we laſt quoted, condemn all attention to property in this inſtance, as "*contrary to the liberty "and equality of citizens*;" and as "*repugnant to reaſon and all true principles of government.*" (tom. iv. p. 114.) "The "obvious and ſimple principle of population" ſeems likewiſe to meet the approbation of the authors of the Engliſh Hiſtory of the Revolution;—but can any thing be more obvious or ſimple than this truth—that where the legiſlative body is formed on the principle of population, without *any* attention to property, the poor will generally legiſlate for the rich, and all property become inſecure?—But though we wiſh always to ſee property *reſpected*, we are by no means deſirous of ſeeing it endued with any other privileges than ſuch as are requiſite for its own ſecurity, and for the general welfare of *the ſtate*.—Thoſe who would deſpoil property of *all* its privileges, ſhould conſider that, by ſo doing, they would deſtroy ſome of the moſt powerful inducements to that ſpirit of induſtry and emulation ſo eſſentially conducive to the proſperity of a ſtate, and to the happineſs of individuals.

As many of the members had experienced the *inconvenience* of being reſtrained, in their operations, by the inſtructions of their conſtituents, they now took care to provide a radical remedy for that *defect*. The Aſſembly declared, that each member was not to be conſidered as the repreſentative of his conſtituents, but as the repreſentative of the nation; and all electors were abſolutely forbidden to deliver any inſtructions (Cahiers) or imperative mandates to their members!—*Hiſtoire de la Revolution*, tom. iv. p. 98.—The number of repreſentatives which were, in future, to conſtitute the National Aſſembly, was fixed at ſeven hundred and forty-five.

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edly was, that as the deputies of the privileged provinces were generally among the moſt forward in framing or adopting all the political novelties of the preſent time, ſo they made but little ſcruple in ſacrificing the rights or privileges of their conſtituents to their own peculiar doctrines or deſigns; and that this conduct, not being at all approved by great numbers of people in the country, their diſſatisfaction occaſioned thoſe difficulties which the Aſſembly now experienced; and which were, indeed, ſo conſiderable, that it ſeemed as if that body had been only commencing the buſineſs. That it was deemed really ſerious appears from the democratical writers, who inform us, that the diſſatisfaction upon this ſubject in the provinces, afforded the only ſtrong ground of hope which the ariſtocrates now poſſeſſed; "For, finding themſelves unable to deſtroy the kingdom, "they had, however, the conſolation left, that by this means they might be able to "diſtract it."

The diviſion of power was too unequal to admit of any great conteſt; nor was any particular act either done, or imputed to, the ariſtocrates. The Aſſembly, to render every thing novel, and to deſtroy all veſtiges of whatever paſſed before their own reign, ſucceeded in expunging the term "Province" from the French vocabulary. They divided the kingdom into eighty-three geometrical portions, of about three hundred and twenty-four ſquare leagues each, which were diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Departments; and theſe were ſubdivided into other portions, under the name of Diſtricts and Cantons. Thus, by cutting off a few heads under the name of provinces, a new multiplied generation ſprang up, like thoſe of the Hydra, which became in due time ſufficiently troubleſome in their management; and thus the geography of France being totally changed, and rendered as obſolete in an inſtant as that of Gaul under Julius Cæſar, new maps became neceſſary, to trace out or diſtinguiſh places with which we were the moſt intimately acquainted.

This meaſure has been juſtly termed—"The wild exceſs of reform, where nothing "that is old can be good, but where alteration is ſynonimous to improvement, and where "novelty means excellence[31]." It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that whatever

[31] Rabaud de Saint Etienne, who was then a member of the "Committee of Conſtitution," publiſhed a book at this period, entitled "Nouvelles Reflexions ſur la nouvelle Diviſion du Royaume," in which he ſays "All the "exiſting eſtabliſhments in France are ſo many ſources of miſery to the people! We muſt renovate that people if "we wiſh to promote its happineſs: we muſt change its ideas—we muſt change its laws—we muſt change its man- "ners—we muſt change men—we muſt change things—we muſt change words—we muſt *deſtroy every thing*, yes, "*deſtroy every thing*, ſince every thing is to be created anew."

To this rhapſody, we ſhall oppoſe an authority which the Revolutioniſts have invariably affected to *reſpect*—that of J. J. Rouſſeau, who ſays—"A people, who have any morals, and, *conſequently*, reſpect the laws, cannot be too "much upon their guard againſt the ſpecious and dogmatical maxims of PHILOSOPHERS, *which, by teaching them to* "*deſpiſe the* LAWS AND CUSTOMS OF THEIR COUNTRY, *lead to a general and inevitable corruption of manners.*" We have lived long enough to ſee Rabaud's principle of *univerſal deſtruction* enforced; and Rouſſeau's aſſertion, with regard to the conſequences of ſuch *philoſophical* maxims, completely verified!

"faults

faults or inconveniences other parts of this ſyſtem were chargeable with, the reduction of the excluſive privileges of peculiar provinces, and the laying them on one common level of law and government with the reſt of the kingdom, was certainly a meaſure of no ſmall public utility. Upon this diviſion, above two thouſand deputies of the provinces cities, and boroughs which were affected, hurried ſtraightway to Paris from every quarter of the kingdom, in order to maintain and eſtabliſh their reſpective rights; and ſo many difficulties ſtill remained to be ſurmounted, that it coſt three months of the moſt laborious and painful application, before the final arrangement and diviſion were compleated. "Then"—ſays Rabaud—"the kingdom was conſolidated, and the apprehen-"ſion of a confederacy was done away [32]."

The Aſſembly, during this time, went through another taſk, which they conſidered of great import: this was the organization of the municipalities, or interior governments, throughout the kingdom. Though theſe, in their compoſition and conſtruction, bore a cloſe reſemblance to the pariſh veſtries in England, yet, from the extraordinary powers with which they were endued, or, at leaſt, which they aſſumed, and which produced the ſame effect as if they legally poſſeſſed them, together with the infinity of their number, the ignorance and unfitneſs of character in other reſpects, which too generally prevailed among their members, they became the immediate inſtruments of a moſt deplorable tyranny, which, being every where ſpread, nothing could eſcape or evade, and which the aggrieved could find no power any where to reſiſt. "It ſeemed as if the new govern-"ment, being founded upon untried principles in ſome inſtances, and in others run up "haſtily without any, as occaſion and circumſtances concurred in favouring the erec-"tion; ſo, among the numerous buttreſſes neceſſary to ſupply ſuch glaring and dan-"gerous deficiencies, this was not the leaſt conſpicuous, that one half of the people "ſhould be officially conſtituted ſpies upon, and conſequently maſters of, the other "half."

The Aſſembly aboliſhed *Lettres de Cachet*, a meaſure which, if not entirely needleſs, was certainly an act of patriotiſm on their ſide, as there was no power in the nation, except their own, by which they could be iſſued. They likewiſe publiſhed a number of regulations with reſpect to the taxes, moſt of which, as they were never paid, ſeemed no longer to exiſt. As if it had been to ſanction and confirm that obſervation ſo often repeated, that their genius and diſpoſition led more to deſtroy than to build up or repair, notwithſtanding the failure of almoſt all the other taxes, excepting the partial new one upon eſtates, they totally ſuppreſſed the odious tax upon ſalt; a meaſure which the king, (as we have formerly ſhewn) in the days of hope, if not of happineſs, ſo ar-

[32] Hiſtory of the Revolution—Engliſh tranſlation, p. 135.

dently

dently wiſhed to accompliſh; but which the continued oppoſition to his meaſures by the parliament of Paris, and the conſequent impoſſibility of his finding a ſubſtitute to carry on the buſineſs of government, rendered him incapable of carrying into effect. They likewiſe aboliſhed, at a ſubſequent period, the heavy tax on ſnuff, which was nearly conſidered as much a neceſſary of life as ſalt itſelf; and which, in conſequence of this regulation, was thrown into the common maſs of articles of general commerce. Many other obnoxious taxes were alſo ſuppreſſed.

But abolition and ſuppreſſion were not the preciſe means that were calculated to ſupply the growing deficiency in the revenue[33]; and the Aſſembly ſoon found themſelves obliged to enter the labyrinth of finance, where they were to encounter a ſubject of which they were moſt deplorably ignorant. One grand object had occupied the mind of the Aſſembly ever ſince the eſtabliſhment of ſole and unlimited power in the hands of the Third Eſtate; and had, probably, been much earlier a ſubject of frequent contemplation. This great ſcheme was to find a fund of ſo vaſt a magnitude, that it ſhould not only ſuffice to diſcharge the whole national debt, enormous as it was, but leave ſuch a ſurplus behind, as would be capable of providing for thoſe new, and, as yet, unknown, contingencies, which the new change of affairs was liable to produce. One of the newly-promulgated doctrines was, that all things were to give way to the good of the public, or perhaps, more correctly, that the lives and property of individuals were no matters of conſideration, in any queſtion where they interfered with the benefit of the whole: in a word, that every thing belonged to the *nation*, indefinite as that term was, while the individuals who compoſed this great aggregate had no ſecurity in any thing: and the good of the whole, if the practice founded on it could be carried to the utmoſt extent of the principle, might lead to the dilapidation and ruin of all the parts ſeparately.

The fund which was deſtined to anſwer theſe mighty purpoſes, required no creative genius, no depth of fiſcal knowledge, no extent of combination or invention; for it was already formed and moulded to the hands of the Aſſembly, who had nothing more to do than to pronounce a ſimple decree of *appropriation*.—This fund was no other than the great landed eſtates of the clergy: indeed, it was barely the ſoil, for they had already given up the royalties and excluſive privileges which had, from the foundation of the monarchy, been attached to, and conſidered as a part of, their eſtates. Though the immenſe benefits to be derived from this ſcheme were, by its *projectors* and ſupporters, deemed perfectly obvious to every body, yet it ſeemed as if ſome difficulties were likely to ariſe on the queſtion of *juſtice*, with reſpect to the intended application of the fund. Some of theſe ſeemed more peculiarly to affect France than any other country. "For, "being the only people upon earth who had ever at once been transformed into a na-

33 The Aſſembly augmented the pay of the troops, from four ſols and a half a day to ſix ſols and a half.

"tion

" tion of philoſophers, it ſeemed incumbent upon them, at leaſt for a time, to adhere " cloſely to the rules and principles of that ſublime ſcience. Now as it happens that " Cicero, who, without formally aſſuming the name, was deemed in his day no inconſi- " derable philoſopher, who was certainly extremely well verſed in their hiſtory and doc- " trines, and who could not poſſibly have laboured under any of the prejudices imputed, " by modern philoſophers, to *Chriſtianity*, does not, in his admirable treatiſe of the " moral and relative duties of men in a ſtate of ſociety (which may be conſidered as " ſuch a compendium of the caſuiſtry of the antient heathen world as could not other- " wiſe at this time have exiſted) admit expedience or profit to afford any right what- " ever for ſeizing the goods of others; and even carried this doctrine ſo far, as not to " allow any thing to be profitable which was not honourable, nor any thing honourable " which was not honeſt and juſt; theſe old-faſhioned doctrines, which it might have " been ſuppoſed would have vaniſhed under the illumination of the preſent day, were, " notwithſtanding, troubleſome impediments in the way of the grand deſign."—The ſu- periority of the new philoſophy, however, and the genius of its profeſſors, ſoon tri- umphed over all obſtacles; and the principle contained in the patriotic expreſſion— " *Every thing belongs to the nation*"—removed every difficulty.

This was a bold ſtroke in the extreme, becauſe the people having juſt thrown off every degree of ſubordination, were grown ſo frantic by their eaſy ſucceſs, that they could not think of any thing but farther innovations, and new revolutions, which they concluded might be purchaſed at as cheap a rate, and accompliſhed with as much eaſe, as the former. But along with this, the number of clergy in the kingdom was eſtimated at about one hundred and thirty thouſand; and though this numerous body ſhould be ſtripped of all the weight derived from rank and property, yet it was natural to ſuppoſe they would ſtill retain ſome conſiderable influence over thoſe people among whom they had paſſed their lives in habits of the greateſt intimacy and friendſhip, beſides being their teachers and directors in thoſe Chriſtian duties which at that time had been conſidered of the laſt importance to mankind. Now, though the profeſſed and real philoſophers had long ſince ſhaken off with diſdain all the manacles of religion, yet it was apprehended, and, indeed, however it might be lamented, well known, that the bulk of the people had not yet been ſufficiently illuminated, to enable them to get rid of their antient pre- judices, or ſuperſtitions, as they were now called; for though, with reſpect to other mat- ters, they were ſufficiently irreligious, yet as that was not a philoſophical irreligion, which is ever invincible, but was derived from idleneſs, wantonneſs, and thoſe paſſions which are apt to predominate over mankind, ſo it was liable to receive a bias and take a direction very different from what might be wiſhed.

It was farther to be conſidered, that the court of Rome, however degraded or fallen, had not yet loſt all its influence; and that even the thunders of the Vatican, long as

they had remained dormant, might, in certain caſes, and under certain circumſtances, ſtill produce ſome untoward effect, eſpecially on thoſe weak minds which continued to be encumbered with any religious ſcruples. Nor was it to be ſuppoſed that the Roman Catholic powers in general would behold with indifference ſo numerous, ſo ancient, and ſo eminent a body, as the members of the Gallican church had for a long ſucceſſion of ages been, at once ſtripped of their dignities and property, without any legal forfeiture incurred, or even the charge or pretence of a crime laid to cover the violence and outrage. It was a great misfortune to the cauſe of philoſophy, and indeed a great detriment to it, that the Proteſtant ſtates ſtill adhered firmly to the doctrines and principles of Chriſtianity; it had happened likewiſe, from ſome peculiar diſpoſition of mind which may not be eaſily accounted for, as it formed no excluſive or peculiar part of their ſyſtem of morality, that many individuals among them had ever been much in the habit, even where they had no direct intereſt, of enquiring ſtrictly into, and deciding promptly and categorically upon, ſo far as a publication of reaſon and opinion could be called a deciſion, all queſtions of right and wrong among men, without their being generally much ſwayed by the quality or power of any of the parties. This diſpoſition of individuals ſeemed to operate no leſs upon the ſtates of that perſuaſion, where they had power ſufficient to carry the theory into practice; and they have accordingly been noted, in ſeveral inſtances, for repelling injury and injuſtice with reſpect to others, as well as to themſelves. It was a farther misfortune, with reſpect to the Proteſtant ſtates, that being all, even the ſmalleſt of them, more or leſs commercial, they paid a ſtrict regard to the rights and ſecurity of property in all caſes whatever, and, it was too much to be apprehended, would be ſtricken with horror, at the eſtabliſhment of a precedent which went to ſhake and looſen the foundations of all the landed property in Europe. Beſides, although the Proteſtants differed in many points of doctrine as well as diſcipline from the Romaniſts, yet conſidering them ſtill as men, and conſequently as brethren poſſeſſing the ſame common nature with themſelves, that ſympathy ſo natural to mankind, and ſo common to the greateſt part of the ſpecies, could not fail to operate with great force, at ſeeing ſo numerous a body of men, many of them eminent for their parts, learning, and virtues, become, ſo ſuddenly and unexpectedly, the victims of injury and violence.

But all thoſe difficulties and dangers appeared trivial to men whoſe eyes were ſo faſcinated by the ſplendor of the object in view, that they could ſee nothing but the immenſe advantages, which, in their judgment, muſt reſult from it. In the firſt place, however neceſſary the phrenzy of liberty which intoxicated the people was to the accompliſhment of the Revolution, it was ſeen to be totally incompatible with thoſe ſober, ſerious, and ſteady maxims of policy, which muſt of neceſſity be adopted, for the government and ſecurity of ſo great and extenſive a kingdom; large armies and fleets muſt be provided for, and whoever the adminiſtrators might be, the civil expences muſt run very high; to ſay nothing of the intereſt of the national debt, and the ſupport of ſuch a number of for-

treſſes

treſſes as was without example in any other country. How, then, were theſe prodigious expences to be provided for, by a people ſo drunk with their new liberty, that the bare name of a tax was in a high degree odious to them; and who, ſo far from being pleaſed or ſatisfied by the diminution of their burthens, which the abolition of the moſt heavy and obnoxious of the old ones produced, ſeemed, on the contrary, to grow more violent in their abhorrence of thoſe which remained? Force, which has been ſo often uſed with effect in ſuch caſes, would here have been inevitably deſtructive; the diſſolution of the new ſyſtem, and of every thing appertaining to it, would be, at once, the conſequence; and another revolution, the accidental birth of a moment, without form, order, object, or deſign, would take place, the final conſequences of which no man living could foreſee. Whereas, by the attainment of the deſired object, they had not a doubt—though they were moſt egregiouſly deceived—that all theſe evils would be averted; that the golden age would ſeem to be renewed; that taxes, for a time, would not be heard of; that government would ſeem to ſupport itſelf; and that nothing but peace and felicity would prevail during the reign of the preſent rulers. Nor was it, perhaps, forgotten, among ſo great a number of more important objects, that the attainment of this meaſure would free the Aſſembly from the neceſſity of entering deeply into that moſt difficult taſk of financiering.

The buſineſs was brought forward towards the end of October; and it is not one of the leaſt extraordinary circumſtances attending this extraordinary buſineſs, that the perſon who moved the decree was a prelate, M. Talleyrand Perigord, biſhop of Autun. The debates were ſupported with much ingenuity and animation. The meaſure was juſtified, in the firſt inſtance, on a principle of ſtate neceſſity, for, without this extraordinary aid, many advocates for the decree maintained, that ſuch was the deranged ſtate of the finances, a national bankruptcy muſt evidently enſue. This plea had great weight with many men of moderate principles, who, on no other conſideration, could have been induced to lay violent hands on poſſeſſions which they had ever been taught to regard as ſacred. But ſtill, Why ſhould the property of *eccleſiaſtics* be ſingled out as a juſt object of ſeizure, in preference to that of any other ſet of men?—was a queſtion that naturally occurred. In anſwer to this, it was maintained, that the clergy had no right to the poſſeſſions which they held under law, uſage, the deciſions of courts, and the accumulated preſcription of a thouſand years; that the eccleſiaſtics were fictitious perſons, creatures of the ſtate, whom at pleaſure they might deſtroy, and of courſe limit and modify in every particular; that the goods they poſſeſſed were not properly theirs, but belonged to the ſtate which created the fiction; and that, therefore, what they might ſuffer in their natural feelings and natural perſons, on account of what was done towards them in their conſtructive character, ſhould not be an object of conſideration.

On the other hand, it was inſiſted, that admitting the neceſſity of an extraordinary ſupply, the *partial* ſeizure of private property could by no means be juſtified; that, at

the meeting of the Aſſembly, diſtreſſing as the ſtate of the finances might be, they ſtill were not in that ſingular predicament, but that after eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of economy on *juſt* and equitable principles, a fair diviſion of burthens between all orders might have reſtored them [34];—that the property ſaid to be fictitious was ſolid and durable;—that it was originally acquired by lawful means;—that it had been lawfully preſerved; and that its legality, the validity of its tenure, had never been queſtioned for upwards of a thouſand years;—that the offer of the clergy, of a voluntary contribution of four hundred millions of livres [35], was evidently and obviouſly more advantageous to the public creditor than any thing which could be rationally promiſed by the confiſcation;—and finally, that the injuſtice of the ſeizure was more glaring, as it was not only inadequate to anſwer the purpoſe for which it was avowedly made, but, in conſequence of the abolition of tythes, the debt of the clergy, and a variety of other incumbrances, the meaſure, far from affording relief, would prove an additional burthen to the ſtate.

Theſe arguments, however, proved of little avail, and, on the ſecond of November, a decree was paſſed, by which the eccleſiaſtical eſtates were all declared to be at the diſpoſal of the nation; ſubjected, however, to the following charges:—to the providing, in a proper manner, for the expence of celebrating public worſhip, for the maintenance of the miniſters, and for the relief of the poor. For the ſecond of theſe purpoſes, it was decreed, that no pariſh miniſter ſhould have a leſs ſalary than twelve hundred livres a year (about fifty pounds ſterling) excluſive of the houſe and garden hitherto annexed to the parſonage [36]. This decree, which was paſſed on the ſecond, was publiſhed on the third of November, and received the ſanction of the captive monarch on the fourth; a circumſtance which clearly demonſtrated the facility with which buſineſs of the greateſt importance was conducted and concluded under the preſent order of things.

64 If there were any truth in the aſſertions of M. Neckar, which the Aſſembly never attempted to invalidate, this was certainly the caſe; but the Aſſembly, after their meeting, inſtead of removing pecuniary embarraſſments, ſeemed anxious to encreaſe them, in order to favour their attacks on the crown, and to encreaſe their own conſequence and authority with the people.

35 This very liberal offer of upwards of ſixteen millions ſterling was made by the clergy, on the repreſentations of different members that ſome extraordinary means were requiſite to ſave the ſtate from the calamity of a national bankruptcy.

36 The popular party took great merit to themſelves for the proviſion here made for the parochial clergy; but the fact is, that the meaſure originated with the ſuperior clergy themſelves, who had, long before, adopted the reſolution of augmenting the ſalaries of the former to twelve hundred livres; and had actually charged their agent, the abbé de Monteſquiou, to communicate their determination to M. Neckar, ſince, on account of the engagements they had contracted for the king, it could not be put in execution without the concurrence of the miniſter of the finances. Whether from the multiplicity of objects which engaged the attention of the miniſter at that important criſis, or from ſome other cauſe, he had hitherto neglected the buſineſs, but the clergy had by no means departed from their reſolution.—Journal Politique, &c. tom ii. p. 177. Note.

We have already obſerved, that the advocates for the decree aſſerted—*There was no other means of ſaving the ſtate.* To this their opponents replied; it is proved, on the contrary, by the very confeſſion of your own committees, that when the tythes which you have aboliſhed are deducted, the remainder of the eccleſiaſtical revenues will not near ſuffice for the expences of public worſhip, the maintenance of the miniſters of religion, the penſions of friars and nuns, the ſupport of ſeminaries, the erection and repairs of churches, &c. &c. That a deficit will appear of fifty millions of livres—and even fifty-ſix, including the debt of the clergy—which muſt be ſupplied from the public treaſury. Is the ſtate then—ſaid they—to be ſaved, by this augmentation of its burdens, which muſt neceſſarily fall upon the people? Beſides, dare any one ſeriouſly affirm, that the ſafety of the ſtate requires the ſubverſion of thoſe very principles which conſtitute its firmeſt ſupport? Can what is unjuſt become uſeful? Can the tranſgreſſion of that law which enſures to every individual the quiet poſſeſſion of his property be ever deemed ſalutary? Is it not, on the contrary, attended with the moſt fatal conſequences?

"*The goods of the church are not its own.*"—Strange paradox! By what ſophiſtical arts do you expect to deſtroy ideas, the juſtice of which is acknowledged by every nation in Europe?——"*The eccleſiaſtics are but uſufructuaries.*"—Doubtleſs what the clergy, collectively, poſſeſs as a freehold, its members, individually, only enjoy as uſufructs; but is not an uſufruct claſſed with that ſpecies of property which has been declared inviolable? We are but uſufructuaries of life; but is that a reaſon why we ſhould be deprived of it?

"*The clergy have no property.*"—What is to be underſtood by that aſſertion? Can there exiſt in law any diſtinction between a poſſeſſion lawfully acquired, and enjoyed for a long ſeries of ages, and an abſolute property? Are you in earneſt, when you maintain, that poſſeſſions which have been legally given and transferred to the clergy by thoſe to whom they belonged, which have been by them put into a ſtate of cultivation, improved, and rendered worth a hundred times more than they originally were, and which have been confirmed to them by all the ſovereigns of the kingdom [37]—Are you in earneſt when you aſ-

[37] It has been ſhewn, in former parts of this Hiſtory, that the original grants of lands to many of the convents were nothing leſs than a favour conferred by the granters on the grantees. In thoſe early periods of the monarchy, the hands that could be devoted to the purpoſes of huſbandry bore ſo ſmall a proportion to the land which required cultivation, that the perſons who would undertake to render it uſeful did eſſential ſervice to the ſtate, and not only required encouragement, but deſerved gratitude. The monks, by the labour of their own hands, and by induſtry the moſt ſtrict and perſevering, cleared away the wood by which the lands that were granted to them were, in general, encumbered, thereby rendering the country more ſalubrious, and, removing every impediment to cultivation, extended the means of ſubſiſtance to the community, and enlarged the ſources of relief to the poor.—It is ſcarcely poſſible to conceive a tenure more reſpectable and ſacred than that which the monks, thus circumſtanced, acquired to the property they poſſeſſed; and juſtice extorts the aſſertion, that the decree which tended to deſpoil them of that property, ſanctioned rapine, and juſtified theft.

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ſert that they have no property in them? In whom, then, has the property veſted during this immemorial poſſeſſion?

"*In the nation.*"—That is to ſay in no one; for what belongs to every body belongs to nobody. The founders of, and benefactors to, convents gave their eſtates with a view to the public good; but they did not give them to the public; they devoted them to the ſervice of religion and the relief of the poor. The only right poſſeſſed by the public is that of ſeeing that they are not miſapplied; and if thoſe acts by which the property of the clergy has been conveyed from age to age, after having been deemed inviolable by thouſands of generations, could be ſuddenly annihilated by your will alone, can you deny that, in that caſe, the eſtates ſhould return to the ſource whence they ſprang, and be reſtored to the donors or their heirs? If they claimed them, what plea could you poſſibly oppoſe to their pretenſions?

"*The ſtate takes upon itſelf to ſee that the purpoſes for which the property was given are "fulfilled. The poſſeſſions, therefore, devolve to the ſtate.*"—Such was not the will of the founders. They did not think, like you, that, by conſigning their wealth to the public treaſury, the prior purpoſe for which it was deſtined would be as well fulfilled, as if it were conſigned to the church; and ſtill leſs would they have thought like you, could they poſſibly have foreſeen the ſyſtems and innovations which you wiſh to ſubſtitute for the principles and creed of our fathers.—Be that as it may, it is ſufficient that they diſpoſed of their property in a different manner, to prevent any kind of change from taking place without reviving the rights of their ſucceſſors in preference to all others. Firſt to diſpoſſeſs, and then to confiſcate, is to add injuſtice to injuſtice; it is an act of deſpotiſm more odious and abſolute, than any exertion, however arbitrary, of the executive power. Beſides, what an inconſiſtency is it to deſpoil the clergy of their poſſeſſions under pretext *that a corporation cannot have any property*, and then to beſtow them upon the ſtate, as if the ſtate were not alſo a collective body!

"*The exiſtence of an eccleſiaſtical corporation, poſſeſſed of an extenſive revenue, is repug-*
"*nant to thoſe principles which we have eſtabliſhed for the formation of a good conſtitution.*
"*To leave it in poſſeſſion of that revenue, would be to expoſe ourſelves to the danger of again*
"*bending beneath the yoke of deſpotiſm.*"—This then is the *true* motive of all your uſurpations, of all your deſtructive operations. No longer ſeek to diſguiſe it beneath the tranſparent gauze of ſubtle ſophiſtry. Lay aſide all theſe vain ſubterfuges, which are no longer ſufficiently ſpecious to impoſe on the moſt ſuperficial minds; ceaſe to employ the word *deſpotiſm*, which was never applied with ſo little juſtice as to the reign of Lewis the Sixteenth. According to you, *deſpotiſm* and *royalty* are ſynonymous terms; and royalty is the object of your perſecutions; it is that no force may remain capable of defending *that*, that you think it neceſſary to annihilate all the great corporations; and that, after

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deſpoiling them of their poſſeſſions, you no longer ſcruple to riſk the deſtruction of the ſtate, in order to promote a ſpeedy ſale, that, by being diſtributed among a number of purchaſers, the uſurpation may be confirmed[38].

Your real object (you cannot deny it) is to deprive the clergy of all hope, and to effect its ruin; that muſt be the end which this dreadful operation is meant to anſwer; that muſt be the effect of it. But what intereſt can the people have in it? What advantage can they poſſibly derive from it? You are conſtantly making uſe of their name, but what do you do for them? NOTHING—poſitively NOTHING. On the contrary, your proceedings tend to that which muſt inevitably lead to the exaction of new impoſts. You have refuſed, to their prejudice, an offer of four hundred millions, the acceptance of which might have contributed to their relief; and, in lieu of this reſource, you have adopted an unjuſt and ruinous meaſure, which, according to your own confeſſion[39], burdens the public treaſury, and, conſequently, the people, with an additional annual expence of at leaſt fifty millions, and with a debt of one hundred and fifty millions.

Such are the principal obſervations that have been made on this extraordinary meaſure, and from theſe the following inferences have been drawn.

The property of the clergy muſt be regarded as deriving its ſecurity from the ſame ſource which gives ſtability to all other poſſeſſions; and if, on the one hand, be conſidered the multitude of charters, of ancient records, and of authentic titles, which had ſucceſſively and continually ſanctioned the poſſeſſions of the church; and, on the other, the cloſe connection which ſubſiſted between the preſervation of religion and the neceſſity of maintaining its miniſters from a fund more ſolid than a ſalary liable to be affected by every ſhock to which the public treaſury was expoſed, it muſt be acknowledged, that there was no property better eſtabliſhed in point of right, or more reſpectable from its application.

But the mere circumſtance of its being a property was ſufficient, according to the in-

[38] De l' Etat de la France, preſent et à venir; par M. de Calonne, p. 93, et ſuiv.

[39] The committee of finances ſuppoſed that the poſſeſſions of the clergy, which it called national domains, including the domains of the crown, would ſuffice to defray the expences of public worſhip, in their preſent reduced ſtate; and it owned that it would coſt the nation fifty millions a year more, for the penſions of eccleſiaſtics, friars, &c. &c. It alſo acknowledged the neceſſity of paying the debt of the clergy, which amounted to one hundred and forty-nine millions, four hundred and thirty-four thouſand livres.—The report made by the committee of tythes, on the ninth of April, 1790, rated the expences ſtill higher; and the biſhop of Nancy proved at the time, that it had omitted ſeveral articles of indiſpenſable neceſſity. Although the ſalaries of the prelates and other miniſters of religion had experienced a diminution, exceſſive, and, it might be ſaid, indecent, it was maintained, as a certainty, that the annual produce of the poſſeſſions of the clergy, deduction made of the loſſes they had ſuſtained, and of the expence of adminiſtering, collecting, &c. which would be enormous, would not ſuffice to pay the expences of public worſhip.—De Calonne, p. 96.

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ſtructions of their conſtituents, and according to the decree of the National Aſſembly, to exempt it from the danger of invaſion; and it is impoſſible to entertain a ſerious doubt, that what belonged to the church, what it had acquired under the authority of the laws, what it had poſſeſſed for ages without diſpute and without interruption, was a property duly veſted in her, ſince property is defined to be—*a right enjoyed over poſſeſſions lawfully acquired.*

It has been ſhewn, that a moral and collective body, like the clergy, was competent to the poſſeſſion of landed property. This is evident, too, from the ſubſequent ſale of the patrimony of the church to the municipalities.

It has been proved, that the property of the church-lands was neceſſarily veſted in the clergy, ſince it was veſted in no other proprietor, and the public could only claim a right to ſee that it was not miſapplied.

The pretence that the clergy could not be proprietors, becauſe unable to *ſell*, has been ſhewn to be frivolous and falſe; on the contrary, an interdiction to alienate ſuppoſes a property, which it muſt be the object of that interdiction to preſerve.

Laſtly, it has been ſhewn, that, even on the ſuppoſition that the patrimony of the church was a mere right of enjoyment veſted in the clergy, the Aſſembly has been forced to acknowledge an uſufructuary property, and that kind of property was comprehended in the inviolability which juſtice, which the inſtructions of their conſtituents, and the new conſtitution enſured to every ſpecies of property.

One other argument has been uſed—independent of the queſtion of *property*—to demonſtrate the injuſtice of the ſeizure. If, as has been aſſerted, there were a hundred and thirty thouſand eccleſiaſtics in the kingdom, they were a hundred and thirty thouſand perſons who had devoted themſelves to the church, in the perſuaſion—a perſuaſion founded on the laws—that the church had poſſeſſions, revenues and means of ſubſiſtence, to diſtribute among its miniſters, who, in the hope of partaking of ſuch diſtribution, had ſacrificed their liberty, and all thoſe ſocial advantages which they had a right to expect; who, being entitled to regard the poſſeſſion of a biſhoprick, an abbey, or any other benefice, as a ſafe and lawful poſſeſſion, had, in conſequence, regulated their expences, their acts of charity, the aſſiſtance they could afford to their friends, and the improvements they could make in thoſe lands, of which, by a concurrence of the ſpiritual and temporal powers, the uſufruct was inſured to them:—it has, therefore, been aſked, whether, by forcibly taking from a body of one hundred and thirty thouſand citizens the conditions annexed to the ſtate they had embraced, and the compenſation for the ſacrifices they had made; by depriving them of that revenue on which they had formed all the arrangements of their lives, and by reducing them for the future to rely for their

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ſubſiſtence on precarious ſalaries, ſome of them amounting to one half, others to a quarter, and others to a tenth or twentieth part of their former lawful poſſeſſions—the Aſſembly was not guilty of one hundred and thirty thouſand acts of injuſtice, one hundred and thirty thouſand violations of property, and one hundred and thirty thouſand infractions of the public faith?

Had the property of the church been *proved* to be indiſpenſably neceſſary to the ſalvation of the ſtate, there was ſtill a mode of proceeding which it was the duty of the Aſſembly to adopt, and which would have enabled them to avoid a great part of the injuſtice of which they were now guilty. They ſhould firſt have accepted the four hundred millions offered by the clergy, and then have eſtabliſhed a kind of ſinking fund, to which all the benefices, vacated by death, ſhould have been appropriated. This gradual extinction of ſuperfluous benefices, if any ſuch there were, would have enſured them a degree of credit and confidence which, by purſuing the ſyſtem they had adopted, they were never able to obtain. "They thought themſelves juſt,"—ſays a contemporary writer—"and they had nothing of juſtice but her *bandage*."

The National Aſſembly having gained its point, in the ſeizure of the eccleſiaſtical property, diſplayed great prudence, management, and addreſs, in its tranſactions with the court of Rome. The holy father was either cajoled, or pretended to be ſatisfied, by reiterated proteſtations of the ſtrict union of the Aſſembly with the pope, as head of the Chriſtian church, in all ſpiritual matters; as well as of their fidelity to the religion of their forefathers. The weakneſs of the court of Rome, the age of the pontiff, with a grievous ſenſe of the humiliations which that ſee had of late years experienced, all concurred in giving a ſemblance of currency to theſe aſſurances; for it is not to be ſuppoſed, that the refinement of Italian policy was ſo totally exhauſted, as that their purport was not thoroughly comprehended, and their real value duly eſtimated.

All the canons of the kingdom, as we learn from Rabaud, had entered into a combination, and almoſt every chapter had proteſted, againſt the decree; and, from the ſame authority, we derive the intelligence, that the preſs now took an entirely new direction, and that a prodigious manufacture was carried on of pamphlets and periodical publications againſt government: that, as it was well known that books had conſiderably aſſiſted the Revolution, it was, therefore, imagined that the ſame inſtruments might be ſucceſsfully employed in bringing about a counter-revolution: that the eccleſiaſtics expected to dazzle the people of France, by circulating ten times as many volumes againſt the National Aſſembly as there had been publiſhed in its favour; that a multitude of printing preſſes, both within and without the kingdom, were devoted to this pious merchandize; that all the different kinds of ſtyle were ſummoned to aid the holy cauſe; poems, ſongs, epigrams, ſatires, tragedies, were written againſt the National Aſſembly;

againſt its committees; againſt its moſt celebrated members; againſt the city of Paris; and againſt the national guards, who were mentioned as objects of ſupreme contempt. Pamphlets ſucceeded pamphlets with a rapidity proportioned to the age that engendered them [40]. If this account be true, it would ſeem that the royaliſts, who were ever too late in all their attempts, enterprizes, and deſigns, were now, when it was of no uſe, ſeized with a ſpirit of writing and publication, which, if it had operated in due time, might have produced the moſt beneficial effects to them and their cauſe.

But it muſt be obſerved that this account, given by Rabaud, but ill accords with thoſe reſtraints which we know, from indiſputable authority, had been impoſed on the preſs. Both the abbé Sabatier and M. Mounier mention ſpecific inſtances of the operation of thoſe reſtraints, which perſonally affected themſelves. The latter, too, in aſſigning his motives for the reſignation of his ſeat, after enumerating the impediments which ſubſiſted to the free communication of his opinions in the Aſſembly, ſays—"If I had attempted "to publiſh my thoughts, the ſame obſtacles, the ſame inconveniences preſented themſelves. No printer would have dared to work for me: or if any one had been raſh "enough to undertake it, it would have been impoſſible to circulate the work. All "the copies would have been immediately ſeized and carried off; for men who reflect "know very well what is to be underſtood by our modern LIBERTY OF THE PRESS: "they know very well that it gives the privilege of calumniating and inſulting with "impunity thoſe citizens whom the factious are deſirous of ruining in the public opinion; of flattering and deceiving the multitude; of perſuading them that every thing "ought to give way to their caprice, and that they ought to acknowledge no other law "than that of their own ſupreme will. This liberty of the preſs permits to offend, in "infamous libels, morality, the altar, and the throne; and to diſſeminate principles the "moſt falſe and dangerous; *but it does not permit a man to ſpeak the truth, when by ſo "doing he may diſpleaſe the demagogues, diſconcert their views, and affect their intereſts* [41]."

The parliaments, who, without intending it, had contributed ſo materially to promote the Revolution, began now to ſhudder at the thoughts of impending diſſolution, and

[40] Hiſtory of the Revolution, by Rabaud de Saint Etienne, p. 137, 138.

[41] Expoſé de la Conduite de M. Mounier, p. 35.—Another inſtance of the freedom eſtabliſhed in France by the Revolution, is alſo adduced by Mounier. He ſays—"I ſaw no poſſibility of conveying my ſentiments to my conſtituents, or of making the truth reach them in the midſt of ſo many lies which had been induſtriouſly circulated "through the provinces. Under the deſpotic ſyſtem, the agents of authority were ſuſpected of carrying their "wickedneſs to ſuch a pitch as to betray the public confidence by violating the ſecrets of letters. No certain proofs "of this, however, ſubſiſted: but, under the preſent reign of anarchy, nothing is ſacred; virtue alone is forced to "become circumſpect, while crime, proud of the impunity it enjoys, will not even deſcend to the adoption of cautious meaſures. It is known that deputies have received letters open, on which were written the name of the "diſtrict, which, in its profound wiſdom, and in virtue of its abſolute power, had thought proper to break the "ſeals and read them."

wanted

wanted nothing but power to make a vigorous effort for averting the fate with which they were threatened. Thoſe of Rouen, of Brittany, and of Metz, determined, however unfavourable the preſent ſtate of affairs might be to ſuch an attempt, not to periſh without a ſtruggle. They had, accordingly, the boldneſs to proteſt againſt a decree of the National Aſſembly, paſſed on the ſecond of November, which ſuſpended them from the exerciſe of their functions. But they ſoon experienced, to their ſorrow, how different the power was with which they had now to contend from that which they were wont to inſult under the name of the royal authority. They were forſaken and deſerted by thoſe towns and thoſe people in whom they repoſed the greateſt confidence, and over whom they ſo lately held the moſt ſupreme aſcendancy. Their fall, to which they ſubmitted with a bad grace, was accelerated by this fruitleſs effort, and was embittered by thoſe laſt and moſt galling curſes of fallen ambition—contempt and deriſion. The parliament of Bourdeaux, which ſtood ſingly, held out much longer, and was much more troubleſome than the other three: it was, indeed, accuſed of uſing every poſſible exertion to excite an inſurrection in the South.

The newly-created municipalities began early to detract from the ſanguine hopes which had been formed on their inſtitution. This failure of deſign, or misfortune, was, as uſual, aſcribed entirely to the evil machinations of the ariſtocrates, who, it was pretended, ſeeing that this new authority was the firſt degree in the future adminiſtration, and the only popular power at that time exiſting, and always endeavouring, by diminution or diviſion, to attain the power of deſtroying, uſed all their influence to get their own creatures elected into theſe authorities. We are afterwards told, very ſeriouſly, that whenever the electors had been thus led to make an improper choice, they became victims to the arts of their enemies, and that the maſſacres which took place in certain towns of the kingdom were occaſioned by evil-minded municipalities[42]. Thus was a party ever at hand, on which to throw the odium of every misfortune, domeſtic or foreign, which could poſſibly befall the nation.

As it was neceſſary not only to keep the people awake, but in a ſtate of abſolute agitation, the moſt improbable ſtories of plots and conſpiracies were circulated with incredible induſtry. One of the popular journals aſſerted, about this time, that a young lady of condition had raiſed an army of thirty-ſix thouſand men, to bring about a counter-revolution, and that ſhe exerciſed her troops in a very private apartment, on the fifth ſtory, in the Rue Mazarine.—Another offered to prove one hundred and eleven conſpiracies, all in exiſtence, but at different degrees of maturity. All theſe journaliſts agreed in imputing the calamities and crimes of the times to the ariſtocrates; but the truth is—ſays the author from whom this intelligence is derived—that the nobles did nothing either good or

[42] Rabaud, p. 138.

bad,

bad, and that their nullity formed a perfect contraſt with the ferocity of the Third Eſtate.[43] The fable of Veſoul was realized at Senlis, and the moſt atrocious crime of the age was committed by the hand of a Plebeian.[44]

The king's miniſters were alſo deemed proper objects for exciting popular diſcontents. A violent outcry was, accordingly, raiſed, and a number of charges exhibited againſt them, though no attempt was made to bring them to the point of trial or impeachment. If ſome of theſe charges were ſo looſe and indefinite, that they would as exactly ſuit any other body of men, as thoſe againſt whom they were particularly directed, it is to be obſerved, that this was the current political language, both in writing and ſpeaking, and the eſtabliſhed faſhion of the times; if others of them ſeemed incomprehenſible or impoſſible, it ſhould be remembered, that the people on whom they were intended to operate were much more likely to be faſcinated by thoſe things which were unintelligible or incomprehenſible, than by thoſe ſimple facts, narrated in plain language, which come home to every man's underſtanding.

The miniſters were charged with ſerving the cauſe of the diſſaffected by their inaction; and it was urged, that, by retarding the tranſmiſſion and the execution of the new laws, they thereby deſignedly prolonged the exiſtence of anarchy; indulging themſelves in the fond hope, that the people, diſguſted with continual ſcenes of endleſs confuſion, would call loudly for the old government, under which they had enjoyed a ſtupid tranquillity: that, at the ſame time, theſe foes to liberty had inſidiouſly created a ſcarcity of grain; that they had likewiſe inſidiouſly created a ſcarcity of ſpecie; and that they had inſidiouſly refuſed to give employment to the artiſans, in the hope that, every claſs of men becoming diſſatiſfied, the people would, at length, grow weary of their own courage. Theſe were among the principal charges preferred againſt the miniſters: it muſt always be recollected, though it ſeems to have been totally forgotten by the framers of theſe accuſations, that long ſince, and at the very commencement of the Revolution, all preſent and future adminiſtrations were rendered directly anſwerable and perſonally reſponſable to the National Aſſembly, for every part of their conduct, ſo that neither the king's name would afford a ſanction, nor his expreſs orders a juſtification, for their adoption of any meaſure contrary to the ſentiments of that body; even ſuppoſing the king to be now a free agent, and capable of tranſacting any buſineſs.

The charges againſt the moſt conſiderable and active members of the two ruined orders were more abundant than thoſe againſt the miniſters. Theſe malecontents were ſaid

[43] Journal Politique, &c. tom. ii. p.122—123.

[44] At Senlis, a ſoldier, who had been diſcharged from the national troops, fired on a proceſſion of the citizens as they paſſed the door of the houſe in which he was. A number of perſons immediately ruſhed in to ſeize the culprit, when the houſe blew up, and no leſs then ſixty of them were killed, and a great number wounded by the exploſion.

to be diſperſed through every court in Europe, and were ſaid to be ſeconded, in the greater part of them, by the French ambaſſadors, at thoſe reſpective courts, their joint endeavours being calculated for the univerſal diſſemination of their own invincible hatred againſt their native country: that in theſe courts they laid the foundation of a general confederacy of all the powers of Chriſtendom againſt France: that their object was, to perſuade the ſeveral monarchs, that their cauſe was the cauſe of kings, and that it behoved them all equally to unite their common ſtrength, in order to reſtore the arbitrary authority of Lewis the Sixteenth [45]. Imprudent men!—exclaims Rabaud—who never perceived that they were, at the ſame time, teaching Europe, that this was alſo the cauſe of nations! The ſame writer proceeds to tell us, that two princes, who had taken refuge at Turin, aſſembled there ſome of the gentry, and threatened France with an invaſion by the way of Nice, and by the way of Savoy; and had ſent emiſſaries into Provence, to Niſmes, and to Lyons, while the king of Sardinia put his army in motion on the frontiers.—In oppoſition to this ſtatement, however, it muſt be recollected, how totally unprovided for war, or even for any degree of defence, the king of Sardinia was long after, when his dominions were ſo violently invaded and over-run by the French; and when his moſt ancient dukedom of Savoy was, ſo far as a decree could give permanence to the wrong, for ever annexed to the majeſty of the new Republic. The laſt charge was extremely well deſigned, and could ſcarcely fail to produce its intended effect. It was to this purpoſe—that it was then publickly declared, that Paris was no longer worthy of the preſence of her king; and that Lyons deſerved the honour of being the capital of the empire.

In the mean time the animoſity between the democratical leaders and the nobles who ſtill continued in the Aſſembly, were grown ſo violent and inveterate, that duels became frequent between the enraged parties; and as the laſt appeal is made to the ſword in the great political diſputes of nations, ſo here, the ſmaller political differences between parties and individuals were referred to the ſame arbitrary deciſion. And as it has been long and often obſerved, that a change of condition frequently produces a great change in the manners, and even, apparently, in the nature of men, ſo it ſeemed now, that as the democrates had already ſtripped the nobility of all power, intending to be their ſucceſſors in every thing, they meant to deprive them of the only excluſive claim to diſtinction which was ſtill left untouched, and which they had poſſeſſed unrivalled for ſo many ages—that of a decided ſuperiority in all the hardy deeds of arms and chivalry.

To counterbalance all thoſe dangers, real or ſuppoſed, with which France was ſaid to be environed, we are informed, that the nation at large was unanimous in ſupporting the Aſſembly: that its table was covered with addreſſes from every town and city, expreſſive

[45] Rabaud, p. 139, 140.

of their affection, of their admiration, and of their gratitude; promiſing it *three millions* for the defence of the conſtitution, and encouraging it to perſevere in its patriotiſm [46].—It might eaſily have been imagined, that, with ſo much *unanimity*, and with ſo prodigious a maſs of ſtrength, which has in no degree been equalled ſince the days of Xerxes, they had little cauſe to be apprehenſive of either foreign invaſion or domeſtic conſpiracy; and yet they ſeem to have been tremblingly alive to both.

The conduct and proceedings of that Aſſembly, in which was now veſted the whole power of the empire, under theſe circumſtances, are thus deſcribed by Rabaud, in his uſual ſtyle:—"The National Aſſembly, occupied in parrying theſe attacks, was ſtill advancing with great ſtrides, trampling upon the ruins of deſpotiſm, combating every prejudice, diſcomfiting every error, making war on every abuſe, deſtroying uſurped rights, and re-eſtabliſhing that precious equality, which renovates the youth of nations, and regenerates them, by reſtoring them to their primitive ſtate of purity."—Some cavillers might be induced to aſk, How that equality could be re-eſtabliſhed, which never before ſubſiſted? and might likewiſe perverſely enquire, in what period of the golden age that primitive purity exiſted, to which the people were now ſo happily reſtored? But it might well be anſwered, that ſuch men, who would wiſh to manacle eloquence, and to ſhackle flowery deſcription, muſt be by nature adverſe to the beauties of ſtyle, and graces of compoſition; and muſt likewiſe labour under ſome fatal prejudices, which would lead them to queſtion the legitimacy of the new philoſophy.

It is rather aſtoniſhing, that an Aſſembly who is thus repreſented as the model of virtue and patriotiſm, ſhould not have paid ſo much regard to the diſtreſſed ſituation of the public revenue, and have diſplayed ſo much patriotic diſintereſtedneſs as to have refuſed to add to the embarraſſments of the ſtate, by an augmentation of the national expence. While were at Verſailles they had come to a deciſion that every deputy ſhould receive eighteen livres a day, as *wages*; and ſince their arrival at Paris they had encreaſed their ſalary to four-and-twenty livres, beſides being paid their travelling expences, at the rate of five livres per *poſte*; and by the ſame decree they authoriſed the miniſter of finances to pay each deputy ſix months' wages. Thus did the repreſentatives impoſe on the nation a ſtanding expence of ſeven hundred and fifty pounds a day, while, at the ſame time, they were continually enforcing the neceſſity of the ſtricteſt economy. Their proceedings, in this inſtance, forms a ſtriking contraſt with the conduct of the deputies aſſembled in 1614, who, as there is every reaſon to believe, did not receive one ſingle farthing for their ſervices [47]. The labours of the firſt year of the Revolution was cloſed by a decree,

[46] Rabaud, p. 141.

[47] Journal Politique, &c. tom. ii. p. 157. Note.—Though the members of the National Aſſembly had ever diſplayed the greateſt anxiety to render all their proceedings as public as poſſible, by the indiſcriminate admiſſion of ſtrangers into their hall, in this inſtance they preferred the ſecrecy of a committee, in which every thing relating to their own ſalaries was ſettled and arranged.—Does not this circumſtance ſeem to indicate that they were aſhamed of the buſineſs?

" that no member could accept of any place in the miniſtry ;"—which was judiciouſly, though unſucceſsfully, oppoſed by Mirabeau; and by the *irrevocable* union of the iſland of Corſica to the French nation, as a conſtituent part of the empire.

A. D. 1790.] The Aſſembly had now been convened eight months, and the few ſalutary regulations they had eſtabliſhed were greatly overbalanced by the infinite confuſion they had created, and the *love of anarchy* which they had been the means of diſſeminating throughout the kingdom. The pecuniary embarraſſments they had been ſo ſtrenuouſly urged to remove were encreaſed in a conſiderable degree; peace, order, and juſtice, far from endeavouring to promote, they ſeem to have conſidered as fatal obſtructions to the accompliſhment of their plans; and, inſtead of commanding the admiration of ſurrounding ſtates, by preſenting to their view the noble ſpectacle of a truly philoſophic aſſembly of legiſlators, deeply impreſſed with the love of their country, influenced by no pitiful conſiderations of party, and diſplaying a generous anxiety to ſettle the conſtitution on the broad baſis of public good, they excited the contempt or indignation of every reflecting mind, of every *ſincere* friend to rational freedom, by exhibiting the diſguſting ſight of a convention of frothy ſpeculators and bungling ſtate-mechanics, ſkilled only in the paltry vulgar arts of demolition, rejecting the ſolid wiſdom of experience, and too frequently actuated by unworthy motives of vanity, intereſt, or ambition. The facility with which the minds of the people had been irritated and inflamed, to that degree as to render them fit inſtruments for the execution of any plan, however violent, encouraged ſuch members of the Aſſembly as wiſhed to promote diſorders to have again recourſe to that baſe and degrading meaſure. At this very period, when, according to Rabaud, the moſt ſignal virtue and patriotiſm were diſplayed by the National Aſſembly, the count de Marguerite aſſerted publickly at the duke de Liancourt's table, and in a numerous company, where near thirty members of the Aſſembly were preſent, that a revolt which had lately taken place at Toulon had been inſtigated or ſupported by members of that body, who acted therein upon the principle—" *That more inſurrections were neceſ-*" *ſary*;" and this extraordinary charge was liſtened to by all the deputies preſent, without a ſingle word in denial, refutation, or excuſe, being offered by any of them [48].

The king, whoſe title of king of France and Navarre, after his removal to Paris, had been changed by the National Aſſembly to that of KING OF THE FRENCH, had, with his family, been kept in a ſtate of abſolute confinement. Though, from the peruſal of Rabaud and other democratical writers, it would not appear that the king had been at any time under the ſmalleſt degree whatever of reſtraint or diſtreſs, yet from the authority laſt quoted, the authenticity of which admits not of a doubt, we learn, that, at

[48] See Young's Tour, p. 276.

the beginning of this year, when, it being near three months after the proceſſion from Verſailles, it might be ſuppoſed the violence and ſuſpicion of the people would be abated, a body of eight hundred men, with two pieces of cannon, mounted guard every morning at the Thuilleries: that, on the fourth of January, the writer beheld the extraordinary ſpectacle of the king of France walking in the gardens with ſix grenadiers of the city militia: that the doors of the gardens were kept ſhut while he walked in them, in order to exclude all perſons but deputies, or thoſe who procured admiſſion-tickets, from entering: that when he re-entered the palace, the doors of the gardens were thrown open to all perſons without diſtinction, although the queen [49], with a lady of her court, was ſtill walking in them: that that ſhe was likewiſe attended ſo cloſely by the Garde Bourgeoiſe, that ſhe muſt have ſpoken very low not to be overheard by them: and that even the dauphin, who was at work, with a little hoe and rake, in a ſmall garden, which had been railed off for his amuſement, was not without a guard of two grenadiers upon him [50].

The Aſſembly felt no ſmall uneaſineſs at the ill effect which the confinement of their ſovereign (however it was attempted to be denied or palliated) produced upon the public opinion, in other countries, as well as at home; and of the ſtrong handle which it afforded to their enemies for calling in queſtion the validity of thoſe laws to which his ſanction was extorted, under a ſtate of reſtraint, which, depriving him of all free agency, rendered him, by the laws and conſent of all nations, incapable of any legal act, or of any act that could be binding on himſelf, any longer than the compulſion which produced it continued to operate.

The removal of this difficulty was juſtly conſidered an object of the higheſt importance; and it was accordingly determined to neglect no means that could promote its at-

49 The utmoſt pains had been taken to render the queen odious to the nation. All her errors and frailties were magnified into vices and crimes; and all the arts of malice were exerted in the invention of calumnies the moſt foul and atrocious, which were circulated throughout the provinces with wonderful induſtry. She was firſt charged with the impoſſible crime of having procured the conſtruction of a well-charged mine under the hall of the National Aſſembly, in order to blow the ſtates, without diſtinction, at once into the air. This ridiculous ſtory was not only verbally propagated throughout the kingdom, but a letter, aſſerting the fact, and ſaid to have been written by one of the deputies to the States, was, at about three hundred miles diſtance from Paris, publickly averred by ſeveral perſons to have been ſeen and read by them. The fact was believed by all who heard it, which drew the following obſervation from Arthur Young, who was preſent at the recital, and the authority given—"Thus it is in "revolutions, one raſcal writes, and a hundred thouſand fools believe."—The ſame writer was expoſed to conſiderable danger from a ſuſpicion that he, and an old woman, his guide, were combined with *the queen* in a conſpiracy againſt the volcanic rocks and mountains of Auvergne, and that he was the acting agent for blowing up the town of Clermont: at another time, he was ſeized in bed at midnight by a party of armed militia, on the very ſerious and alarming charge, of his being a party in a conſpiracy formed by the queen, the count d'Artois, and the count d'Entraigues, againſt the territory of the Vivarois.—Theſe impudent lies were but the commencement of the infernal project which was ſyſtematically purſued, until its final accompliſhment, in the aſſaſſination of that unhappy princeſs.

50 Young's Tour, p. 264, 265.

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tainment. It could only be accompliſhed by perſuaſion, and the facility of the king's diſpoſition ſeemed to afford no ſmall hope of ſucceſs, in any thing that depended on that mode of proceeding. The deſign was to induce the ſovereign to go ſuddenly, and, apparently, of his own mere motion, to the National Aſſembly, and there, in a ſet ſpeech, to declare himſelf perfectly ſatisfied with all their proceedings; and likewiſe, that he conſidered himſelf as being at the head of the Revolution, in terms ſo explicit, as to take away all idea or pretence of his being in a ſtate of coercion or confinement. La Fayette was either the framer of this plan, or one of thoſe who was moſt ſanguine in its purſuit, and who placed the greateſt confidence in its ſucceſs.

The Aſſembly had juſt diſplayed an unexpected act of liberality and attention with reſpect to the king's perſon, which could not but produce the greater effect from its being unexpected; and which could not fail to make a ſtrong impreſſion on a mind ſo very ſuſceptible of gratitude as his was known to be. For, on the queſtion being propoſed, juſt at the opening of the year, what annual ſum it would be proper to aſſign for the royal expences and ſupport of the houſhold, or what is uſually called the civil liſt, the Aſſembly, inſtead of debating the ſubject, or forming any reſolution on the queſtion, adopted the liberal meaſure of ſending a deputation to the ſovereign, with an addreſs, requeſting that he would himſelf name the ſum that would be ſufficient for the purpoſe, and praying that, in ſo doing, he would conſult leſs his ſpirit of economy, than a ſenſe of that dignity which ought to ſurround the throne with a becoming ſplendor. The liberality of this conduct gained the Aſſembly great credit, and brought them abundant praiſe from all ſorts of people; the moſt furious of the *enragés* would have been aſhamed to condemn the generoſity of the action; and the bittereſt of their enemies among the royaliſts found it difficult to refrain from ſome commendation.

Yet, notwithſtanding the apparent effect, with reſpect to other matters, which this attention ſhewn by the Aſſembly to the perſonal eaſe and dignity of the ſovereign produced on his mind, he totally rejected, and continued with great firmneſs to reject, all the perſuaſions which were uſed, and all the inducements holden out, to bring about his much wiſhed-for viſit, and the delivery of his ſpeech, to that body. This obſtinacy, as it was termed, was, as uſual in all caſes, where his conduct did not exactly ſquare with the wiſhes of the prevailing party, aſcribed entirely to the machinations of the queen, who was thereby, if poſſible, rendered more odious than before.

Notwithſtanding the great and numberleſs benefits which had been laviſhed upon the people; notwithſtanding the remiſſion of taxes, or, what was tantamount thereto, the refuſal of paying thoſe that were not remitted; and notwithſtanding thoſe innumerable and unſpeakable bleſſings which were ſuppoſed to be included in the magical term of regeneration, yet ſuch is the perverſeneſs at certain times incident to the affairs of mankind, that

that every claſs of men in the kingdom was the direct reverſe of being happy, proſperous, or contented. There were, at this time, above ſix thouſand landed eſtates, a great number of them very conſiderable, publickly advertiſed for ſale in France, and ſcarcely a purchaſer to be found upon any terms. In the capital trading and manufacturing city of Lyons, ſo long the ſeat of induſtry and opulence, no leſs than twenty thouſand perſons were ſupported and fed by charity. Things were no better in Normandy, where the famous woollen-cloth manufactory at Louviers, which was ſcarcely equalled in Europe, and where the celebrated M. Decretot gained ſo much honour by the unparalleled beauty and excellence of his fabricks, was already tending faſt to abſolute ruin. A great cotton manufacture, at the ſame place, was ſtill in a worſe ſtate than the woollen.

There were not many circumſtances attending the Revolution more extraordinary, or which afforded a more ſtriking inſtance of the degree of turpitude and atrocity, to which mankind, under the dominion of certain operating cauſes, that are not always obvious, nor eaſily traced to their ſource, is capable of arriving, than the conduct of the inhabitants of Verſailles. That place had been indebted for its exiſtence to the ſovereign; and, being the reſidence, for more than a century, of the moſt magnificent, expenſive, and munificent court in Chriſtendom, as well as of all the firſt nobility in that vaſt kingdom, had, from an obſcure and paltry village, riſen to ſuch a degree of conſideration and opulence, as, with a population of ſixty thouſand perſons, to be claſſed among the ſecond-rate cities in the kingdom.

Yet this people, thus originating, growing, thriving, and arriving at maturity, who, for more than a century, had been conſtantly fed by the court, had, from the commencement of his troubles, been among the foremoſt of the preſent ſovereign's moſt implacable enemies, extending their malevolence to every part of the royal family, and ſeeming emulous to exceed the Pariſians in their animoſity and malice [51]. Like them, too, they

[51] A contemporary writer thus accounts for "the mad and barbarous conduct of Verſailles:" It was only an "error and a falſe calculation on a point of intereſt. The dread of a bankruptcy had alarmed every body. It was "conſidered as certain, by the numerous valets of Verſailles, that the king was a worn-out being, an obſolete word, "a mere cypher, and that nothing but the nation, that is to ſay, a novelty, could make the ſtate young again, diſ-"charge the debt, and pay Verſailles. This report had prevailed, and had fortified itſelf, by the idea that, without "Paris, the National Aſſembly could do nothing; at all events, therefore, the capital muſt be pleaſed. The king, "being ill-adviſed, it was neceſſary, they ſaid, for his private good and for the general welfare, to exterminate his "court, give him a Pariſian guard, and give him up to the excluſive direction of the National Aſſembly. But Ver-"ſailles only underſtood that Paris was to leave a guard over the king, and not that ſhe was to carry him off, never "more to return."—Journal Politique, &c. tom. ii. p. 248, 249.—The idea of the inhabitants of Verſailles having been deceived by the Pariſians is farther confirmed by M. Mounier, who tells us, that they were very much aſtoniſhed at the proceſſion of the ſixth of October; and that they then began to diſcover that, after having fought for the Pariſians, they were deſtined to pay all the expence of the war. "Tis true"—ſays he—"the Pariſians told them "*to make themſelves eaſy, for that the king would come back again.*"—Faits relatifs à la derniere inſurrection, p. 31.—The barbarous

they had conſtituted themſelves ſole judges, diſpenſers and executors of the laws; ſo that the ſame men being judges, accuſers, witneſſes, and executioners, much time was ſaved in all criminal proſecutions. It remains, however, to be lamented, that this career of patriotiſm, in purſuit of ſummary juſtice, was, in Verſailles, productive of ſome horrid murders, although the voice and approbation of the people gave them the ſanction of legality; and theſe ſeemed the more unlucky as they occurred in private family caſes, where no party or political cauſes could have any concern.

The felicity of the Verſaillians received a mortal blow by the removal of the court to Paris. By that they not only loſt the conſtant butt and object of all their amuſements, along with the delicious pleaſure, ſo truly gratifying to vulgar minds, of inſulting fallen majeſty; but they alſo loſt their eſtabliſhed ground and pretext for riots and tumults, without which it was ſcarcely poſſible for them to exiſt. They likewiſe felt, with inexpreſſible mortification, that they had inſtantaneouſly loſt all their paſt conſequence; that, inſtead of being looked up to as competitors in all deeds of renown with the proud Pariſians, they were now no longer either named or thought of; while the voracious capital, having robbed them of the king, would gorge itſelf with all the praiſe and fame appertaining to others.

In ſuch a ſtate of diſcontent, and with ſuch inherent diſpoſitions, they could never want pretences for riots and diſorders; the dearneſs of bread, and ſcarcity of all kinds of proviſions, independent of all the other grounds of complaint which ingenuity could be at no loſs in deviſing, afforded an ample ſtock of combuſtible matter to feed the rage of an inflamed populace, who were, at the ſame time, peculiarly agitated by a hidden ſource of diſcontent which they could not avow, but which did not operate with the leſs force from its being concealed; this was the want and private diſtreſs they already ſorely felt in their families, through the loſs of thoſe pecuniary and other reliefs they conſtantly drew from the court, which they could not endure, nor would ſuffer to exiſt among them, at the time that it was affording them all theſe benefits. From theſe, and other cauſes, Verſailles continued in a ſtate of the greateſt inſubordination and diſorder from the time of the king's removal to Paris; but this ſtate of things was ſo common, and it being beſides a generally received doctrine, that tumults and diſorders were the genuine effects of patriotiſm, and that their worſt conſequences, ſuch as conflagrations and maſſacres, were the natural reſult and legitimate iſſue of revolutions; while ſuch partial evils were not worth conſideration, when oppoſed to that immenſe maſs of benefits by which they were produced; under all theſe circumſtances and conſiderations, to-

barbarous acts of which the Verſaillians were afterwards guilty, were, perhaps, committed with a view to convince the Pariſians that they were worthy to be entruſted with the care of the royal family.

gether

gether with a ſenſe of their paſt ſervices, and a full confidence in the purity of their intentions, however miſtaken or unguarded they might be in the mode of expreſſion, the exorbitances of the Verſaillians paſſed for a long time without any particular notice.

It happened, however, in proceſs of time, that the National Aſſembly became ſeriouſly apprehenſive, that theſe people, whom they had conſidered only as noiſy and riotous friends, were, after all their intemperance and violence on the other ſide of the queſtion, become ſecret and dangerous enemies. In fine, they became to be conſidered as no better than a generation of plotters and conſpirators, and were ſtrongly ſuſpected of a criminality, which, in any other ſeaſon, and with reſpect to any other nation, would have appeared incredible,—that of leaguing with the ariſtocrates for the overthrow of the new conſtitution, and the eſtabliſhment of a counter-revolution. About the ſeaſon of Chriſtmas theſe ſuſpicions and charges ran ſo high, that nothing was talked of but Verſaillian plots and conſpiracies; and the alarm became very general. One of the ridiculous ſtories then believed and circulated was, that a body of men was in readineſs to march from Verſailles to Paris, in order to murder La Fayette, Bailly, Neckar, and ſome other popular characters. This improbable tale, deficient in every circumſtance which could give it the moſt diſtant appearance of credibility, produced, however, the effect of occaſioning ſome conſiderable increaſe of the guards in Paris, as well as ſome alterations in their arrangement. Another much more probable ſtory was, that a great number of the rabble of Verſailles had intermixed with their brethren at Paris, in order to excite them to diſorders and tumults. All theſe plots, like ſo many hundred others which were hourly diſſeminated, came, however, at length, to nothing; and it was not long before Verſailles and its inhabitants were ſunk in a ſtate of utter oblivion.

The ingratitude of this people met with its juſt reward. From the ſtate of population, rank, and opulence which we have deſcribed, in leſs than four years from the removal of the court, Verſailles was ſo miſerably reduced, that a more wretched and beggarly town was ſcarcely to be found in the whole kingdom of France; while want and diſtreſs, operating upon a proper diſpoſition of mind, rendered the inhabitants ſo notorious for ſharping and impoſition, that their lodgings, which might have afforded them ſome tolerable means of ſupport, generally, through this cauſe, remained unoccupied, although the purity of the air, the excellency of the ſituation, the quiet and ſilence which reigned there, along with that penſive pleaſure which moſt men derive from contemplating the ruins of fallen greatneſs, would otherwiſe have rendered it, both to natives and foreigners, one of the moſt delightful places of retirement that could any where be found.

The populace of Paris, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the late law againſt riots, and the terrors to be apprehended from the diſplay of the bloody flag, began to give ſtrong indications

indications of their diſpoſition to renew their uſual courſe of tumults, about the very time that their neighbours of Verſailles were ſo ſedulouſly forcing themſelves into notice, and had excited ſo much ſuſpicion and trouble. Whether a real ſcarcity now began to prevail in the metropolis, or whether thoſe who *deemed more inſurrections neceſſary* had again recourſe to the creation of an artificial famine, which had already proved but too ſucceſsful in the promotion of tumults, the price of bread was one of the aſſigned cauſes for theſe movements among the Pariſians, who inſiſted that this eſſential article of life, without any regard to the price of grain, or to any other of thoſe circumſtances which have a neceſſary influence over the markets, ſhould be unalterably fixed at Paris, at the very low rate of two ſous per pound. The reaſonableneſs of this demand cannot but appear very ſtriking, when it is known, that the Pariſians were, at this time, ſupplied with bread at a rate which would, *ceteris paribus*, prove an expence or loſs to the nation of two and twenty millions of livres a year.

But the Pariſians felt another cauſe of diſcontent, which operated much more grievouſly upon their imaginations than the price of bread, however grievous that might appear. The proceedings of the court of Châtelet had given the greateſt offence to the body of the populace. That court, having been conſtituted by the National Aſſembly a temporary judicature, for the trial and puniſhment of all treaſons againſt the nation, had, accordingly, proceeded through what, in England, would be called a courſe of ſtate trials. They began their proceſs with the baron de Bezenval, the commander of the Swiſs, whoſe life, as has been before ſhewn, was with ſo much difficulty ſaved from the fury of the Pariſians. They accordingly watched the iſſue of this trial with the ſame kind of anxiety as hungry wolves experience when waiting for their prey; ſtill flattering themſelves that the court would not dare to acquit a man whom *they* had ſo long and ſo often condemned; and warmly hoping, that ſo long and painful a ceſſation from action and amuſement as they had now endured, would be cloſed by a ſportive holiday, on which the baron's mangled carcaſe, dragged in proceſſion through the ſtreets, and his head exalted on a pike, would renew a pleaſing remembrance of all their paſt triumphs.

During his trial, the baron diſplayed a degree of compoſure, firmneſs, and reſolution, which aſtoniſhed the beholders; and repelled the accuſations preferred againſt him with ſuch judgment and ſpirit, that the court could not, either with regard to juſtice, or to their own character, poſſibly avoid acquitting him; at the ſame time, that the ſupreme contempt which he ſhewed for any danger that might accrue from a due diſcharge of his military duties, ſeemed to over-awe even his enemies. It is, however, to be obſerved, that the Swiſs cantons took ſo ſpirited a part in behalf of their perſecuted commander, that it was thought the National Aſſembly did not wiſh matters to be carried to extremity againſt him; ſo that the violence of the mob was poſſibly the greateſt danger which he had to apprehend.

Although the court had not yet pronounced ſentence, yet every body being now convinced of his acquittal, nothing could exceed the rage and indignation of the diſappointed populace, who conſidered the boaſted benefits of the Revolution as nothing but deceptions, if the majeſty of the people were to be thus flagrantly inſulted, and their authority groſsly invaded, by attempting to ſtrip them of their inherent right of ſummary and executive juſtice. They, accordingly, determined to force the priſon in which Bezenval was confined by the Châtelet, and to exhibit in his perſon a memorable and bloody inſtance to mankind of that inexorable juſtice by which they were guided, the execution of which ſhould not be prevented nor diverted by any laws or by any authority.

The twelfth of January was the day fixed upon for the accompliſhment of this glorious deſign; and the expectations and cruel hopes of the rabble were riſen to the higheſt point at which they were capable of arriving. But they had loſt many of thoſe advantages which had contributed to their ſucceſs in their paſt conflicts with the court, and were now watched with a degree of vigilance that almoſt precluded the poſſibility of ſurprize. Bailly, La Fayette, the National Aſſembly, and, in a word, every part of government, became maſters of the whole deſign, before it could be carried into execution; and all adopted ſuch meaſures as ſeemed beſt calculated for its prevention or defeat. La Fayette acted, upon this occaſion, with great vigour, diligence, and effect; but one circumſtance in his conduct excited great ſurprize, and afforded no ſmall room for ſpeculation: this was his placing the ſecurity of Paris, and the preſervation of her tranquillity, in the hands of that very militia who had before refuſed to repel the violence of their *fellow citizens*, the mob, inſtead of entruſting them to the regular ſtanding forces, who received conſtant pay, and of whom the late French guards formed ſo conſpicuous a part. Nothing could be more flattering to the militia than this diſtinction and mark of unlimited confidence, in a caſe of ſo much ſuppoſed danger; they accordingly acted their part inimitably well; but nothing could be a more galling affront to the regular troops than this preference given to men whom they deſpiſed.

Though the immediate deſigns of the populace were thus overthrown, yet the capital continued in a ſtate of ferment and diſorder for two or three days. Cabals and meetings were continually taking place, and all the paſt indications of miſchief were renewed, and ſeemed to appear in ſtronger colours than uſual. The Verſaillians were again ſuppoſed formidable, and thouſands of them were ſaid to be mixed with the Pariſians. Miſchiefs of every kind, and accompanied with every degree of horror and ruin, were generally expected; and even thoſe who were beſt informed, conceived ſome great and dreadful event to be near at hand. The ariſtocrates were, as uſual, charged with being the authors of this evil, in their endeavours to carry off the king, and to bring about a counter-revolution. It would only have expoſed a ſtranger to mockery or ſuſpicion, if he had attempted to ſhew the glaring improbability of a coalition or alliance ſo monſtrous

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and unnatural, as that ſuppoſed to have been formed between the royaliſts and the rabble of Paris or Verſailles, who ſeemed, by ſome inherent inſtinct, deſtined to be their mortal and implacable enemies. At the ſame time, it was openly ſaid on all ſides, that the king's life would be the immediate ſacrifice to any attempt to reſcue his perſon; and that the whole royal family would probably periſh at the ſame inſtant. All foreigners, who had any knowledge of the former, and even very late, character of the people, were aſtoniſhed at the coolneſs and indifference with which the immolation of the ſovereign, in ſuch a circumſtance, was publickly talked of in all companies, from the higheſt to the loweſt, as an act which of courſe muſt take place.

In the mean time, La Fayette and his militia, by a well-timed exertion of vigour, extinguiſhed the combuſtion in Paris. He ſuddenly ſurrounded at night, a body of eleven hundred of the mutineers, who were aſſembled in the *Champs Elyſées*, two hundred of whom he made priſoners, and ſo terrified the reſt that they ſeemed to think themſelves fortunate in eſcaping with their lives. On ſearching the priſoners, they were found to be well provided with powder and ball, made up into cartridges, but not a ſingle muſket was to be ſeen in the whole party. This put a ſtop for the preſent to nocturnal meetings, as well as to riots by day. Yet ſuch was the genius of the time for the fabrication of plots, for the diſcovery of myſteries in the moſt common and obvious occurrences, and for the belief of the moſt incredible fables, that this was ſtill inſiſted upon, and that by men neither deſtitute of knowledge nor information in other reſpects, to be the beginning of a grand ariſtocratical plot, deeply laid for the ſubverſion of the conſtitution and preſent government. A troubleſome queſtion, however, ſtill remained to be ſolved, who thoſe immediate inſtruments of the plot, thoſe actual riotors, were? With the evidence of two hundred priſoners before them, this ſeemed a queſtion eaſily anſwered; but it would be too much to ſuppoſe the patriotic Pariſians the authors of ſuch a crime; and as to the Verſaillians, beſides that they had borne their full ſhare of reproach already, they were too near neighbours to bear the whole burden of infamy. In this difficulty, the term of *Brigands*, which had already anſwered ſo excellent a purpoſe, in deſtroying the ſeats of the nobility, luckily occurred; but, as if queſtions multiplied in proportion as they were reſolved, it ſtill remained to be anſwered, who theſe Brigands were? If they were men, like others, and not totally imaginary beings, their exiſtence might ſurely be identified with eaſe. The only ſolution that could be found to this queſtion, was the ſuppoſition that they were compoſed of Germans and other foreigners, who had come to Paris for the purpoſe of exciting tumults, in order to facilitate the execution of this incomprehenſible plot.

Bezenval being acquitted, and departed in ſafety from Paris, the Châtelet now ventured upon a taſk which before would have ſeemed pregnant with infinite danger—the trial of the prince of Lambeſc, the mareſchal Broglio, and ſome others of thoſe principal

fugitives who had long been accuſed of that ſuppoſed plot, for the deſtruction of the city of Paris, and of the National Aſſembly, for governing the kingdom entirely by the ſword, and placing the monarch in a ſtate of more unlimited deſpotiſm, than even the worſt of his predeceſſors had poſſeſſed or attempted, and which had laid the baſis of the Revolution in the preceding month of July, as well as of all its ſubſequent conſequences, to the preſent day. As the event of theſe trials ſeemed to include, in no ſmall degree, the grand queſtion on the neceſſity, juſtneſs, or fitneſs of the Revolution, which derived its birth from this pretended plot, ſo no cauſe could be more intereſting, or tend to raiſe public expectation to a greater height; and the ſeveral parts of it had been ſo long, ſo often, and ſo peremptorily repeated and aſſerted, that it was ſuppoſed ſuch a body of evidence as nothing could reſiſt or controvert, would now be adduced in its ſupport. But, to the inexpreſſible aſtoniſhment of every body, excepting, perhaps, thoſe who were in the immediate ſecret of things, no evidence beyond conjecture, inference, vague reports, and hearſay converſations, appeared on the ſide of the proſecution; ſo that the plot was ſtill involved in its original obſcurity, and Broglio, with the other fugitives, were, of courſe, to the great diſcontent of the Pariſians, acquitted of the crime of *léze-nation*.

To reconcile or account for the various contradictions and inconſiſtencies which appear in the conduct and actions of men, will ever be found, in many caſes, a matter of extreme difficulty. Although this buſineſs undoubtedly ſtood foremoſt in point of importance of all thoſe which had been preſcribed to the cognizance of the Châtelet, yet has it been ſurmized, and that not on weak grounds, that the principal rulers were extremely averſe from having it brought forward; indeed they could not but wiſh, that the weakneſs which now appeared in ſo eſſential a point, through the total failure of all evidence in its ſupport, ſhould not have been thus expoſed to all the world. It was, probably, imagined, that this was an affair which bore ſuch ſtrong appearance of danger, on whatever ſide it was examined, that the Châtelet would not venture to meddle with it; and it was poſſibly intended, that no great apology ſhould be required to juſtify the omiſſion. Be that as it may, the Châtelet ſoon became an object of conſtant abuſe with the democratical writers, and was treated with a coldneſs and indifference by the Aſſembly, which ſtrongly indicated that its new powers were not likely to be laſting.

It would ſeem as if this ſtate of things produced, in one inſtance, a diſpoſition to temporize, and accommodate matters to the occaſion, in that court, which ill-accorded with the high character of honour and inflexible integrity, which, through a long courſe of paſt years, it had, in defiance of power, ſo juſtly merited, and ſo often nobly ſuſtained. This was in the caſe of the marquis de Favras, who was accuſed of having formed a plot for aſſaſſinating ſome of the leading patriots, with a view to facilitate the accompliſhment of a ſcheme for promoting a counter revolution, and carrying off the king. The evidence againſt him was ſo weak and defective, that it has been compared with that which

which has heretofore been received, and brought ſo much diſgrace upon the courſe of legal juſtice in England, in thoſe unfortunate periods of her hiſtory, when Titus Oates and ſimilar villains were allowed to flouriſh, and ſuch men as Jefferies were the diſpenſers of our laws. Favras was condemned and executed; and this unfortunate man was generally conſidered as a victim deſtined to be a peace-offering to the Pariſians; in the vain hope of reconciling them to the loſs of thoſe others, on which their deſire was much more ſtrongly fixed.

Monſieur, the king's brother, to whoſe houſhold Favras had formerly belonged, finding himſelf publickly accuſed, by the populace of Paris, of being concerned in the plot; and the editor of a democratic paper having had the audacity to aſſert that a loan had been actually negociated in his name, for the purpoſe of raiſing money towards the execution of the conſpiracy, thought it neceſſary to repair to the Aſſembly of the repreſentatives of the commons at the Hotel de Ville, where he addreſſed them in a ſpeech, in which, after noticing the audacious calumnies that had been advanced to his prejudice, he ſaid, that he thought it his duty, as a citizen of Paris, to come into the midſt of his fellow-citizens, in order to explain the nature of his connection with the marquis de Favras. He then told them, that having occaſion for a ſum of money to defray the expence of his houſhold, Favras had offered to procure him two million (about eighty-three thouſand pounds ſterling) from the Dutch bankers; which offer he accepted, and ſigned bonds to that amount. He expreſſed his conviction, that it would not be expected he ſhould juſtify himſelf from any participation in an enterprize ſo infamous as the conſpiracy in queſtion; that his public conduct, and his well-known ſentiments, would place him above all ſuch ſuſpicions; he had always maintained that the authority of the king ought to be the baſis of national liberty, as national liberty was the firmeſt ſupport of the king's authority.—He next wrote to the Aſſembly, to apprize them of the ſtep he had deemed it neceſſary to take; when it was propoſed to refer the matter, for immediate conſideration, to the Committee of Reſearch; but this propoſal was over-ruled, on the ſuggeſtion that it would be more reſpectful to regard the honour of the king's brother as incapable of being injured by the breath of calumny. The matter was, therefore, diſmiſſed.

It was a curious circumſtance, and worthy of notice, that the conduct of the Châtelet, in the condemnation of Favras, inſtead of anſwering the end propoſed, was equally reprobated and condemned by both parties; and that that court was overwhelmed with ſuch torrents of reproach, ruſhing from all quarters, as it had never before experienced, in the courſe of its exiſtence. Convinced, as they undoubtedly were, of its juſtneſs, the judges did not ſink under the weight of the reproach, but ſeemed deſirous of retrieving their character by the vigour with which they proſecuted the enquiry after the authors of the plot, murders, and intended maſſacre of the ſixth of October; being thoſe worthy

worthy citizens, who had been repreſented by the democratical writers as totally innocent of all crime, and as acting purely in their own defence. Not content, however, with this inſtance of independence and ſpirit, as if it were to afford a demonſtration that the love of juſtice was the only operative motive of their actions, they entered deeply and with the utmoſt earneſtneſs into that, evidently, moſt critical and dangerous buſineſs, an enquiry into the conduct, deſigns, and proceedings, of the duke of Orleans, and of Mirabeau, who acting apparently as his inſtrument, was in fact the framer of every thing that ſhewed genius in his plans, and that went beyond cunning in his projects. It required no inſpiration, nor even much ſagacity, to have ſeen, that whether theſe enquiries came within the letter of their inſtructions or not, they could not at all accord with their ſpirit and deſign [52]; and were widely different from the purpoſes to which that court owed its temporary inſtitution. They were, however, permitted to proceed to a certain decent and conſiderable length in this important inveſtigation; until, at length, becoming too troubleſome, bringing matters to light which it was the intereſt of the factious demagogues to involve in darkneſs, and the preſervation of thoſe appearances which had operated to their inſtitution being no longer neceſſary, their powers were ſuddenly withdrawn, their enquiries left unfiniſhed, and the Châtelet was for ever laid by.

In the mean time, the king's firmneſs in rejecting the propoſed viſit and coalition, was, through means or motives which have not been made public, at length overcome. It is not to be ſuppoſed that he could be totally indifferent to the menaces againſt his life which were continually thrown out in caſe of any attempt to reſcue his perſon, (an event that might poſſibly take place, without his knowledge or concurrence, in the preſent ſtate of temper and diſcontent which prevailed through ſo great a part of the nation); and conſidering his remarkable affection for the queen and his children, whoſe lives, he knew, hung by the ſame thread with his own, it is not to be ſuppoſed but he was as deeply affected on their account as his own. Perhaps the repreſentations that were made to

[52] A contemporary writer obſerves—"This trial is not *dans le ſens de la Revolution*; the king is the only Frenchman in his dominions who cannot hope to have juſtice done him." M. Mirabeau pretended that it was the object of the Châtelet to make uſe of his name, in order to bring the Revolution to trial; *(a faire le proces a la Revolution)*.—Mirabeau termed the official information filed againſt him by the attorney-general a *libel*.—The ſame writer ſays—"It will be found that this trial begun by the Châtelet was nothing more than a bugbear *(epouvantail)* employed by La Fayette as a check upon the Lameths, the Barnaves, the d'Aiguillons, the Mirabeaus, and all the Orleans' faction. A great number of proofs and depoſitions has therefore been ſacrificed to them; but they will one day re-appear, when the hour of vengeance ſhall have arrived. I muſt alſo remark, that the ſpecies of monſter, called *Coupe-Tete* inceſſantly paraded the ſtreets and public places of Paris, during the trial. He publickly declared that *he ran no riſk, ſo long as Mirabeau remained in the Aſſembly*."—Indeed Mirabeau was ſo well convinced of his ability to render the proceedings of the Châtelet ineffectual, that he boldly aſſerted in the National Aſſembly, that the witneſſes would fly ſooner than the parties accuſed.—Journal Politique, &c. tom. iii. p. 92, 93, 94.

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him, of the good conſequences it would have, as to the general welfare and tranquillity of the kingdom, might have operated as another powerful motive.

Whatever were his motives, the king appeared ſuddenly at the National Aſſembly, on the fourth of February, where he complained of the attempts which were made to ſhake the baſis of the new conſtitution, and declared it to be his deſire, that it ſhould be univerſally known, that the monarch and the repreſentatives of the nation were united; that their wiſhes were the ſame; that he would defend that conſtitutional liberty, the principles of which the general wiſh, in concert with his own, had conſecrated; and that, conjointly with the queen, he would early form the heart and the ſentiments of his ſon, for that new order of things, which the circumſtances of the empire had introduced and ſanctified [53].

As ſoon as the king was withdrawn, the Aſſembly voted an addreſs of thanks to him; and perceiving at once the deep diſmay and conſternation with which this unexpected meaſure ſeemed nearly to overwhelm the minority, they inſtantly determined to take advantage of their confuſion and aſtoniſhment, and immediately iſſued a decree, which, in that ſtate, none had the courage to oppoſe, and by which every member was obliged to take the new-deviſed civic oath, under the penalty of being excluded from giving his vote on any occaſion. This teſt was of ſuch a nature, that they had reaſon for conceiving it would prove effectual in purging the Aſſembly of moſt, if not all of thoſe, whoſe names or countenance they no longer wanted, and whoſe company they no farther wiſhed to be troubled with. The Aſſembly then decreed a general addreſs to the provinces, reminding them of all it had done for the ſake of public liberty, laying before them what it propoſed farther to do, and holding out proper reaſons and arguments to prepoſſeſs them "againſt thoſe unfavourable impreſſions which evil-minded perſons were endeavouring "to create amongſt them [54]."

By this extraordinary proceeding, which certainly betrayed an extreme facility of diſpoſition, and a moſt ardent deſire to promote the re-eſtabliſhment of tranquillity and order, the king, without gaining one new friend, loſt many of the old, and much of the confidence and conſideration which he held with all. The Aſſembly had lately paſſed a decree, by which all perſons, of whatever religion, were declared eligible to all offices and employments of the ſtate; and by another decree they aboliſhed that feudal principle, which attached infamy to the deſcendants of perſons executed for crimes; a principle originally founded on excellent motives, the hope and expectation of preventing, by the influence of honour and family-affection, the commiſſion of crimes, but daily be-

53 Rabaud, p. 141. 54 Idem, p. 142.

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coming more inefficient as the times became more corrupt, and therefore highly proper to be abrogated, as it made the innocent ſuffer for the vices of the guilty, without any adequate return for ſuch a departure from the common rules of juſtice.

The ſpirit of anarchy and violence, which ſtill prevailed in the provinces, and which was evinced in the execution of ſummary juſtice, ſo highly gratifying to the mob, in various places, and in the plunder and deſtruction of many of the remaining ſeats of the nobility, induced the Aſſembly, in addition to the riot act before noticed, to paſs a decree, which made the municipalities reſponſible for every damage which might come from riotous aſſemblies of the people in any part of the kingdom.

The Aſſembly next reſumed the affairs of the clergy, a buſineſs which they juſtly conſidered of the higheſt importance, as their eſtates and property were to ſupply that pledge and ſecurity which were to be offered to the nation for the diſcharge of their debts, as well as to make good the current deficiencies which aroſe from the failure of payment of the remaining taxes, and the total loſs of the moſt productive, which had been generally repealed.

On the thirteenth of February they ſuppreſſed all monaſtic eſtabliſhments for ever, and confiſcated all their lands, allowing, however, the preſent friars and nuns to continue in the obſervance of their monaſtic vows, granting them a ſmall ſtipend for their ſubſiſtence; and to the nuns the privilege of not being removed from the convents they occupied, without their own conſent and free choice.—We are far from ſtanding forward as advocates for a monaſtic life, fully ſenſible of the abuſes to which ſuch inſtitutions are expoſed, and of the inconveniences which muſt neceſſarily reſult from them, we ſhould have been the firſt to commend any rational attempt at improvement, or even ſuppreſſion. But to attack, by force, thoſe rooted prejudices, which were imbibed from education, and confirmed by habit; to tear the hoary recluſe from his long-loved ſhades of retirement, and throw him on the buſy theatre of life, where the conſtant purſuit of far different occupations had diſabled him from playing his part; to take him from a ſituation, in which he was exempted, by an ample revenue, from the neceſſity of directing his attention to ſublunary concerns, unleſs for the purpoſe of relieving his fellow-creatures, (with the means for which it ſupplied him), in order to place him in one where the pitiful ſubſiſtence allowed him by his plunderers muſt neceſſarily impel him to ſtudy all the little arts of economy, and to ſhut his ears againſt thoſe ſorrows which he was no longer able to ſoothe by his charity—to do this, and to expoſe him likewiſe to the continual temptations which the world holds out to violate thoſe ſolemn oaths from which *their* efforts to abſolve him were impious and vain, was to exert a ſpecies of authority as unwarrantable and atrocious as any the annals of deſpotiſm exhibit.

Had

Had the National Aſſembly, in this inſtance, been ſwayed by motives of ſtate policy —and very powerful motives does ſtate policy afford to the *diſcouragement* of monaſtic inſtitutions—they would have proceeded in a very different manner; they would not have begun by the ſubverſion of laws which long preſcription had rendered reſpectable; they would not have dared to *aboliſh* thoſe fabrics which the piety—*miſtaken* piety indeed!—of their anceſtors had raiſed; they would have acted with a moderation and prudence more ſuitable to the motives by which they were influenced. It might probably have been wiſe to prevent the reception of any new noviciates, and perhaps to have left it to the option of every monk, either to purſue that courſe of life to which he was accuſtomed, or to quit his convent, and mingle with the world, with a penſion adequate to ſecure his perfect independence. In that caſe, at the death of a friar, his portion of the monaſtic revenue might have been applied to the uſe of the ſtate—provided no heirs of the original benefactors to the convent appeared to claim it—and thus in the courſe of a few years, without violence, without cruelty, and without injuſtice, every rational purpoſe of improvement would have had its full effect; and the monaſteries, at length, have been totally ſuppreſſed. But the National Aſſembly did not even profeſs to be guided by any ſuch motives: relying ſolely on the authority they had uſurped, in expreſs contradiction to the inſtructions of thoſe from whom they derived their political exiſtence, they boldly avowed their rapacious intentions; and only attempted to juſtify this violent ſeizure of property over which they had no legal controul, by the neceſſity of removing incumbrances which they themſelves had contributed to augment.

By this arbitrary and unjuſt proceeding, they drew down upon themſelves the maledictions of thouſands, whoſe bleſſings they might eaſily have ſecured; not only the immediate objects of their perſecution muſt have imprecated vengeance on their heads, but the numerous beings who, from their vicinity to the ſuppreſſed monaſteries, experienced their beneficial influence;—friends to the poor, the monks diſpenſed their charity with a liberal hand; the beſt of landlords, their loſs muſt be bitterly deplored by their weeping tenants, who have, doubtleſs, felt, and ſeverely too, their change of maſters; for a community can never have ſo many motives to oppreſſion as individuals; and the *monied men*, into whoſe hands the greateſt part of the eccleſiaſtical property was moſt likely to fall, are, of all deſcriptions of men, the moſt diſpoſed to avarice, tyranny, and extortion.

As the buſineſs of the clergy was now brought nearly to a concluſion, at leaſt with reſpect to fact, though not entirely as to time, we ſhall purſue it to the end. In the ſucceeding month of April, the Aſſembly completed their plan. They voted away, in purſuance of their prior reſolution of November, all the territorial poſſeſſions of the church, deſtining them, in general, but not ſpecific, terms, to the payment of the public debt. They aſſigned to the eccleſiaſtics, in return, certain fixed penſions, barely ſufficient for their exiſtence; although not in any degree ſuitable to their paſt habits, condition, or

modes of living, many of them being of the firſt families in the kingdom, and long accuſtomed to affluence. The Aſſembly, likewiſe, at this time, began to iſſue to the creditors of the ſtate a new kind of paper-money, under the name of aſſignations, that is *Aſſignats*, on the confiſcated lands of the church, which were to be the general ſecurity for all the paper thus iſſued. Hence originated that inundation of Aſſignats which have ſince deluged France and the neighbouring countries; and which have excited the aſtoniſhment of Europe, through the extraordinary exertions which they have enabled her to make.

This paper currency was iſſued, chiefly, to ſatisfy, in the firſt inſtance, the demands made upon them by the *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte*. The ſpoil of the church was now become the only reſource of all their operations in finance; the vital principle of all their politics. It was neceſſary by all, even the moſt violent, means, to put every individual on the ſame bottom, and to bind the nation in one guilty intereſt to uphold this act, and the authority of thoſe by whom it was done. In order to force the moſt reluctant into a participation of their pillage, they rendered their paper circulation compulſory in all payments. The general tendency of their ſchemes to this one object, as a centre, and a centre from which afterwards all their meaſures radiate, is a circumſtance that deſerves the minuteſt attention. All the inconveniences ariſing from the ſudden introduction of a paper currency—ſoon ſwelled to the enormous amount of fifty millions ſterling—may be eaſily imagined, and have, indeed, been ably depicted by men highly competent to judge of its effects. Neckar exerted his utmoſt influence to prevent the adoption of a meaſure which he conſidered as equally deſtructive of public credit and public convenience. But the plan was too deeply laid to be eaſily fruſtrated: to facilitate the ſale of eccleſiaſtical plunder, was a matter of great importance to thoſe raſh demagogues, whoſe pernicious meaſures required the moſt extenſive ſupport. Every purchaſer of church property muſt naturally deem his tenure precarious, and muſt know that the only ſecurity he could poſſeſs muſt be derived from the National Aſſembly, whoſe decrees, therefore, he became intereſted to ſupport. Hence numbers of new partizans was enſured, and "a ſyſtem of tyranny upheld by a ſyſtem of plunder."

Mirabeau ſtiled this robbery of the church, and the conſequent ſale of its property, for the promotion of which the new paper currency was created, *un inſtrument ſur et actif de la Revolution*; judging it eſſential to the ſafety of the new goverment, that the members of thoſe corporate bodies who had been deprived of their offices, and plundered of their wealth, ſhould be "*depouillées auſſi du moindre rayon d'eſperance*[55]."—It is worthy of remark, that this man, who had ſo lately publiſhed a ſevere Philippic againſt the emperor, Joſeph the Second, for the injuſtice of his claim on the Scheldt, and in which he

[55] Diſcourſe de M. Mirabeau, pp. 13 et 16.

particularly

particularly reprobated his conduct with reſpect to the plunder of the monaſteries and convents in the Low Countries, had now, in ſo ſhort a period of time, ſo totally departed from the ſentiments which he then avowed, that, through the whole progreſs of the preſent buſineſs, he was, on every occaſion, the ſtrongeſt and moſt determined leader in, or ſupporter of, all the violent proceedings carried on againſt the French clergy. The following quotation from the treatiſe above mentioned will ſerve to illuſtrate this conduct, as well as to juſtify the obſervation:—"The internal revolutions which the emperor has effected in his dominions have been greatly applauded; but what a number of objections might be brought againſt theſe eulogiums! at leaſt, the panegyriſts of Joſeph the Second ought to tell us what juſtice they find in driving a citizen from the profeſſion which he has embraced under the ſanction of the laws. I will tell them plainly, that *there is as much injuſtice in expelling a friar or a nun from their retreat, as in turning a private individual out of his houſe.* Deſpiſe the friars as much as you will, but do not perſecute them; *but above all, do not rob them*; for we ought neither to perſecute nor rob any man, from the avowed atheiſt down to the moſt credulous capuchin[56]."—So much do men's ſentiments vary with circumſtances, even in queſtions of right or wrong, of juſtice or injuſtice! queſtions which it might be ſuppoſed did not admit of any change of opinion.

Notwithſtanding the immediate diſmay produced by the late act of the king, in approving of all the proceedings of the National Aſſembly, and in diſclaiming and reprobating all meaſures purſued in his favour, the ruined privileged orders ſoon recollected themſelves, and inſtead of ſinking under that unexpected blow, ſeemed in a little time to acquire freſh activity and new vigour, from a check which had at firſt thrown them into ſuch viſible conſternation. For though, in order to ſtrengthen both, they wiſhed to make their own cauſe common with that of the crown, in every attempt for the recovery of what was loſt, or the preſervation of what remained of their natural rights, yet they conſidered their own diſtinct intereſts as being of too great a magnitude, and too immediate an importance, to be ſacrificed to the weakneſs, errors, or fears, of their haraſſed impriſoned ſovereign.

In this ſtate they naturally directed their attention, in the firſt inſtance, to their own refugee princes at the court of Turin, with whom they maintained a cloſe correſpondence, particularly from the Southern provinces; but theſe ruined princes, who were beholden to ſtrangers for ſhelter and ſubſiſtence, could afford no other means of ſupport or aſſiſtance than the little which might poſſibly be derived merely from their names and rank; while this ſource, weak and confined as it would have been at beſt, was ſtill farther narrowed, and reduced almoſt to nothing, by the peculiar unpopularity in which the raſh-

[56] See Mirabeau's "Doubts concerning the free Navigation of the Scheldt." Engliſh Tranſlation, note to p. 160.

neſs

neſs and imprudence of the count d'Artois had very unfortunately involved that prince. The alarmed and diſtreſſed nobility, however, did not reſt here; they are ſaid to have been inceſſant in their applications to all the neighbouring continental powers for their interference in delivering their king, and in aſſiſting to eſtabliſh in their wretched country ſome juſt and equitable form of government, which, under the ſanction of a limited and well-regulated monarchy, might put an end to the preſent horrid ſcene of confuſion and anarchy, while it afforded liberty of perſon and ſecurity of property to every order and claſs of the people.

But it happened unfortunately, with reſpect to the cauſe of the diſtreſſed, that Europe ſeldom has been, through a long courſe of years, in a ſtate leſs capable of affording the ſuccour now demanded, or in which the minds of the people, or the diſpoſitions of the ſovereigns, were leſs calculated for undertaking any enterprize, than at the preſent. The mad ambition of the emperor Joſeph, under the influence of the everlaſting power and vaſt deſigns of Ruſſia, to which he became ſo wretched a dupe, beſides the ruin and ſpirit of revolt which it ſpread through his own extenſive dominions, had, in no ſmall degree, deranged the general ſyſtem of European politics; for, while ſeveral ſtates were watching with apprehenſion and diſmay, the dreaded evils, which the farther progreſs and ſucceſs of the dangerous combination between theſe two mighty empires were capable of producing; while all ſpirit of adventure was thus effectually reſtrained in the centre and North of Europe; the court of Spain, ſo cloſely united in blood and alliance with the king and government of France, was, at this critical ſeaſon, when the exiſtence of the great and parent ſtock of the Bourbon line was more than at ſtake, moſt induſtriouſly involving herſelf in a ridiculous ſquabble with England, and was wantonly and blindly ruſhing into a conteſt which ſhe was totally incapable of ſuſtaining. On the other ſide of the Mediterranean, the king of Sardinia, beſides his being by nature a peaceable prince totally indiſpoſed to war, was not, from the ſtate of his finances, of his army, of his fortreſſes, or of any of the leading requiſites to ſuch a deciſion, in any condition to hazard the experiment, even ſuppoſing that his own diſpoſition had prompted him ever ſo ſtrongly to the meaſure.

Under theſe circumſtances it ſo happened, that, ſcarcely in any age, ancient or modern, whether among refined or half-civilized nations, any ſimilar body of men, ſo ſuddenly involved in the moſt pitiable ſtate of degradation and ruin, ever excited ſo little ſympathy, or ever met with ſo cold and forbidding a reception, as the French nobility experienced, upon this occaſion, in all the neighbouring countries. They were, almoſt without exception, every where beheld with a prejudiced and malignant, rather than a kind and benevolent, eye; and, even while they yet poſſeſſed money, found it difficult to procure ſhelter.

But the overweening confidence, the haughty and imperious language, with the precipitate determinations of the National Aſſembly, were fully competent to the creation of enemies abroad as well as at home, who might otherwiſe have been friends, or at leaſt, indifferent ſpectators. In their rage for the total overthrow and abolition of the feudal ſyſtem, they had paid as little regard to the rights and intereſts of foreigners, as they had done in all caſes with reſpect to thoſe of their own nobility and clergy. The duke of Wirtemberg, the prince of Deuxponts, with many other German princes, both ſecular and eccleſiaſtical, held great poſſeſſions in Alſace, and other provinces, which France had heretofore wreſted from the empire in the days of its troubles and diſtreſs, and which theſe princes held by the ſame original tenure that they did their other eſtates more immediately at home. Theſe ſeveral diſtricts, with all the ancient rights appertaining thereto, were, in the year 1648, after the forcible transfer of paramount dominion by arms had already taken place, farther ſecured, confirmed, and guaranteed to the poſſeſſors, in the ſtrongeſt manner, by the treaty of Weſtphalia, to which France herſelf was a contracting party, and from which alone ſhe could derive any legal title or claim to the provinces in queſtion, of which theſe ſmaller fiefs compoſed a conſiderable part. Yet theſe rights, ſo authentically confirmed and guaranteed, had been, without the ſmalleſt explanation or ceremony, totally ſet aſide and ſubverted, by the ſimple decree of a new body of men, who had arrogated to themſelves the moſt unlimited power of deſtruction, while a captive king, in violation of treaties by which he was perſonally, and his country through him directly bound, and in direct contradiction to his own opinion and advice publickly communicated to that body, was compelled, moſt unwillingly, to give his ſanction to this violation and wrong.

It has already been ſhewn what indignation was excited in the National Aſſembly, juſt before the king's removal from Verſailles, upon receiving his letter, in which he had ventured to expoſtulate, in the moſt gentle terms, upon the impolicy and danger, as well as the flagrant injuſtice, of this, and of ſome others of their acts, which had been then haſtily decreed; it has likewiſe been ſhewn, that at ten o'clock at night, in the midſt of that dreadful tumult, in which his life was expoſed to danger the moſt imminent and immediate, he was obliged, without comment, explanation, or reſerve, to give his ſanction to this decree, as well as to that which eſtabliſhed and confirmed the Revolution, and to all others which were then in readineſs: upon this, as well as upon every occaſion in which the ſubject was at all mentioned, the National Aſſembly affected to treat the rights and claims, as well as the perſons and condition, of the foreign princes, with the moſt inſufferable contempt; nor did their great bond of right and ſecurity, the treaty of Weſtphalia, which is conſidered as the Magna Charta of the Germanic empire, and holden by the Germans as little leſs than ſacred, meet with any greater reſpect.

This occaſioned a general outcry againſt the French, and particularly againſt the conduct of their Aſſembly, in Germany; while the injured princes, no leſs irritated perhaps,

haps, by the injurious treatment they had received, than by their immediate loſſes, were inceſſant in their applications, both individually and collectively, to the Diet of the empire for protection and redreſs. The Diet took up the buſineſs with great ſpirit; and though the untoward ſtate of public affairs did not yet afford leiſure to the great powers of the empire to take ſuch an active ſhare in the buſineſs as might give immediate efficacy to its proceedings and intentions, it was by no means the leſs ſenſible of the injury, and of the inſult thereby offered to the whole Germanic body. Indeed the Diet could not fail to view, with an eye of jealouſy and ſuſpicion, the new French government, which had begun its career by a flagrant violation of public faith, of the moſt ſacred treaties; by ſetting the general opinions and laws of mankind at defiance; and by betraying a diſpoſition to diſſolve or overthrow all thoſe compacts between nations, which had been conſtructed as mounds for the preſervation of their mutual peace and ſecurity.

Thus from the habit of giving a looſe and unbounded ſcope to haughty, contemptuous, and arrogant language; of turning all matters, however ſerious, to ridicule, which did not entirely correſpond with their own ideas, or directly ſuit their liking; and by a dictatorial and peremptory mode of proceeding, in all points correſponding with the language and manner, were the ſeeds of a bloody and extenſive war, pregnant with events and conſequences that mock all human calculation, moſt induſtriouſly ſown by the National Aſſembly in that vaſt and powerful empire. Whereas, if a due attention had been at firſt paid to propriety of language and conduct; if the ſemblance of juſtice and equity had been obſerved, by duly examining and conſidering the rights of the princes, and the obligations of treaties; and if the reſult of this enquiry had been, the propoſal of a fair compenſation to the former for the ſurrender of their feudal rights, there is not the ſmalleſt room for doubting, that this troubleſome buſineſs would have been eaſily accommodated: and if the princes had even, in ſome degree, over-rated their demands, political prudence would have ſhewn, that it was more eligible to ſubmit to ſome ſmall preſent pecuniary extortion, and thereby get quit of a claim which could never be renewed, than to ſuffer, particularly in ſo critical a ſeaſon as the preſent, ſuch a bone of endleſs diſcord to continue conſtantly in view.

When it was too late, the Aſſembly ſeemed in ſome degree to become ſenſible of its error, or at leaſt to be alarmed at the effect which it was already producing; and ſeveral months after the abolition of the feudal rights, it careleſsly voted an indemnification to the German princes. But the ſeaſon for co ciliatory accommodation was now paſt: injury, ſharpened by inſult, had naturally rouzed the keeneſt reſentment; and in this temper they refuſed to ſell or to barter their birth-rights. The Aſſembly ſhewed a ſtoical indifference, which they ſeemed to think conſonant with the ſtern and inflexible dignity of republicans, upon this refuſal. They, however, ordered the offer of indemnification to be repeated, and left the matter after to take its ordinary courſe.

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J. Jones Fecit

M: BARNAVE,

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Nor was the National Aſſembly more fortunate with reſpect to the government of the French colonies in the Weſt Indies, than it was in its tranſactions with foreigners; though it muſt be confeſſed that their failure in this point was more owing to the precipitancy of its reſolutions, and its want of caution, and of attention to local circumſtances, in carrying them into effect, than to any error in principle, or defect of juſtice in the premiſes on which they were founded. The abolition of the ſlave trade was originally intended to form the baſis of their proceedings in their colonial arrangements; and it cannot be too much lamented that a meaſure ſo truly conſonant with every principle of juſtice and humanity ſhould have been ſo precipitately and injudiciouſly conducted as to produce conſequences fatal to the proſperity and welfare of the colonies. In the debates on this ſubject, M. Barnave, one of the moſt able leaders and ſupporters of the Revolution, who went all lengths with the ruling party, obſerved, "That, unfortunately, the rights of "men could not apply to the Weſt-Indies; that if they endeavoured to make the ap- "plication, they would loſe their colonies, impoveriſh their trading and manufacturing "towns, until the common people, grown deſperate by the diſappointment of their "hopes, would be ready to ſell themſelves to the enemies of the Revolution."—It muſt, indeed be acknowledged, that, conſidered merely as a ſubject of ſtate policy, without any reference to philoſophy, or the milder feelings of humanity, the general declaration of the rights of man, without any diſtinction of country or colour, by a nation poſſeſſing great and extenſive colonies cultivated by ſlaves, and ſtill determined to retain thoſe colonies, under a full intention of reaping all the cuſtomary advantages from them, *without providing any ſubſtitutes for the ſlaves, or any indemnification for their owners, for the loſs ſuſtained by the emancipation of thoſe ſlaves*, muſt ever be deemed a raſh as well as a haſty and improvident meaſure; but neither theſe conſiderations, nor the eloquent admonitions of Barnave, could produce that ſpirit of prudence and circumſpection without which the moſt juſt and upright meaſures are frequently productive of very pernicious effects.

A ſociety had for ſome time ſubſiſted in France, under the title of *L'Ami de Noir*, or the Friends of the Negroes, which owed its origin to the ſocieties formed in England upon the ſame principle, and like them iſſued ſeveral publications in favour of the oppreſſed Africans, which being injudiciouſly circulated in the Weſt-India iſlands, tended to diſſeminate confuſion and diſcontent. The planters had made a complaint to the king, long before the commencement of his troubles, of the dangers to which they were already expoſed, and of the greater to which they were liable, through the proceedings of this ſociety; but they were grievouſly diſappointed upon receiving for anſwer, "That "he was glad to hear there was ſuch a ſociety, and that ſome of his ſubjects had hu- "manity enough to concern themſelves about the fate of the poor negroes;"—an anſwer which ſufficiently teſtified the goodneſs of his heart and the integrity of his mind. His miniſters, however, held very different ſentiments from the king upon this ſubject.

Calonne had decreed conſiderable bounties to encourage and encreaſe the ſlave trade; and Neckar, who has been called the avowed child of ſentiment, philanthropy, and morality, not only continued thoſe bounties, but in a treatiſe, abounding otherwiſe with precepts and ſentiments of the greateſt humanity, laid it down as an incontrovertible axiom—"That the nation which ſets the example of aboliſhing the ſlave trade, will become the dupe of its own generoſity [57]."

The exertions of the friends of the negroes, whether at home or abroad, ſeemed, however, to have loſt all conſideration, and even remembrance, as ſoon as the account of the Revolution at home reached the iſlands, and the doctrines of univerſal liberty and equality were promulgated among the coloniſts. The beautiful iſland of Saint Domingo, the fineſt parts of which were covered with a number of the moſt flouriſhing, rich, and happy colonies, perhaps, in the World, was the firſt, the greateſt, the moſt laſting, and the moſt deplorable victim to the enſuing calamities. Though a contempt of all government and ſubordination ſoon became general among all orders and degrees of men, yet the troops ſeem to have been among the firſt who afforded a practical example of the enjoyment of their new liberty. This was diſplayed by the regiment of Port au Prince, in the murder of their colonel, a brave and diſtinguiſhed officer; who, in open day, was ſlaughtered at the head of his regiment. Single enormities, however ſtriking in themſelves, were ſoon loſt in the general glare of the greater which were to ſucceed. The coloniſts, like the people in France, were divided into two great parties, the royaliſts and the republicans, each of which appeared at different times to predominate; but the great preſſure of domeſtic troubles and dangers excited by the new ſtate of things too immediately affected the planters, to admit of their yet maſſacring each other about the politics of Europe.

For the preſent occaſion called forth and brought into a ſtate of great notoriety, a new race of men, who had hitherto been little known or heard of, at leaſt on this ſide the Atlantic. Theſe were the Mulattoes, a numerous, bold, hardy, and daring race; who, being derived from the promiſcuous intercourſe between white men and negro women, were, by a ſtrange perverſion of language, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of people of colour. The much greater part of theſe were by birth in the condition of freemen, with reſpect to perſon and property, but were ſecluded by law from any ſhare in the civil government, and conſequently from giving their votes in the election of magiſtrates or de-

57 Notwithſtanding the prediction of M. Neckar, we ſincerely hope that England will ſet that example; rather chuſing to belong to a nation, which, by conſecrating the principles of juſtice and humanity, ſhall acquire the appellation of generous dupes, than to be member of a ſtate, which, by encouraging a traffic founded in blood and nouriſhed by oppreſſion, deſerves to be diſtinguiſhed by a denomination far more ſevere and diſgraceful.

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puties. Theſe now inſiſted upon a full participation of all the rights and privileges of free citizens, without any regard to the diſtinctions of birth or colour, which, they ſaid, had been formed in the days of deſpotiſm, darkneſs, and ignorance. In this claim, which, according to ſome, they ſupported with moderation and temper, but, according to others, with arrogance and intemperance, they were ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the Whites.

Both parties ſent deputies to the National Aſſembly; jarring, contradictory, and inexplicit decrees, were ſent out: ſome of them were ſaid not to be underſtood, ſome impracticable, and others would not be obeyed. The Colonial aſſembly was ſuſpected by the National of aiming at independency; and it was ſaid, that the planters talked publickly of calling in the Engliſh, and ſurrendering the iſland to them. Some of the decrees were underſtood by the Mulattoes to confer rights on them which the Whites would not allow them to poſſeſs, and which the others prepared to wreſt from them by force; and, until this attempt was made, the animoſity and mutual abhorrence of the parties was encreaſed to a degree ſeldom equalled. In proceſs of time, commiſſioners were repeatedly ſent from France; but theſe carrying out with them the violent political prejudices which they had imbibed at home, and being generally devoid of principle, if not of abilities, inſtead of attempting to heal differences, they, upon their arrival, depending upon the chances, which length of time, diſtance, and the uncertain ſtate of government in the mother country, might produce in their favour, only endeavoured to procure immediate power and conſequence, by placing themſelves at the head of ſome of the contending factions; and thus ruſhing, at once, as principals, into all the rage and fury of civil diſcord, increaſed, to its utmoſt pitch, that confuſion and miſchief which they were intended to remedy.

It would far exceed the bounds of a general hiſtory to give even a brief narrative of the troubles which enſued in the French iſlands; of the continual diſputes which aroſe, and the ſhort intermiſſions of ſeeming conciliation which took place between the Whites and the Mulattoes; the maſters and their ſlaves; the governors and the colonial aſſemblies, and between the National Aſſembly at home and the two laſt: without taking into the account the political factions which raged, and increaſed the general confuſion and fury; while every arrival from France was pregnant with new ſources of diſcord. In Saint Domingo alone, three different colonial aſſemblies were choſen in three different parts of the iſland, who, all ſitting at the ſame time, were only diſtinguiſhed by their endleſs contention.

While the colonies were thus commencing, or already in the courſe of their diſaſtrous career, and plots, conſpiracies, and inſurrections, were the conſtant topics of diſcourſe at home, the ſtate of the army, which had in a great meaſure thrown off all ſubordination

ſubordination and diſcipline, was a ſource of much uneaſineſs to the National Aſſembly. The troops had been guilty of great outrages in different parts of the kingdom; but tumult and outrage were things now ſo common, that theſe might have paſſed without much notice, if it had not been for the uncertainty from what ſpirit they proceeded, and of the political ſentiments which operated on the ſoldiers. Proper means were uſed to ſound the principles both of officers and private men, and the reſult of the enquiry was ſaid to be, that the former were very generally ariſtocrates, that is, true to their oaths and the principles of monarchy; but that the ſoldiers were ſo generally well diſpoſed to the Revolution, to which they conceived themſelves indebted for an augmentation of pay, and an exemption from thoſe reſtraints which conſtitute the ſoul of military diſcipline, and might without much difficulty be firmly ſecured to it. This object being accordingly attained with eaſe, the army became, like the nation, divided into two great parties. But the means they uſed for gaining or ſecuring the ſoldiers, however neceſſary it might have been on the preſent occaſion, had the ill effect of deſtroying all remains of ſubordination in the army; the ſoldiers, ſwelling with the importance which they found they poſſeſſed, and thereby ſecure of ſupport and protection in all caſes, now added contempt and party animoſity to that diſlike, ariſing only from averſion from command, which they had before entertained for their officers. Such an army was little calculated for public defence, or contention with a foreign enemy, however it might, through the very exceſs of its faultineſs, exceed all others in the peculiar ſervice of over-awing and controlling the diſaffected at home; eſpecially in a ſtate of things, where the end was generally allowed to juſtify the means; and acts of violence and outrage were ſeldom enquired into if they were committed on the right ſide of the queſtion, or under the influence, as it was termed, of true patriotiſm.

A change which now took place, or which had rather been gradually growing in the diſpoſition and ſentiments of the people ſince the commencement of the Revolution, however dangerous or fatal it might prove in its future operation or conſequences, afforded, for the preſent, the greateſt ſtrength and ſecurity to the new ſyſtem, which it could poſſibly obtain. This was the violent paſſion for ſovereignty, which eaſily ſuperſeded the weaker deſire of liberty, whoſe poſſeſſion appeared as nothing, when placed in compariſon with the charms of that ſeducing enchantreſs. This paſſion was not confined to any particular order or claſs of men, but ſpread like a contagion through all ranks of the populace in every part of the kingdom, and rendered them as zealous patriots, in the common acceptation of that term at the time, that is, as anxious and as violent ſupporters of the preſent ſyſtem, as the National Aſſembly themſelves.

From the beginning of the troubles, this ſupreme authority had been continually exerciſed without ſcruple or ceremony, not only by thoſe ſmaller or greater communities who carried the appearance of acting in a public capacity, but very generally by mere individuals,

individuals, or by any accidental collection of them, whether brought together in the purſuit of private revenge, or prompted by the general deſire of plunder. In a word, the exerciſe of this uncontrouled authority was holden to be not only the criterion but the eſſence of freedom; and, by degrees, its continual practice had led not only the larger diſtricts, but even ſmaller communities, in a great meaſure to conſider themſelves, and to act, without any formal aſſumption of the name, as diſtinct republics, though connected by ſome ſort of federal union, the nature of which they took no trouble to enquire into. They, however, conſidered the National Aſſembly as a neceſſary legiſlative and executive head, for the purpoſes of preventing diſcord among the numberleſs parts, of conducting the public buſineſs, including the management of the revenue, and of concentrating and directing the public force; while, with all theſe high powers, they held that body to be ultimately ſubject to their general and ſupreme controul. Upon the ſame principle, and under the ſame impreſſion, every active citizen, if not every one at large, now ſtood high in his own eſtimation, as being one of the many millions of joint ſovereigns who ruled a great empire.

This general paſſion for rule in the people, and opinion of its being a right, ſo ſubverſive of all government, and not leſs incompatible with the principles of a republic than a monarchy, having been brought into being and act by circumſtance and occaſion, was nouriſhed and foſtered, not only by the new doctrines promulgated by the National Aſſembly, but, perhaps, ſtill more by the new and ſtrange language which it became faſhionable to uſe in that body; the majeſty of the people, their ſupreme authority, their uncontroulable power, to which all things muſt bend, and even the principles of law, juſtice, and right give way, being the uſual flowers of ſpeech which adorned every harangue, that pretended to any merit, or aſpired to any praiſe. The effect of ſuch language continually reſounding in the ears of a people already maddened by the very doctrines which it conveyed and confirmed, may be much more eaſily imagined than expreſſed. In fact, popularity being the idol to which the writers and orators, not only of the Aſſembly, but throughout the kingdom, paid their conſtant and moſt fervent devotion, all their writings, and all their ſpeeches, were directed to flatter the populace, and conſequently tended to cheriſh and increaſe this dangerous phrenzy.

As the deſire of ruſe and ſovereignty is inherent in the human breaſt, and among the ſtrongeſt of all the paſſions that infeſt it, it cannot be wondered at, that the petty but numerous poſſeſſors of new and unexpected power, ſhould determine, at all events, to preſerve ſo invaluable a treaſure, and ſhould tremble at every apprehenſion of its loſs. This coaleſced the apparent bulk of the nation, or at leaſt the acting part of it, to a man, in one common intereſt and bond of union, which, however fragile all other ties might prove, carried in its nature the appearance of indiſſolubility, and the cauſes which produced it could never ceaſe to operate. The moſt uninformed of thoſe, who were thus ſuddenly

ſuddenly curſt, or, as they deemed it, *bleſt*, with the poſſeſſion of power, could ſcarcely avoid perceiving, that no other ſyſtem of government upon earth than the preſent, could or would have endued them with ſuch an authority; and every man accordingly found himſelf immediately bound, by the moſt captivating and irreſiſtible motives, to ſupport and defend, at all riſques, and in defiance of all perils, that ſtate of things which procured him ſuch unſpeakable happineſs.

The real or pretended plots and conſpiracies, as well as the foreign dangers which were unceaſingly holden out, along with the real, vague, and futile induſtry of the reſtleſs and ruined royaliſts, who were eagerly graſping at every ſhadow, which ſeemed to indicate, in the weakeſt degree, the moſt deluſive hopes of recovering their rights, excited the greateſt poſſible alarm among thoſe people, who were now in poſſeſſion of all the ſmaller diviſion of power and authority, and who determined to maintain what they poſſeſſed. The province of Brittany was the firſt that ſet the example of aſſociating, arming, and forming large bodies of men, in military array, with an aſſumption of government and appearance of armies, for the defence of the new conſtitution againſt all its enemies, foreign or domeſtic. This example was ſpeedily followed by its neighbours, particularly the provinces on the Southern ſide, and in a little time became general throughout the kingdom.

Thus was produced that extraordinary diſplay of the might and greatneſs of France, the glories of which even Rabaud, with all his eloquence, his redundancy of expreſſions, and his almoſt inexhauſtible ſtock of new-coined words, drawn from the Revolution-mint, ſeems at ſome loſs to deſcribe in terms ſufficiently ſplendid;—although he tells us, "That the earth ſeemed to bring forth armies;" that "nothing was to be ſeen "any where but battalions of citizens, who, aſſembled in thouſands, were ſwearing to "live free, or to periſh: the clang of arms, the military muſic, the banners floating in "the wind, the delightful ſentiments of brotherhood, which bound ſo great a multitude "to one and the ſame cauſe, all awakened in their hearts the enthuſiaſm of liberty;" and that "France beheld four millions of men in arms upon her plains; millions, con"ſcious of their ſtrength, and well acquainted with their rights[58]."

And yet, notwithſtanding this terrific muſter-roll, which ſeemed to hold out defiance to the united force of mankind, there are the ſtrongeſt grounds for believing that the number of the diſaffected throughout the kingdom was at leaſt equal to that of the ſupporters of the new ſyſtem; ſo that the ſuppoſed four millions of men in arms muſt have been a groſs exaggeration, as the general population muſt otherwiſe have far exceeded any rational eſtimate that ever was or could be made of it; without obſerving, what has

[58] Rabaud's Hiſtory of the Revolution, p. 148.

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ſince evidently appeared, that the kingdom did not poſſeſs arms ſufficient for one fourth of the number aſſigned. For beſides the two great bodies of the nobility and clergy, whoſe diſcontent was avowed, all the late parliaments and magiſtrates throughout the kingdom, with all the retainers and harbingers of law and juſtice, in all their various degrees, (whoſe members in France were ſo prodigious, that a true eſtimate of them, if it could be made, would appear incredible) were to a man, excepting between one or two hundred country lawyers, who ſat in the National Aſſembly, totally adverſe and hoſtile to the new government. This body was deemed ſo formidable, that Rabaud ſeems to conſider the men of the law—the appellation by which he claſſed them in the groſs—among the moſt dangerous enemies of the new conſtitution. To theſe were to be added the working manufacturers throughout the kingdom, whoſe number was very conſiderable, and whoſe diſtreſſes were now great and general; nor, perhaps, was the number of laborious poor in the provinces much leſs, whoſe families could ſcarcely have exiſted in any manner, but for the foſtering benevolence and bounty of their lords, who were now either ruined or abſent; and of the clergy, who were in a ſtill worſe ſtate. To all theſe might be added an immenſe number of others, under various deſcriptions, whoſe loſſes or diſappointments had rendered them unhappy, and conſequently diſſatisfied with the preſent ſtate of affairs.

The unexpected diſpute between Spain and England, on the Nootka-Sound buſineſs, which was a matter of ſurprize, as well from its ſuddenneſs as the inſignificance of the cauſe, to all Europe, interrupted, in ſome degree, the proceedings of the National Aſſembly in the regulation of domeſtic affairs and government. The court of Madrid having, upon this occaſion, claimed the aſſiſtance which France was bound by the Family Compact to afford, in caſe of a war, the king ſent a meſſage to the Aſſembly, on the thirteenth of May, informing them of the diſpute, the claim, and of the great naval preparations made by the Engliſh; at the ſame time requiring their aſſiſtance, for the equipment of a fleet of fourteen ſail of the line, to be in readineſs to aſſiſt in fulfilling the engagements that mutually ſubſiſted between the two nations. Though the anſwer to this meſſage was civil enough, but guarded againſt at all entering into the ſubject, it immediately gave riſe to a very intereſting debate on a moſt important ſubject:—this was the grand queſtion. In whoſe hands ought the power of making peace and war to be lodged?—The debate was ſupported with great warmth for ſeveral days; the democratic party inſiſting, of courſe, that the power in queſtion ought to be veſted in the Aſſembly, while their opponents maintained the neceſſity of ſuffering it to continue where it had remained ſince the firſt foundation of the monarchy.—One of the latter gave a great turn to the debate, by telling the Aſſembly, "That if they took this power to themſelves, a battle would ſoon be fought in the middle of their hall between Spaniſh piaſtres and Engliſh guineas."—This ſtroke had great effect, and contributed to a kind of compromiſe between the parties; which at length, on the ſecond of May, produced a decree, by which it was determined, That the right of making peace and war was veſted in the

nation:—That war ſhould not be reſolved upon, but by a decree of the National Aſſembly, which decree ſhould be made on the explicit notification of the king, and be afterwards ſanctioned by his majeſty:—That the care of guarding the kingdom from external attacks, of maintaining its rights and poſſeſſions, was delegated to the king, by the conſtitution; to him alſo were entruſted the maintenance of political connections abroad, the conduct of negociations, the appointment of ambaſſadors, the power of raiſing armaments and making preparations for war, in proportion to thoſe made by neighbouring ſtates; the power of diſtributing the ſea and land forces, as he might judge proper, and of directing their operations in time of war:—That, in caſe of hoſtility impending or actually begun, an ally to ſupport, or a right to preſerve by force of arms, the king ſhould be bound to give notification thereof, without delay, to the legiſlative body, and to make known the cauſes and motives thereof; and, if the legiſlative body were not ſitting at the time, it ſhould immediately aſſemble:—That every declaration of war ſhould be made by the king of the French, and in the name of the nation.

There were ſome other clauſes included in the decree, one, indeed, of great importance, which, in the name of the French nation, renounced for ever all conqueſts, and conſequently all wars leading to that object. If this excellent reſolution had been adhered to, it would have produced a moſt happy effect, through the favourable impreſſion which it would have made upon the ſentiments of mankind, and particularly on the neighbouring ſtates, with reſpect to the wiſdom, moderation, juſtice, and peaceable diſpoſition which predominated in the new government; which all Europe would then find itſelf intereſted in ſupporting, and which the moſt remote nations could not avoid regarding with reſpect and admiration.

In ſupport of the decree by which the right of making peace and war was taken from the executive power, and veſted in the legiſlative body, it was obſerved, that to involve nations in war without their conſent, by the exerciſe of prerogative, was one of the greateſt abſurdities that the annals of deſpotiſm could exhibit; that the generality of wars were produced by the reſentment of an individual, the caprice of a king, or the influence of a miniſter; that where a war was to be ſupported by the lives and property of the people, it was equally conſiſtent with juſtice, reaſon, and humanity, that the people ſhould alone be allowed to judge when it was proper and neceſſary to commence hoſtilities; that the adoption of a contrary ſyſtem would encourage tyranny and ſanction injuſtice; and, finally, that a reference to the hiſtory of the different wars that have been waged in all monarchies, ancient and modern, would demonſtrate the truth of theſe aſſertions, and conſequently eſtabliſh the wiſdom of the decree.

On the other hand, that the right of making war ſhould excluſively veſt in the executive power had, till this period, been allowed by all; our own philoſopher, Locke, in his

his treatiſe on governments [69], has clearly demonſtrated the wiſdom of this right; and whoever maturely reflects on the fundamental principles of monarchical ſtates, muſt acknowledge, that it is eſſential to their welfare, if not to their exiſtence. The advocates for this doctrine in France obſerved, that it was the duty of the Aſſembly to be guided by the will of their conſtituents, elſe they could no longer be deemed a *National* Aſſembly; that when their conſtituents declared, in their inſtructions to their different deputies, that the government ſhould continue to be *monarchical*, and *purely monarchical*, they certainly meant that the king ſhould reſerve the right of making peace and war.—But the inſtructions were not confined to ſuch general terms: many of them particularly adverted to the preſent queſtion. Thoſe of the nobility of Arras contained the following paſſage—"The States-General ſhall declare, that *to the king belongs the excluſive right* "*of making peace or war*, and the diſpoſal and diſcipline of the army [70]."—Thoſe from Bas-Vivarais ſaid—"The king, aſſiſted by a council of war, ſhall diſpoſe of the troops, "*at his pleaſure*, for the purpoſe of *external defence* [71]."—The inſtructions from Evreux obſerved—"The plenitude of the executive power comprehends the *right of making* "*peace or war*, and all treaties relative thereto, together with the diſpoſal of the public "forces for the defence of the nation, and the ſupport of the laws [72]."—"Let it be de-"creed by the States-General"—ſaid thoſe from the commons of Rouen [73]—"that in "caſe a war ſhall occur during an adjournment, prorogation, or diſſolution of the "States," (which ſufficiently proves that they did not mean the right of making war ſhould veſt in the States) "the taxes ſhall be raiſed one or two *ſols* in the *livre*, which "augmentation ſhall be denominated the war-tax."—The ſame terms are employed in thoſe of the Third-Eſtate, or commons, of the Cotentin [74].—But the electors of Paris, the very ſeat of democracy, and the very ſource of democratical principles, were ſtill more expreſſive and preciſe, as well with regard to defenſive as to offenſive war. They ſaid—"In caſe of a defenſive war, of invaſion, or hoſtile attacks, the king, as the depo-"ſitory of the executive power, will adopt the moſt deciſive meaſures for the public pro-"tection; and, in this caſe, as in that of *offenſive war declared by the king*, the States-"General ſhall meet again in two months [75]."

If the other inſtructions took no formal notice of this monarchical prerogative, which the kings of France had enjoyed, without interruption, for fourteen centuries, it was becauſe they did not imagine it could become an object of doubt or conteſtation, and it was therefore never diſcuſſed by any of thoſe electors. But ſince the juſtice of the principle was acknowledged by all ſuch as adverted to it, it has been deemed fair to conſider the ſilence of the reſt as an acquieſcence in the determination of their fellow-citizens.

[69] Chap. ii. "Of the legiſlative, executive, and federative power." [70] Arras, Cahiers de la Nobleſſe, p. 7.
[71] Item, Bas-Vivarais, fol. 11. [72] Item, Evreux, p. 6. [73] Cahiers du Tiers-Etat de Rouen, art. 55.
[74] Cahiers du Tiers-Etat du Cotentin, manuſcrits. [75] Cahiers du Tiers-Etat de Paris *extra muros*, p. 24.

The enemies to the decree in queſtion farther obſerved, that the juſtice of this principle was, at firſt, acknowledged by the Aſſembly itſelf, and that at the moment when it declared, that the French government was monarchical—that the ſupreme executive power was placed, excluſively, in the hands of the king—that he had the command of all the ſea and land forces—that the care of watching over the external ſafety of the kingdom, and of maintaining its rights and poſſeſſions, was delegated to him: when it declared this, it in fact decreed, that if the ſafety of the ſtate, or the defence of its rights, ſhould require a declaration of war, it was the king's duty to make that declaration; that if any treaties ſhould be requiſite either for the prevention or termination of a war, it was his place to conclude them; that the army, of which he was the *ſupreme head*, being deſtined to preſerve the kingdom from all external attacks, it was his duty to employ it for that purpoſe the moment it ſhould become neceſſary, and to decide *when* it would be proper to exert the ſupremacy of the executive power, which was entruſted to him, that the ſtate might receive no injury.

Theſe conſequences, it was affirmed, were ſo natural, and ſo intimately connected with the firſt decrees of the Aſſembly, that by ſeparating them they deſtroyed with one hand what they had created with the other. In what—it has been aſked—does the executive power conſiſt, if not in the right of exerting and directing the public ſtrength? Does not war conſiſt in acts of force and violence? and can the legiſlative body have any thing to do with acts of that deſcription? To ſay that it was the king's place to carry on a war, but that the power of deciding whether it ſhould be carried on was veſted in the legiſlative body, was to ſeparate the act from the will, in a caſe where there could be no interval between them, and which required that they ſhould both proceed from the ſame principle. When the nation gave itſelf a chief, when it entruſted him with the diſpoſal of its forces to be employed in its defence, it certainly did not mean that others ſhould have the direction of thoſe forces! It charged him with the care of watching over the public ſafety; it therefore delegated to him every power that was neceſſary to enable him to diſcharge the duty that was impoſed on him; and it would be abſurd to ſuppoſe that when it put arms in his hands, it bound up his will, and fettered his motions.

But ideas thus ſimple were inſufficient to guide the conduct of thoſe, who, finding themſelves, for the firſt time in their lives, entruſted with the power of giving rules to an empire, preferred the moſt abſtract notions, made a point of analyſing every thing, diſſected all the principles that were ſubmitted to their conſideration, and often miſtook the different parts of one undivided *whole* for ſo many diſtinct objects, to each of which they then laboured to aſſign a ſeparate claſs [76]. Thus, in their diſſertations on

[76] De Calonne, p. 174.

the ſubject of war, they deſcribed four different rights; viz.—that of deciding on its propriety—that of preparing for it—that of declaring it—and that of carrying it on;—and theſe rights, according to their ſyſtem, would admit of being divided between the delegated repreſentatives, whoſe province it was only to deliberate, and the ſupreme delegate, who was deſtined to act. But in reality, and according to the cuſtom of all nations, in caſe of hoſtilities, theſe four pretended rights are all conſolidated into one—the war and the declaration of war are confounded together, and even, generally, the former precedes the latter.

The Aſſembly, then, could not eſcape, by means of any metaphyſical ſubtlety or diſtinction whatever, the cenſure they deſerved, for having acted in contradiction to the will of their conſtituents, and to their own principles, when, after acknowledging that France was governed by a monarch inveſted with the plenitude of the executive power, they deprived him of the right of making peace or war.

But independent of theſe objections, the decree itſelf has been attacked as being replete with inconſiſtencies, in its context; and incompatible with the ſafety of the ſtate, in its effects. It has been maintained, that that part of it which delegates to the king the care of guarding the kingdom from external attacks, of maintaining its rights and poſſeſſions, as well as its political connections abroad, and the power of diſtributing the forces, and directing their operations, would lead any one to conclude, that it ſecured to the king his right of making peace and war. For what is meant by *guarding a ſtate from external attacks*, if it does not mean to repel every attack that is made on it, and even to avert any impending danger? How is it poſſible *to maintain the rights and poſſeſſions of a kingdom*, without going to war with whoever threatens or invades them? How is it poſſible *to conduct political negociations* without the ability to foreſee or declare what muſt reſult from their failure or ſucceſs? When they authorized the king *to make preparations for war, and diſtribute the ſea and land forces, as he might judge proper*—did not they urge him to quit the *peaceful* ſtation aſſigned to him, and to enter the liſts of war?—and, when there, would not the diſtinction between the one and the other be reduced to a thread, which might, in an inſtant, be broken, without leaving time for any previous deliberation?

The particular inconvenience of obliging the king to give notice to the legiſlative body, before he could ſupport an ally, or purſue hoſtile meaſures, has been ſucceſsfully expoſed. What a glorious ſtate of ſafety muſt have been that of a vaſt kingdom, by whoſe inſtitution it was decreed, that, *in caſe of hoſtilities impending or actually begun*, the king, before he was at liberty to adopt any means of defence, muſt convene the National Aſſembly, if not ſitting at the time, and quietly wait until its members—diſperſed over an extent of territory of four-and-twenty thouſand ſquare leagues—ſhould

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arrive at the capital! until its orators ſhould have diſplayed their erudite eloquence! and until a legiſlative decree ſhould, finally, after mature deliberation, have been iſſued, well and duly ſanctioned, in order to decide on the propriety of fighting!!!—What potentate would accept, as an ally, that ſhadow of a monarch, who, when the aſſiſtance ſtipulated ſhould, in a caſe the moſt urgent and preſſing, be claimed from him, muſt reply—"The delegates of the nation are diſperſed over every part of it; without them I know "not what I can do, either to aſſiſt you or to defend myſelf: but have patience; it will "not require more than ſix weeks to collect around me a numerous aſſembly of curates, "advocates, phyſicians, men of letters, aſtronomers, men of words, honeſt huſbandmen, "and preſumptuous youths, who all together, without the ſmalleſt knowledge of po-"litical connections, the cognizance whereof is confined to myſelf, will ſoon have de-"termined, at a ſingle ſitting, I hope, unleſs *the previous queſtion* interfere, whether *the* "*rights of man* permit us to go to war or not[77]."

It has been contended, that, ridiculous as this may appear, it is the neceſſary conſequence of the decree; which there is no poſſibility of juſtifying, by alledging that, in caſe of attack, the king ſhould repel force by force, and defend the ſtate from invaſions which either threaten or endanger it; it is, on the contrary, in the very caſe of hoſtilities, impending or begun, that the king is bound to conſult the National Aſſembly; it is on the notification he muſt give to it of thoſe hoſtilities, that the legiſlative body has reſerved to itſelf the power of deciding whether a declaration of war is to take place or not. The fifth and ſixth articles of the decree ſettle this point beyond the poſſibility of a diſpute. The fifth declares—"That upon ſuch notification being made by the king, "if the legiſlative body are of opinion that the commencement of hoſtilities was owing "to any miſconduct of miniſters, or other agents of the executive power, the author of "ſuch aggreſſion ſhall be proſecuted for the crime of LEZE-NATION." Hence it is evident that the decree could have no alluſion to offenſive hoſtilities on the part of the French government; and that thoſe which were ordered to be notified by the king to the Aſſembly, were hoſtilities againſt the kingdom.

But—ſays article the ſixth—"If upon ſuch notification" (of an attack actual or impending) "the legiſlative body ſhall reſolve that war ought not to be declared, the exe-"cutive power ſhall be bound to take the neceſſary meaſures for ſtopping or preventing "all kind of hoſtility." What meaſures can be alluded to? It is clear they are not violent meaſures, ſince they are preſcribed for the purpoſe of avoiding war; they muſt neceſſarily, therefore, be meaſures of non-reſiſtance, meaſures which paſſively tend to reſign to the enemy the object of conteſtation. If, then, the monarch had begun by reſiſting, by defending the poſſeſſion attacked, and by repelling the invaſion, he would have taken up-

[77] De Calonne.

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on himſelf to employ meaſures directly contrary to the deciſion of the Aſſembly; and the miniſters, who would anſwer with their livesfor ſuch conduct, would aſſuredly be very careful how they adviſed him to run the riſk. The oppoſers of the decree, therefore, thought themſelves juſtified in declaring, that, according to the tenor of the decree, the king muſt remain a paſſive ſpectator of hoſtilities, *impending* or *begun* againſt his people, till the Aſſembly ſhould have time to meet, to deliberate, and to decide.

They maintained, that however abſurd this might appear, it was the literal ſenſe, nay the *only* ſenſe in which the decree in queſtion could be taken. Here—ſay they—is another proof of it. The Aſſembly declares, that the nation renounces all ideas of engaging in any war with a view to conqueſt, and will never employ its forces againſt the liberties of any people. Every body underſtood by this declaration, that the nation announced to the world its intention of never more waging an offenſive war;[78] and there is reaſon to believe it was the intention of the Aſſembly to have it received in this light; without which, and if it had only pretended to renounce all ideas of conquering and ſubduing other nations, it would have been a vain and ridiculous boaſt, at a time when France was rather in circumſtances to requeſt that other powers would not take an advantage of her ſituation, than to promiſe that ſhe herſelf would not employ her arms to a bad purpoſe.

Since, then, there was to be no more offenſive war, the right of making war, which the legiſlative body took away from the king and arrogated to itſelf, could only be the right of making *defenſive* war; and if the king might ſtill exert that privilege without the participation of the legiſlative body; if he could employ the forces of the ſtate in defending the frontiers, or in aſſiſting his allies when attacked, before the legiſlative body had decided on the propriety of ſo doing, he would poſſeſs all the right of making war which could now be poſſeſſed in France; conſequently the famous decree would be wholy inſignificant and uſeleſs. To give it any ſignification, it is abſolutely requiſite that its effects ſhould be—agreeable to the terms of the decree—to prevent the executive power from acting, "even in caſe of hoſtilities impending or begun," before the Aſſembly have deliberated on the ſubject. Thus, were an enemy to effect a landing in any part of the kingdom, and the commandant of a neighbouring town were to repel his attack, and drive

[78] However real the diſtinction may be between an offenſive and a defenſive war, there are ſo many means of diſguiſing the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of each, and it is ſo uſual a thing to tranſpoſe them, in an arbitrary manner, in the manifeſtoes of belligerent powers, that what the National Aſſembly here ſays in the name of the French nation may appear to be of no greater conſequence then all thoſe proteſtations of the ſame nature which are invariably employed by powers at war, in order to prove, that it is with extreme regret they have commenced hoſtilities, and merely for the defence of their people. All offenſive war being unjuſt, were a monarch to acknowledge himſelf the aggreſſor, he would thereby load his arms with a varniſh of injuſtice that muſt prove prejudicial to their ſucceſs. For this reaſon, ſuch an acknowledgment is not to be found in any declaration of war, and it is always eaſy to avoid.—DE CALONNE, p. 181.

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him off the coaſt, he would be guilty of a criminal anticipation of the will of the Aſſembly; the miniſter who ſhould direct ſuch a mode of proceeding, and the general and all other agents of the executive power who ſhould aſſiſt in putting it in execution, would become *ſtate criminals*, for having oppoſed force to force, and conſequently for having made war without any previous explanation, without a notification of the motives which led to it, without the ſanction and authority of the legiſlative body.

The Aſſembly was called upon, in caſe it ſhould diſavow theſe conſequences, either to diſavow the decree from whence they evidently reſult, or elſe to explain in what manner the executive power could be at once active and confined; how, with its hands tied by the prohibition to commit any act of hoſtility, without the previous conſent of a deliberative body, it could defend the kingdom at a moment when its frontiers were attacked or threatened; and how miniſters could be rendered reſponſible for the ravages cauſed by an invaſion againſt which they had not immediately employed the military forces, when, by the terms of the new conſtitution, they were not permitted to employ them, even on the moſt urgent occaſions, till after they had explained the neceſſity of ſo doing to the repreſentatives of the nation, and till after thoſe repreſentatives had aſſembled to judge of their motives, and had acknowledged the validity thereof?

The form of declaring war, *in the name of the nation*, has alſo been attacked; in the firſt place it was needleſs, becauſe all mankind muſt know that every king acts in the name of the nation; in the next place it betrayed, on the part of the Aſſembly, a groſs inconſiſtency of language and conduct. They had before applauded the king for declaring that he and the nation were one; and now they diſtinguiſhed the king from the nation, when engaged in combating its enemies. It is evident that this affectation of changing the very *idiom* which univerſally appertains to royalty, was intended to degrade the monarch, not only in the eyes of his ſubjects, whom they wiſhed to wean by degrees from conſidering themſelves as ſuch, but even in the eyes of thoſe foreign powers with whom he might form treaties. Does the abaſement of its chief, then, lead to the exaltation of the nation? What a prepoſterous and miſtaken policy was it, to wiſh that the king, who governed them, might not be equal, even in external dignity, to the other monarchs of Europe! If their philoſophic legiſlators were ignorant of the value of the reſpect and conſideration of empires, they at leaſt ought to have known, what one of their own members told them, "That the royal dignity is to be regarded as a part of the national property"[79]—and by what right did they aſſume the authority of diſpoſſeſſing the nation of that property?

By another article of the decree, it was declared that, during the whole courſe of the war, the legiſlative body ſhould have the power of requiring the executive power to negociate

[79] See Mirabeau's ſpeech, on the 20th of May, 1790.

gociate a peace, and the executive power ſhould be bound to comply with ſuch requeſt. Here, again, the ſame ſingularity of ſtyle and inconſiſtency of matter are obſervable. "There is ſomething"—ſays M. de Calonne[80]—"extremely offenſive, in obſerving, "even in the decrees which are deſtined to form the French conſtitution, an artful, "though ridiculous affectation of rejecting the word KING, and ſubſtituting *executive pow-* "*er* in its place.[81] Here the legiſlative body ſpeaks to the executive power; requires the "executive power to negociate; regulates the conduct of the executive power: there we "have ſeen grenadiers addreſſing complaints to the legiſlative body againſt the executive "power: were not mirth ſuperſeded by indignation, thoſe fantaſtical arrangements—this "modern French frippery of new-fangled ſpeech—would naturally excite a laugh. Is "it then becauſe the title of king commands reſpect, and might again inſpire it by the "effects of habit, that the Aſſembly has ſuch a repugnance to employ it? Yet it ſtill "has recourſe to it on ſome occaſions, as may be remarked in this very decree; but when "the Aſſembly aſſumes an imperative tone, when it preſcribes to the monarch his rule "of action, then, wiſhing, doubtleſs, to avoid the *antitheſis* (as yet too harſh for the "ears of the French) of king and ſubordinate agent, it perſonifies the *executive power*, "and under that name impoſes its obligation on the monarch."

It is true, indeed, that in the article in queſtion, the legiſlative body appears only to reſerve to itſelf the right of *requeſting* the executive power to negociate a peace; but, in the language of the Aſſembly, *requeſt* and *command* were ſynonimous, ſince, in the ſame inſtant, it declared—"the executive power ſhall be *bound* to comply with ſuch requeſt."

The contradiction does not conſiſt merely in the words; it is ſtill more remarkable between the commencement and the concluſion of the decree. It begins by declaring, that, "to the king alone is delegated the care of maintaining political connections "abroad, and of conducting negociations;" and it concludes by giving to the legiſlative body the power of deciding on the proper time for negociating a peace. "But"—exclaimed Mirabeau—"who is to know which is the proper moment for making peace, "except the perſon who holds the thread of all political connections? Will you diſcloſe "—ſaid that orator to the Aſſembly—by a public diſcuſſion, the ſecret motives which lead "you to ſue for peace? Will you, by ſuch means, betray the extent of your ſtrength or "weakneſs? It belongs then to the executive power to fix on the proper time for nego- "ciation, to prepare for it in ſilence, to conduct it with addreſs."

[80] l'Etat de la France, p. 185.

[81] M. Mounier alſo takes notice of this affectation—he tells us that on expreſſing his concern (on the ſixth of October) that the Aſſembly had not gone to the palace, in compliance with the king's requeſt, a member very gravely obſerved to him that, *the legiſlative power ought not to wait upon the executive power*. Le pouvoir légiſlatif ne doit pas aller chez le pouvoir executif. *Faits relatifs a la derniere inſurrection*, p. 16 note.

In oppoſition to theſe ſentiments it was obſerved, that the nation was alone competent to decide on its own intereſts; was alone entitled to diſpoſe of its own blood. It was aſked, Whether it was juſt that a man, deceived by his miniſters, ſhould have it in his power to expoſe a whole nation to the dangers of war;—to doom, from frivolous motives, a hundred thouſand citizens to death, to involve a hundred thouſand families in affliction; and to load his ſubjects with taxes, for the ſupport of his deſtructive expeditions? The right of declaring war is the right of expreſſing the general will, of forming a public reſolution, of deciding on a great national intereſt;—ſuch a right as this, it was contended, could only belong to the repreſentatives of the nation.

Such is the ſubſtance of the moſt powerful arguments that were employed to impreſs a conviction, that it would be equally prejudicial to the national right, and to the national intereſt, to leave the king in poſſeſſion of that eſſential part of the monarchical prerogative which gives the power of making peace and war. It was urged in reply, that the ſame ſophiſms on the queſtion of right, the ſame illuſions on that of intereſt, were here apparent, as had given birth to ſo many other errors. They were ſophiſms on the queſtion of right, ſince they not only inceſſantly confounded the legiſlative body with the nation, and the delegation of the right with the right itſelf, but loſt ſight of this fact—that the king was alſo a repreſentative of the general will; and ſince the conſequences which they drew from this character of repreſentative were as applicable to him as to the legiſlative body; and ſince, as often as any queſtion occurred on the regulation of their reſpective functions, or the determination of their limits, that queſtion was only between the hereditary delegate of the nation, and its *removable* delegates. The national ſovereignty was then the judge, and not a party in the cauſe, and the principle which made all the public reſolutions, the general will, and the intereſts of the community, center in the people, did not operate more in favour of the Aſſembly which exerciſed the legiſlative power, than in favour of the ſupreme chief, who was entruſted with the executive power; but that principle being equally the ſource of both powers, held the balance between them, and if any doubts aroſe on the diſtribution of rights to either, they could only be tried by the ſtandard of general utility.

If the general utility, then—ſay the advocates for monarchy—be conſulted on this queſtion, Whether the right of making peace and war ought to be entruſted to the active power, or to the deliberative power; to the monarch, to whom all the forces are entruſted for the defence of the kingdom, or to the Aſſembly, whoſe duty it is to make laws for ruling it? The deciſion is evident, for it is the ſame thing as aſking whether the exerciſe of that right requires a promptneſs of determination, aſſiſtance in its preparations, ſtrength in its means, and activity in every thing that depends on it—and whether it be proper to delegate ſuch a right to a body incapable, by its nature, of fulfilling the conditions annexed to it?—Means, however, were found to perſuade the people, and, through them

them, the Aſſembly, that the ſtate would be more exempt from danger when its chief ſhould no longer be at liberty to defend it from external attacks, and ſhould no longer be conſidered as its repreſentative with foreign powers.

To ſuperinduce the adoption of this ſtrange opinion, the declamatory orators of the democratic party appealed to the hiſtory of all monarchical governments, and to the cruel uſe which kings have made, in all ages, of the dangerous right of drawing the ſword at their pleaſure. They ſhewed that oceans of blood had been ſhed to gratify the vanity of an ambitious monarch, or the intereſted views of an odious miniſter. They exhibited, in their dreadful repreſentations, the deſtruction of the human race, ſacrificed to the caprice of ſovereigns; not one of the common-place remarks on the horrors of war eſcaped their pencil; and, as if thoſe horrors had been wholly confined to the regions of monarchy, they artfully threw a veil over all that has occurred in other governments, and ſeemed to have deſtroyed all thoſe dark pages of hiſtory which are polluted with the more ſanguinary wars of republics and oligarchies. Were we to give credit to them, we ſhould believe that the wiſh of the multitude is ever the wiſh of reaſon; and that the intoxication of enthuſiaſm, the whirlwind of paſſion, the arts of corruption, and the blindneſs of precipitation, have leſs acceſs to an Aſſembly of eight hundred members, than to a council of ſeven or eight [82].

Theſe are what were termed illuſions. They proved, however, inadequate to ſeduce ſuch as were ſaid to underſtand and adhere to the eſſential principles of a good government. Many of thoſe members of the Aſſembly who were moſt diſtinguiſhed for ſolidity of ſenſe, juſtneſs of ſentiment, and ſplendor of eloquence, victoriouſly refuted, both the ſophiſms on the right of making war, and the declamations on the pretended utility of deſpoiling the king of that material part of his prerogative.

"Since this right"—ſaid M. de Clermont Tonnerre—"muſt be entruſted to ſome "one, is it not better to confide it, under the clauſe of reſponſibility, to a few perſons "who are bound by anterior laws, than to a great number of men who are reſtrained by "no laws, who are checked by no reſponſibility? Will it be more prudent to confide it, "unconditionally, to thoſe who will make an arbitrary uſe of it, than to confide it, un"der ſtrict and ſpecific conditions, to ſuch as will be reſponſible for the exerciſe of it?" —The deciſion of this queſtion is to be found in the annals of every nation, and M. de Clermont was well-juſtified in quoting the political acts of violence and injuſtice exerciſed by the Roman ſenate; the calamities experienced by all thoſe powers who have veſted the right of making peace and war in an Aſſembly whoſe deliberations are public;

[82] De Calonne.

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the people of Athens, led away by the mercenary orators of Philip [83], in ſpite of the remonſtrances of Demoſthenes; the influence of intrigues or of foreign interference in the Diets of Poland, and the ſenate of Sweden.

If the right of making war be veſted in the king—ſaid the abbé de Monteſquiou—before he attempts to exerciſe it, he muſt neceſſarily reflect on all the evils produced by war, and on the maledictions which he is about to incur. If, on the contrary, that right be confided to the National Aſſembly, nothing will be more eaſy to it than to engage in a war without incurring any part of that odium, which is generally annexed to ſuch a meaſure. In ſupport of this obſervation, the abbé remarked, that William the Third, in England, where he had the excluſive right of making war, conſulted the parliament before he engaged in it; while he did not ſcruple to omit all ſimilar forms in Holland, where the right was veſted in a repreſentative aſſembly, which he had reduced to ſubmiſſion.

The abbé Maury demonſtrated, by arguments apparently irreſiſtible, that France would no longer be a monarchy, but would become *a monſtrous government, for which no name could be found*, ſhould they preſume to deſpoil the king of a right inherent in his crown, for the long ſpace of fourteen centuries—a right, of which to deprive him, would be to rob him of the moſt eſſential prerogative of the executive power—a right which the Aſſembly was not authorized to conteſt, ſince although it was ordered by the nation to enforce the acknowledgment of the ancient conſtitutional rights of the French, it had not received full power to change and overturn, at its pleaſure, the form of government! Let them quote, ſaid, the abbé, from *the hiſtory of the whole world*, one ſingle ſtate, truly monarchical, in which the ſovereign does not exerciſe, without diſpute or participation, the right of making war and peace. The Engliſh themſelves, at the Revolution of 1688, when the throne was declared vacant, and when they had the power of impoſing ſuch reſtrictions as they might think proper on their new monarch, never dreamed of limiting the right of making war, and of concluding ſuch treaties of alliance or commerce as he might deem advantageous to the nation.

This eloquent eccleſiaſtic then entering on a luminous diſcuſſion of all the epochs of the monarchy, endeavoured to diſpel the doubts which had been artfully raiſed by the oppoſite party, on the legal title of the French monarchs to the uninterrupted poſſeſſion of that ancient right which was now the ſubject of diſpute. Only one ſolitary fact had been oppoſed to it; and his manner of refuting that part of the arguments of his adverſaries is ſufficiently remarkable to juſtify hiſtorical notice.

[83] The inhabitants of *Paris* had been too often led away by the mercenary orators of *Philip!*

" It is with concern"—ſaid he—" that I find myſelf conſtrained, by the neceſſity of a " juſt defence, to fix your attention on a diſaſtrous epoch, which every true Frenchman " muſt wiſh to efface from our annals. I allude to the year 1356, when the States- " General were aſſembled, immediately after the ignominious defeat of Maupertuis, " near Poitiers. That National Aſſembly, or rather that grand conſpiracy, directed by " Stephen Marcel, provoſt of Paris, undertook to forbid the dauphin, then regent of the " kingdom, to exerciſe the right of making peace and war. You recollect, gentlemen, " the deplorable ſtate into which our unhappy country was plunged at this calamitous " period. The popular plunderer, Marcel, ſeized the produce of the taxes; cauſed the " king's moſt faithful ſervants to be maſſacred in his very palace; and deceived the " people by promulgating the moſt ſeditious maxims; the nobility were aſſaſſinated in " every part of the kingdom; the ſeats of the wealthy were reduced to aſhes; to be " rich was, in ſome meaſure, to be guilty of a capital crime; and property the moſt ſa- " cred was openly invaded. All thoſe magiſtrates, who were royaliſts, were depoſed. " The conſpirators, wiſhing to eſtabliſh a royal democracy in France, had uſurped all " the powers of the king. An univerſal defection took place throughout the army. " That part of the inſurgents which was attached to *Charles the Bad*, propoſed to raiſe " to the throne a prince of a collateral branch; a prince, too, who was convicted of " having formed the moſt abominable plots for the total annihilation of the royal fami- " ly[84]. This multitude of conſpirators was diſtinguiſhed by a ſtandard of revolt, that " was publickly diſplayed. The provoſt of Paris had delivered up the gate of Saint " Anthony to the Engliſh and Navarreſe. King John was, at that time, a captive in " London: the regent was a minor. It was under theſe unhappy circumſtances that " the guilty States, profiting by the captivity of the monarch, and the minority of the " regent, diſputed the king's right of making war and peace. But the French nation " was no ſooner reſtored to itſelf, than it repulſed and exterminated, as enemies to the " ſtate, thoſe daring madmen, who had ſought to ſubſtitute the principles of democracy, " in other words, a general inſurrection, for the ancient government of the kingdom. " The States, convened in 1359, formally acknowledged the king's right of making " war, and when they refuſed to ratify the treaty between John and Edward, the only " motive they alledged for their refuſal was, that the king was not at liberty when he " ſigned it. Such, gentlemen, is the epoch of horror and carnage, whence our anceſ- " tors ſaw, for the firſt time, thoſe ſtrange ſyſtems ariſe, which are now revived in this " Aſſembly. The compariſon to which they muſt neceſſarily lead, and which we are " compelled to exhibit to our adverſaries, (ſince they have dared to avail themſelves of

[84] Though the abbé Maury ſtrictly confined himſelf to the point of truth in his repreſentation of the times he was delineating, it was ſcarcely poſſible to have exhibited a more ſtriking or faithful picture of the *preſent* times. The features cannot fail to be recognized, though the colouring is too faint.

" an example thus calculated to excite diſguſt) will not, I truſt, prove very favourable to " their deſire of ſecuring the confidence of the nation.

" It is proved, by all the fundamental maxims of the French government, that the " right of declaring war belongs to the king. It is proved, then, that the king will " ceaſe to be king, if this prerogative be taken from him; if he be not the ſole repreſen- " tative of the nation with foreign powers; or, at leaſt, it will, ſurely, be acknowledg- " ed, that ſuch a phantom of a king will no longer be the monarch of the French."

The abbé Maury was equally impreſſive when, quitting the point of right to conſider the intereſt of the nation, he aſked the Aſſembly, how it could be uneaſy about the dele- gation of a right, which it was impoſſible to exerciſe, and *a fortiori* to abuſe, without that aſſiſtance which could only be derived from itſelf? and how it could anſwer for the ſafety of the nation, if, after having given to the legiſlative body the power of impoſing taxes, it ſhould likewiſe confer on it the right of making peace and war—how that body, re- leaſed from all reſponſibility, and expoſed to the aſcendancy of eloquence, the ſeduction of gold, the threats of a deluded people, and, above all, to the firſt emotions of enthuſi- aſtic patriotiſm, unmatured by reflection—could inſpire the nation with as much confi- dence as a citizen-king, whoſe intereſts were inſeparable from the public proſperity?— and how, when this ſtate centinel muſt neceſſarily keep an inceſſant watch over the mo- tions of every power in Europe, aſſemblies, permanent indeed, but deſtined in future to ſit only four months in the year, for the diſcharge of the numerous duties they had im- poſed on themſelves, could preſerve that ſame continuity of vigilance which was neceſ- ſary for obſerving the diſpoſitions, the projects, and the reſources of the different courts; that promptitude of deciſion, without which the firſt of all political advantages, the art of profiting by the moment, could not exiſt; and that neceſſary ſecrecy, without which the deſigns of France, and her preparations, would be continually diſcloſed to other na- tions, who would be ſtudiouſly careful to conceal their own?

The ſame conſiderations were developed by Mirabeau, with all that energy by which his ſpeeches were generally diſtinguiſhed. " Let me aſk you"—ſaid he to his colleagues— " whether we ſhall have any better ſecurity, that no wars but ſuch as are founded in juſ- " tice will be undertaken, if we delegate the exerciſe of the right of making war exclu- " ſively to an aſſembly of ſeven hundred perſons? Have you foreſeen how far the tranſ- " ports of paſſion, how far miſtaken courage, and falſe ideas of dignity, may lead us to the " adoption and juſtification of imprudent meaſures? Caſt your eyes on all political aſ- " ſemblies; you will ſee that they have never declared war but when under the influ- " ence of paſſion. If you give the excluſive right of deciding on the propriety of go- " ing to war to the legiſlative body, will you avoid that ſlowneſs of deliberation, which, " in ſuch caſes, is attended with infinite danger? Have you no dread leſt your national

" force

" force ſhould be *palſied*, as in Poland, Holland, &c. Have you no apprehenſions that " that tardineſs will be augmented, either becauſe *our conſtitution inſenſibly aſſumes the* " *form of a great confederacy*, or becauſe the departments muſt inevitably acquire a con- " ſiderable influence over the legiſlative body? Do you entertain no fears leſt the peo- " ple, being informed that their repreſentatives are to declare war in their name, ſhould " not thereby *contract a dangerous tendency towards a democracy, or, rather, towards an* " *oligarchy?*—leſt the wiſh for war and peace ſhould originate in your provinces, ſhould " ſoon become the ſubject of petitions, and excite, in a vaſt body of men, all the agita- " tion which an object of ſuch importance is capable of exciting? Have you no fears " that the legiſlative body may be induced to paſs the boundaries of its own power, by " the almoſt inevitable conſequences of the exerciſe of the right of making peace and " war? Have you no fears that, in order to promote the ſucceſs of a war voted by itſelf, " it may ſeek to influence its direction, and the choice of generals, eſpecially in caſe of " misfortune, and that it may inſpect every meaſure adopted by the monarch, with an " ever doubting eye of ſuſpicion and jealouſy, that would, in fact, form a ſecond execu- " tive power?

" Again, do you think nothing of the inconvenience of an aſſembly being obliged to " aſſemble at the very time it ſhould be employed in deliberating;—of the uncertain- " ty and heſitation which muſt mark all the meaſures of the executive power, which will " never know the extent of your proviſional orders; of the inconveniences attending a " public diſcuſſion of the motives for making war or peace—a diſcuſſion, of which " all the ſecrets of the ſtate (and long ſhall we have ſuch ſecrets) often compoſe " the very elements?

" Laſtly, do you think nothing of the danger of tranſporting *republican* forms into a " government at once repreſentative and monarchical? Let me entreat you to reflect on " this danger, for your own ſakes, for the ſake of the conſtitution, and for the ſake of " the king[85]!"—It was impoſſible to repreſent with greater force and perſpicuity thoſe motives which neceſſarily led to the concluſion, that the right of making peace and war ſhould remain veſted in the king; and yet that concluſion was neither adopted by the Aſſembly, nor, finally, by Mirabeau himſelf, who, after the decree had paſſed, became the puſillanimous advocate of that very queſtion which he had, at firſt, ſo openly and ſo ably attacked. *Video meliori proboque, deteriora ſequor*, ſhould have been his motto. In-

[85] In conſequence of this ſpeech, Mirabeau, who had the fortune of being ſo often, alternately, the idol, and the averſion, of the mob, became the object of their utmoſt execration and rage. It was immediately reported, either by the democratic party in the Aſſembly, or by thoſe in the galleries, that he had been bribed by the court: and this charge being ſpeedily conveyed to the populace, a pamphlet was within a few hours cried and hawked about the ſtreets, entitled—" *The Great Treachery of Count Mirabeau.*" In this dangerous predicament he ſhewed great boldneſs, and braved the democrates; but ſoon contrived, as uſual, by a change of conduct, to reconcile matters.

deed it might have been applied with almoſt equal propriety to the major part of the Aſſembly, who were over-awed by the mob that collected in the Thuilleries, and by the exclamations of thoſe in the galleries, on the day they paſſed the decree.

Immediately after the publication of this decree, the Aſſembly appointed a committee to examine into and report upon all treaties of alliance exiſting between France and other countries. This enquiry was founded upon a new doctrine at this time holden by many of the moſt violent republicans—that all treaties concluded by kings were in their nature illegal, therefore null, and conſequently ſhould not be binding on the nation.

It appears from the event, that however other treaties were conſidered, it was determined to ſupport the connection and alliances with Spain, even at the hazard of a war, a conſequence, which, in the preſent convulſed and disjointed ſtate of the nation, muſt have been attended with infinite danger. During this interval, the people evinced that hatred of the Engliſh, which, notwithſtanding the occaſional profeſſions of amity and regard, ſtill lurked in their hearts. Violent ſpeeches had been made, both in the Aſſembly and the popular clubs, and violent pamphlets publiſhed, all calculated to agitate and inflame the public mind, by expatiating upon the ambitious views and dangerous deſigns attributed to England. Commercial jealouſy was alſo rouzed, and tended to encreaſe the national enmity. The merchants of the ſouthern provinces, a great, powerful, and numerous order of men, were alarmed by the apprehenſion, that if Spain ſhould be deſerted in this emergency, ſhe would find herſelf under a neceſſity of concluding a treaty with England, which, in its conſequences, might prove highly prejudicial to the intereſts of France. The remonſtrances and influence of the merchants were ſeconded and confirmed by the report of the committee of alliances, which was highly favourable to Spain, and conſequently adverſe to England.

Things were in this train, when M. Montmorin, in the beginning of Auguſt, laid before the National Aſſembly a recent application from the court of Spain for the expected aſſiſtance. The equipment of a powerful fleet, and a defenſive alliance with Spain, were immediately determined upon; the Aſſembly, at the ſame time, deprecating any alliance for offenſive purpoſes; a reſerve which could operate only in words, as the aſſiſtance muſt from its nature prove offenſive. A fleet of above thirty ſail was fitted out at Breſt with the utmoſt poſſible expedition; but the French naval force had, by this time, ſhaken off all ſubordination and diſcipline, with the ſame contempt as the army had done, and the ſeamen were become in all reſpects as diſorderly and licentious as the ſoldiers. They had already gone to ſuch a length as to refuſe to ſerve under any officers but ſuch as they liked; had inſtituted committees to report upon the naval qualifications, and political principles, of their commanders; and had, in ſome inſtances, caſhiered their captains, and choſen new ones; a meaſure deducible from, and fully warranted

ranted by, that part of the new doctrines, which held, that kings were liable to be caſhiered for miſbehaviour like footmen. Theſe mutineers had likewiſe been guilty of great diſorders and exceſſes in the port and town of Breſt; and, it was ſaid, were encouraged and ſupported in all their enormities by the municipality of that place.

M. Albert de Rioms was firſt admiral and commander in chief of this mutinous fleet, a man of good character, deemed an able officer, and fully competent to diſcharge the duties of his command in all ſituations of ſervice that could occur. It was ſaid, and is believed, that whatever the admiral's other qualifications might be, he was ſuſpected of not being ſo thoroughly democratic in his principles as the violent party in the Aſſembly wiſhed him to be. It was likewiſe ſuppoſed, that they wanted to make the diſorders at Breſt a pretence for turning both that admiral and the preſent miniſters out of their offices together; at the latter of whom they had long been carping, without, however, being able to bring any one direct charge to the proof againſt them. Some new penal marine law or code, which had been haſtily voted by the Aſſembly, gave ſuch offence to the ſailors, that a more violent mutiny than any which had yet taken place, ſuddenly broke out at Breſt. When their officers endeavoured to recall them to their duty, by reminding them of the oath of fidelity and obedience which they had taken;—they replied, in the true ſpirit of the Revolution, "We have taken no oath; we are the "ſtrongeſt, and will make the law [86]."

As all buſineſs was now tranſacted by committees, one was immediately appointed to enquire into and report upon the cauſes of theſe diſorders. M. Menon, one of the members, accordingly reported, that both the ſailors and the municipality were deſerving not only of cenſure but of puniſhment; but he, at the ſame time, repreſented, that the general diſlike to, and want of confidence in, the miniſtry, was the latent cauſe of all the riots, mutinies, and diſorders in the kingdom. A motion was immediately made for accuſing the miniſters, but, though it occaſioned a violent debate, it was moſt unexpectedly loſt; a diſappointment which excited the moſt violent rage in the democratic party. M. Cazales diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an excellent ſpeech which he made, on this occaſion, tending to demonſtrate the impolicy of influencing the will of the monarch in the choice of miniſters. He inſiſted, that the interference of the legiſlative body in ſuch a point was repugnant to the principles of the conſtitution, and tended to deſtroy that diviſion of powers on which the ſafety of nations depended. He enforced and confirmed his doctrine by quotations from the Engliſh hiſtory, taken from the reign of the two Charleſes and the third William. He concluded thus:

"I muſt now obſerve to the National Aſſembly, that the miniſters whom they now "attack were pointed out by themſelves to the king, and that many of them were

[86] Hiſtoire de la Revolution de 1789, tom. vi. p. 168.

"choſen

" choſen from among their own members: every vague accuſation is the invention of a " tyrant; wherever ſuch are countenanced, the ſtate—to uſe the expreſſion of Monteſ. " quieu—muſt be deſtitute of freedom.

" It is already reported, that a project is formed for taking from the royal authority " what little efficacy it is ſtill ſuffered to retain; ſuch a project is, doubtleſs, far from " being the wiſh of the Aſſembly; but if they ſhould be brought to adopt it, the true " friends of the monarchy would then have nothing more to do than to crowd around " the throne, and bury themſelves beneath its ruins."

Upon the re-conſideration of the report, on the following day, the ſame reporter, who had before acknowledged, that both the ſailors and the municipality had been guilty of crimes deſerving of puniſhment, had the effrontery to tell the Aſſembly, that ſince they would not puniſh the real authors of the miſchief, they ought not to puniſh men, who had only erred *through an exceſs of patriotiſm*. This ſtrange doctrine was adopted as ſoon as delivered; and, in defiance of all regard to military order, ſubordination, and diſcipline. The mutinous ſailors were only mildly exhorted to return to their duty; ſomething like an apology was made to them for the new penal articles, by promiſing to re-conſider them; at the ſame time, that they were flattered, by being preſented with a new ſtriped flag, which was to ſuperſede the ancient white military enſign of France. The rage of the democratic party at the defeat which they had experienced on the preceding day, was ſo exceſſive as to become intolerable; and ſome of the oppoſite ſide having expreſſed their diſapprobation at the meaſure propoſed of changing the national flag, this awakened all the ſuppreſſed fury of Mirabeau, who, with his uſual intemperance and violence, cried out —" The ariſtocrates are grown inſolent from their victory of yeſterday; a fortnight ago " they would not have dared, for their own ſafety, to object to this propoſal." Theſe words, being properly reſented, brought forth the immediate reply, " That it was lan- " guage worthy only of a leader of banditti." Thus was inſtantly produced one of thoſe ſcenes of diſorder, noiſe, clamour, and paſſion, which ſo often diſgraced that " *auguſt*" body.

The ſervants or aſſiſtants of the executive government, being now convinced that their official fate was finally determined, did not hold it to be either prudent or wiſe to urge the exertions of power to any farther extremity. Luzerne, the marine miniſter, reſigned, and was replaced by Fleureu; but ſome ſuſpicion or diſlike prevailing againſt him he experienced ſo many mortifications from the Aſſembly, that he was ſoon after glad to reſign, and was ſucceeded by M. Thevenard. M. de la Tour du Pin, the war miniſter, was ſucceeded by M. Duportail, who had the good fortune to pleaſe the Aſſembly, but was loudly reproached by the other ſide, for totally neglecting the diſci- pline of the army, and ſuffering the ſoldiers, already too little diſpoſed to ſubmit to any order or controul, to become entirely independent of all command; at the ſame time

that they began to be the common accuſers of their officers, and conſtituted themſelves judges not only of their actions, but of their principles. M. Duport du Tertre was appointed miniſter of juſtice and the admiral de Rioms; having reſigned, he was ſucceeded in the command of the Breſt fleet by the celebrated navigator, Bougainville.

Though the ſailors at Breſt were pacified, and the preparations carried on with ſuch vigour as to be nearly if not quite concluded, the court of Spain received ſuch terrible accounts of the incorrigible ſpirit of diſorder and mutiny which prevailed in the French fleet, that it is ſaid to have been impreſſed with the greateſt dread of engaging, with ſuch conſorts, in a doubtful war with a moſt formidable enemy; the whole fortune and ſucceſs of which muſt almoſt wholly depend upon the joint and great naval exertions of the united nations. This impreſſion was ſuppoſed and believed to be the principal operative motive with Spain, inducing her ſuddenly to conclude the convention with England, which ſettled the differences between the two nations[87].

During theſe tranſactions the violent republican party found themſelves ſo much increaſed in ſtrength and in number, both within and without the Aſſembly, and believed that the new ſyſtem was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that they did not deem it neceſſary to ſubmit any longer to the reſtraint of obſerving any terms with the nobility, but thought they might venture boldly to bring forward their grand and long-concerted ſcheme for the total extirpation of that body; and even, ſo far as it was poſſible to be done, to eraſe and obliterate the very name, along with all memorials and remembrance of their paſt exiſtence.

It ſhould be obſerved, that many of the moſt eminent of the French nobility, whether with reſpect to family, fortune, character, or influence, (among whom we ſhall mention, as inſtances, the dukes de la Rochefoucault and de Liancourt) although they abhorred ſome of the violent acts of the Aſſembly, were ſtill zealous adherents to the Revolution, ſo far as it correſponded with the principles originally avowed by its advocates and friends; for they were no leſs averſe from regal deſpotiſm than the democrates themſelves, but they deteſted republicaniſm even more than deſpotiſm, as the greater evil of the two. Their object was a rational, moderate, limited monarchy, whoſe powers ſhould be preciſely defined, which, with full ſecurity to the perſons and property of the people, with all the liberty that was compatible with good government, ſhould, at the ſame time,

[87] While this buſineſs was pending, M. Dupont, a member of the National Aſſembly, publiſhed a pamphlet, entitled, "Conſiderations on the Politics of France, Spain, and England," in which he inſiſted, that the court of France ſhould ſummon that of England to diſarm immediately, and that the *Engliſh nation* ſhould be informed, that if ſhe refuſed to comply, the French nation "ſwore, upon her honour, that ſhe would inſtantly repair to London, in order to enforce a compliance with her propoſals." "The anſwer"—ſaid he—"muſt be prompt, for either England muſt begin to diſarm in a week, or hoſtilities muſt commence in a month!"

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have its own rights as firmly ſecured, and as well guarded, as theirs. It will be eaſily perceived, from a recollection of paſt circumſtances, that had it not been for the ſupport and influence of ſuch men as theſe, in different ſeaſons of great difficulty, the buſineſs of the Revolution could ſcarcely, if at all, have been accompliſhed. But they were now no longer deemed neceſſary, and they experienced, as well as the clergy, to their grief and coſt, that from the beginning they had been made inſtruments and tools to the deſigns of that faction, which they abhorred and deteſted beyond all others.

This occaſion renders it neceſſary to notice a ſtrange character, which, except in the account of ſo ſingular a Revolution as that of France, could ſcarcely have found means to attract the obſervation of an hiſtorian.—This man was a diſcontented Pruſſian, who had aſſumed the ſtrange name of Anacharſis Clootz, and who wanted to communicate the knowledge of that liberty to the French, which he dared not to talk about at home. Though the obſcurity in which he was involved was highly unfavourable to his exertions, yet, having received ſo much education in Germany as ſufficed to exalt his natural extravagance to its utmoſt pitch, his ſelf-confidence would not allow him to miſs any opportunity of exhibiting his talents to the public. As declamatory philoſophy, and the negative quality of infidelity, were the points in which he ſuppoſed himſelf principally to excel, he conceived, and not without ſome rational grounds, that Paris was the place for diſplaying to advantage his abilities and endowments: but whether it was that the people thought they had orators and philoſophers enough of their own, and that infidelity was too common to bear any value, or that the bombaſt with which his eloquence was loaded was incomprehenſible even to the Pariſians, ſo it was, that all his exertions were unable to puſh him forward into any degree of particular notice.

The modern Anacharſis, thus foiled in his hopes, that eloquence and philoſophy would have opened the way to fame and fortune, ſhrewdly conceived, that extravagance might poſſibly ſucceed where they failed. Having procured a number of thoſe vagabonds who filled and infeſted the ſtreets of Paris, and hired all the ancient, foreign, and groteſque dreſſes, which the opera and play-houſes could ſupply, in order to diſguiſe them, he maſqueraded at the head of this motley crew to the National Aſſembly, where he introduced them as ambaſſadors arrived from all or moſt of the nations of the globe, being the virtual ambaſſadors of all thoſe enſlaved nations who wiſhed to be free, and were therefore diſpoſed to enter into fraternity with France, for the glorious purpoſe of eſtabliſhing liberty throughout the world. The orator, in order to give a full diſplay to his talents, delivered a ſpeech, in the name of his dumb gang of ambaſſadors, which for abſurdity and bombaſt equalled any thing that ever was, or can be, ſpoken. In this he repreſented the ambaſſadors of all exiſting governments, as being themſelves ſlaves, the repreſentatives of tyrants, and therefore unfitting to be received in the honourable public character which they aſſumed: that thoſe citizens by whom he was accompanied were the real repreſenta-

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tives and ambaſſadors of mankind, and had conſtituted him, in their name, to demand places for them, ſuitable to their rank and character, at the enſuing grand confederation of the nation.

So bare-faced, ſo impudent, ſo ridiculous a farce, was never before exhibited, in the preſence of any public aſſembly, or, indeed, of any collection of men ſuppoſed to be in poſſeſſion of their rational faculties[87]. To heighten, if that were poſſible, the ridiculouſneſs of the ſcene, it was affirmed, that ſeveral of the Aſiatic ambaſſadors, ſtripped of their hired robes and plumes, were ſeen at the doors of the Aſſembly, in their proper garb and character, humbly ſoliciting the payment of their wages:—a trifling matter, which, it would ſeem, the ſublime ideas of their orator had rendered him inattentive to[88].

It ſeems, however, probable, if we may be allowed to judge from the immediate conſequences, that this exhibition was not to be entirely aſcribed to the extravagance or inſanity of Clootz; but was calculated to anſwer a moſt ſerious and important purpoſe. But to underſtand this, it may be neceſſary to obſerve, that, from the bad, and too often ſhameful, effects, which the copious libations to Bacchus, during the hour of dinner, had frequently produced on the debates of the Aſſembly, it had long become a ſtanding rule, though without any particular order for it, that no buſineſs of moment ſhould be brought forward at the evening ſittings. On this account, they were generally very thinly attended, moſt of the members gladly ſeizing the opportunity of indulging theſe purſuits of private buſineſs or pleaſure, from which they had been with-holden by the morning ſitting. The exhibition we have deſcribed was preſented at an evening ſitting, (on the nineteenth of June); when the houſe was not, indeed, ſo thin as uſual, but, however it happened, ſo it was, that the moſt violent of the democratic leaders, and that party in general, were thoſe who principally attended.

When the mock ambaſſadors had acted their part, and were withdrawn, it ſeemed as if the Aſſembly thought it neceſſary to act theirs likewiſe. As if they had believed the mockery which they had juſt beheld to be a reality, and that the ambaſſadors of all man-

[87] We might naturally have ſuppoſed that no writer, in poſſeſſion of his rational faculties, could have received this abſurd farce as a ſerious repreſentation, and have conſidered the motley followers of Clootz as the real characters which their leader ſtated them to be, had we not met with the following paſſage in the Engliſh "Hiſtory of the Revolution:"—"*The patriotic feelings of the Aſſembly were raiſed to a high pitch of enthuſiaſm, by a deputation of foreigners from every nation, who came to teſtify their reſpect for the new conſtitution, in a warm panegyric, and to requeſt a ſeat at the enſuing ſolemnity. They were anſwered by the preſident with dignity, and diſmiſſed with reſpect.*" Vol. i. p. 345.—Viſum teneatis?

[88] One of theſe philoſophical mendicants ſtopped M. *de Biancourt*, at the door of the Aſſembly, whom he miſtook for M. *de Liancourt*, and ſaid to him—"I called at your houſe, ſir."—"Why, I do not know you, my friend."—"Why it is I, ſir, you know very well."—"No, friend, I do not."—"I am the man who repreſented the Chaldean, and I am come for my twelve livres."—Journal Politique, &c. tom. iii. p. 68. note.

kind were in fact preſent, and ſupplicating their protection, they were all at once, as if they had felt an electric ſhock, ſtricken with the moſt violent fit of enthuſiaſm for liberty, which it was poſſible to deſcribe or imagine. The firſt effuſion of this paſſion was highly laudable; it was a decree to deſtroy or remove thoſe figures of chained ſlaves, intended to repreſent proſtrate and conquered nations, which ſurround the ſtatue ſo much celebrated, and ſo often condemned and ridiculed, of Lewis the Fourteenth, in the Place des Victoires, and which, but for this decree, might have long continued ſhameful memorials of the inſufferable vanity and arrogance of that monarch.

The ſucceeding effect of this enthuſiaſm was not ſo blameleſs. The reſolution for aboliſhing hereditary nobility for ever was, in this evening's ſitting, introduced, debated in a certain manner, and paſſed into an irrevocable law before their riſing. It was to little purpoſe that the nobility, all the royaliſts, and many others, who were not abſolute republicans, cried out, in the midſt of their diſtreſs or aſtoniſhment, againſt the unfairneſs and diſhoneſty of this proceeding, which they openly aſſerted was carried by ſtratagem and ſurprize. The law was paſſed, and there was no remedy! There was no houſe of lords to check the exorbitance of a houſe of commons; there was no king, with freedom or power to curb the enormities of either, or both; and, to crown the evil, the Aſſembly itſelf was unfortunately not bound by any of the wholeſome and neceſſary regulations which ſo happily prevail in the Engliſh parliament; by which previous notice is given of the introduction of a new law; by which every bill muſt go through a certain number of readings, and a reaſonable time is allowed for due conſideration, before it can be paſſed; and by which, in caſes of moment, a general call of one or both houſes takes place, and all the members are obliged, under penalty, to give their attendance on a day appointed. All theſe forms, ſo neceſſary to cool and wiſe deliberation, all theſe ſalutary checks and eſſential powers of controul, were here wanting.

The decree is thus worded: "The National Aſſembly, conſidering that hereditary "nobility cannot exiſt in *a free ſtate*, enact, in conſequence, that the titles of duke, mar- "quis, baron, excellency, greatneſs, abbé, and the like, ſhall be aboliſhed; and that all "citizens ſhall take in future their family and patronymick names: that no one ſhall, in "future, cauſe liveries to be worn, or take a coat of arms; that the title of my lord "ſhall not be given to any individual or body," &c.

The friends to this ſingular degree proudly entitled it, The Triumph of Reaſon over Prejudice; but we conceive it might, with greater juſtice, have been called the triumph of prejudice over reaſon. Certain it is, that the decree itſelf is founded on a falſhood, evident on the very face of it. By their arrogant and preſumptuous declaration, that hereditary nobility was incompatible with a free ſtate, they virtually maintained, that all Europe, excepting a very few democratic republics, was in a ſtate of ſlavery. When

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men thus ſubſtitute falſhood for reaſon, their cauſe muſt be bad indeed; nor can thoſe be accuſed of injuſtice who ſuſpected the virtue of their motives.—*Is England a land of freedom*, or is it not?—The preſent convention of France, and ſome few dozens of knaves or idiots on this ſide the channel, will probably anſwer in the negative; but *millions* of voices—the organs of knowledge and experience—will give them *the lie direct*. No wonder then, that where the foundation is rotten, the fabric itſelf ſhould moulder on the ſlighteſt touch.

To ſpeak in the terms of a juſtly-celebrated writer of our own nation, whoſe ſolid talents and profound knowledge entitle his ſentiments and deciſions to the higheſt reſpect. —"It is impoſſible that government can be maintained without a due ſubordination of "RANK, that the people may know and diſtinguiſh ſuch as are ſet over them, in order "to yield them their due reſpect and obedience; and alſo that the officers themſelves, "being encouraged by emulation and the hopes of ſuperiority, may better diſcharge "their functions[89]." "But"—ſaid M. de Noailles—"we do not hear men ſpeak of "the marquis of Franklin, the earl of Waſhington, prince Fox, or duke Pitt. Great "men have no need of theſe equivocal dignities which veil inſignificance."—M de Noailles ſeems not to have been aware, that in governments purely republican, where there is no head or chief, properly ſo called, titles can rarely, for obvious reaſons, ſubſiſt. The excluſion, therefore, of Franklin and Waſhington, could not be applied as an argument in favour of the abolition of titles where they had ſubſiſted for centuries, and in a *monarchical* government. He ſeems, likewiſe, to have been equally ignorant of the motives which have hitherto influenced the conduct of our two great political leaders, in the non acceptance of that rank which they have, both of them, had opportunities of procuring for others. He knew not, that there was a neceſſity of keeping an able leader of either party in the lower houſe of parliament, for the purpoſe of ſupporting the meaſures of their friends, and attacking thoſe of their opponents. Take his argument, if it can be called an argument, in another point of view:—if the diſtinguiſhed characters quoted by M. de Noailles, were only mentioned to ſhew that greatneſs can ſubſiſt independent of rank, we muſt regard it, without examining the juſtice and propriety of his *examples*, as a mere *gratis dictum*; an aſſertion which nobody can attempt to confute, or even to deny. But does it follow, becauſe great men do not ſeek rewards, policy requires that they ſhould not be rewarded? and on men of opulence, what reward can be beſtowed but rank and title? Rank and title may, indeed, when *hereditary*, be juſtly denominated *equivocal* dignities; we muſt not, therefore, conclude, that, becauſe they are equivocal, they veil inſignificance. A voyage to this country would have convinced M. de Noailles that no title, however exalted, can ſhelter its poſſeſſor from any portion of that indignation or contempt which his conduct may be calculated to excite, and would have

[89] Blackſtone's Commentaries.

" from fortune, education, emulation, and induſtry; the gradation of talents and learn-
" ing; all theſe diſparities, the common produce of ſocial exertions, inevitably cauſe an
" exterior inequality; and the ſole object of a legiſlator is, in imitation of nature, to
" unite them all towards an equal and general good, though it may differ in its form, or
" in its expreſſions. In the vaſt extent of ſocial combinations, each part joins to the
" other, and forms a link of the great chain of ſociety: thoſe appearances of ſuperiority,
" which ſeem an abuſe to the firſt glance of a philoſopher, are often eſſentially uſeful
" as protectors of the different laws of ſubordination; of thoſe laws, ſo neceſſary to be
" defended, and which would be expoſed to ſuch varied attacks, if cuſtom and opinion
" ever ceaſed to ſupport them."

That truly philoſophical writer, who, in diſcuſſing the principles of government, has diſplayed the moſt extenſive knowledge and ſagacity;—that writer, on whom has been conferred the moſt glorious title that a ſage can deſerve—THE LEGISLATOR OF NATIONS[92]—Monteſquieu, in his Spirit of Laws[93], obſerves—" That a monarchical go-
" vernment implies pre-eminence of rank, and even an original nobility; that the in-
" termediate powers conſtitute the nature of this government; that the nobility form
" the moſt natural intermediate power; that they are, in a certain degree, inherent in
" the monarchy, the fundamental maxim of which is—*no monarch, no nobility; no nobi-*
" *lity, no monarch*—and, that the abolition of the prerogatives of the nobles, the clergy,
" and the communities, would ſoon lead to the eſtabliſhment of a popular or a deſpotic
" government."—It is almoſt needleſs to obſerve, that when Monteſquieu made this ob-
ſervation, he was not the echo of vulgar prejudices. As a political philoſopher, he had reflected deeply on the conſtitution of governments, and on their ſprings of action; and from thence he concluded that the *nature* of a monarchy requires many intermediate ranks, and that honour is the *principle* which ſets it and keeps it in motion.

On this point too, as in ſo many others, the inſtructions of their conſtituents have been ſucceſsfully quoted in oppoſition to the raſh and inconſiderate meaſures of the repreſentatives. We ſhall not notice thoſe of the clergy and nobility, which it will be eaſily ſuppoſed are ſtrenuous in enforcing an acknowledgment of their conſtitutional rights, as the two firſt orders of the ſtate. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that while they expreſsly ſacrificed every ſpecies of pecuniary privilege, they preſerved all their honorary prerogatives; that, in propoſing, themſelves, a reform in the exceſſive multiplication of thoſe prerogatives, and of all the abuſes introduced in the mode of acquiring them, they wiſhed to render them more reſpectable; and, finally, that, by the unanimous declaration of the neceſſity of aboliſhing all ſuch diſtinctions as were humiliating

[92] See D'Alembert's eulogy on Monteſquieu, in the fifth volume of the French Encyclopedia.
[93] Tom. i. liv. 2. chap. 4.

to the third order, which had been admitted into the States-General, they deſerved, that the pre-eminence due to their birth, and their ſervices, as well as to thoſe of their anceſtors, ſhould have been viewed without pain, and that the Third Eſtate itſelf ſhould have knowledged the juſtice of it.

The people themſelves, indeed, did make that acknowledgement, as may be ſeen by their inſtructions to their repreſentatives. "The formal declaration of the clergy and "nobility"—ſays the inſtructions of the electors of Chateau Thierry—"after having "renounced their pecuniary privileges, aſſures the Third Eſtate that thoſe two orders will "cordially unite. Let the deputies of all the orders, like children of the ſame fami-"ly, ſurrounding their father, expel that fatal ſpirit of fermentations, which, by a rapid "tranſition from threats to inſults, and from inſults to natural violence, has cauſed the "blood of innocent citizens to be ſhed. In order that the nation may be truly and le-"gally repreſented in the States-General, it is neceſſary that the three orders ſhould de-"liberate conjointly, and the ſuffrages be reckoned by numbers and not by orders.[94] "Each order compoſing the States-General may aſſemble ſeparately, under the conduct "of a ſpeaker, choſen by itſelf:[95] but the deliberations ſhall be common to the three "orders:[96] It is to be deſired, that the three orders may unite in their deliberations, "and their ſuffrages to be taken by numbers:[97] Let the three orders, though different "in their rank, be equal in their rights.[98] Let the civil rights of the meaneſt citizen "be equal to thoſe of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the members of the two firſt orders:[99] "Let the juſt prerogative of precedency, granted to the clergy and nobility, be reſpected: "Let the deputies of the Third Eſtate be forbidden to accede to thoſe humiliating diſ-"tinctions which degrade the third order in the ſtates aſſembled at Blois and at Paris."[100]

It is here evident, that the Third Eſtate was far from imagining that the ſuppreſſion of the two firſt orders of the ſtate could ever become an object of diſcuſſion; on the contrary, it is clear, that it always ſuppoſed, they had a *diſtinct* and ſeparate exiſtence; and that its wiſhes were confined to a demand of an equality of civil rights, and an union of the three chambers in all deliberations of the *General* Aſſembly. It was not only for the preſent Aſſembly that the inſtructions of the Third Eſtate propoſed regulations to each of the three orders; their foreſight extended to future time; and they made themſelves certain that the diſtinction of orders would continue to ſubſiſt, ſince it is farther expreſſed in the inſtructions, that a complete and regular conſtitution and organization ſhall be eſtabliſhed for future States-General, ſo that the deputies may be equally, freely, univerſally choſen, and excluſively in their reſpective orders.[z]

[94] Dax, Saint-Sever, and Bayonne, Art. 2. [95] Chalons-ſur-Marne, p. 13. [96] Saumur and Rhodez. [97] Troyes, Art. 2. [98] Saintonge, au Chap. des trois ordres. [99] Foix, p. 21. [100] Haut-Vivarais.
[z] Inſtructions of the Third Eſtate of Paris, *extra-muras*.

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The Third Eſtate had explained itſelf, in a manner ſtill more poſitive, on the neceſſity of preſerving the nobility, as well as on the means to be employed for purifying their ſource, and regulating their rights, in order to remove all prejudices hurtful to commerce, and to the nobles themſelves. Its inſtructions on this point diſplay no leſs wiſdom than unanimity. They ſay, "It ought to be laid down as a fundamental law, that "hereditary nobility ſhould be reſtored to its primitive ſtate—it ſhould not ſuffer de- "gradation from any thing but vice or crimes. Thus the nation will find moſt valua- "able ſubjects in a number of men who are now prejudicial to it, in a hundred different "ways; and the nobles, without loſing any part of their luſtre, will be, more than ever, "entitled to preſerve a noble pride, which only becomes ſuch as, neither founding their "claims to diſtinction on court-favour, nor on court-penſions, find all their reſources "within themſelves.[2]—Nobility ſhould no longer be venal; ſince it is a reward due "only to merit and virtue.[3]—Hereditary nobility ſhould only be granted in very parti- "cular caſes.[4]—Though an imaginary, yet is it an *effective* coin; it is the treaſure of "honour—an inexhauſtible treaſure, if diſtributed with prudence. The States-General "will render a great ſervice to the people and to poſterity, if they will find the means of "re-coining, in ſome degree, this national money, and give it a ſufficient value to ſerve "a ſubſtitute (as it formerly did, and may do again) for thoſe vile and ſhameful ſalaries, "which have a pecuniary ſtamp, and can never be conſidered as the pay of heroiſm, or "the reward of virtue.[5] The ſearch after falſe nobles ſhould be made under the direction "of the Seneſchals;[6] the titles of the nobility ſhould be verified by commiſſioners ap- "pointed by the three orders;[7] the provincial States ſhould make out a liſt of the nobles "in their reſpective diſtricts[8];" &c. &c.

In ſhort, it was evidently the wiſh of the nation, as evinced in the different inſtructions, to preſerve the two firſt orders of the ſtate, aboliſhing only all ſuch diſtinctions as were prejudicial to the general welfare—that is to ſay, that, in future, no diſtinction ſhould be ſuffered to influence a partial diſtribution of taxes; that no citizen ſhould be prevented from aſpiring to, and obtaining, by his merit, every kind of employment, whether eccleſiaſtical, civil, or military; that the different degrees of rank, eſſential to the exiſtence of a monarchy, ſhould be maintained in France; but that all thoſe gothic cuſtoms, which ſeem to raiſe up an eternal barrier between the citizens of the ſame empire, ſhould be aboliſhed; that the dignified eccleſiaſtics, and true nobility, ſhould continue to enjoy all thoſe honorary pre-eminences which belonged to them, but that ſuch pre-eminences ſhould be no longer attached to venal offices; laſtly, that the nobility and clergy ſhould ſend repreſentatives to the National Aſſembly, who ſhould form an in-

[2] Rennes, art. 50. [3] Nantes, art. 38. [4] Troyes, art. 107. [5] Toul, p. 42. [6] Anch. p. 11
[7] Nantes, MSS. [8] Nerac, MSS. art. 9.

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tegral part thereof, but under ſuch a form as ſhould be found moſt conformable to the principles of a good conſtitution, without being in any wiſe prejudicial to the dignity of the commons.

When the Third Eſtate wiſhed to engage the nobility and clergy to unite with them in one chamber, they expreſſed the moſt earneſt deſire of eſtabliſhing a perfect harmony and concord between the three orders; and when their wiſh was accompliſhed, they exulted in *the happineſs of that day which had witneſſed the union of the three orders*; they ſaid, *that day would for ever put an end to thoſe diviſions which had been productive of mutual affliction, and would become celebrated in their annals*[10]. But five months after what a different language did they hold? All diſtinction of orders was aboliſhed. In future there were to be no more repreſentatives of the nobility, no more repreſentatives of the clergy, in the National Aſſembly! They ſeem only to have been invited thither for the purpoſe of being made to concur in pronouncing their own excluſion. It was pretty evident, too, that, as individuals, neither the nobles nor clergy would gain a ſeat among the national repreſentatives; ſince their admiſſion cannot depend on popular aſſemblies formed of *all active citizens, of whatever ſtate or condition, without any diſtinction whatever*; which, conſidering the diſpoſition of the people at that period, amounted to an almoſt abſolute excluſion of the two moſt diſtinguiſhed orders of the ſtate; becauſe, were they to offer themſelves to the primary aſſemblies, there could be little doubt but they would be repulſed with violence.

Thus, then, by an unexampled ſubverſion of ideas, thoſe claſſes of citizens, to whom the greater part of the landed property belonged, and who, conſequently, were the moſt intereſted in all general laws, were to be excluded from the legiſlative body. The great landed proprietors were to remain unrepreſented in an aſſembly in which all the inhabitants of the kingdom were, *profeſſedly*, to be repreſented. The public contributions, which could not be levied without the conſent of thoſe who contributed, would, in this inſtance, be impoſed, without their participation, on men who contributed the moſt! And, after having eſtabliſhed it as a maxim, that the legiſlative power was veſted in the National Aſſembly, on the principle, *that what binds every individual ought to be the expreſſion of the general will*, they ſo contrived, that the more a man poſſeſſed, the leſs part he would have in the formation of thoſe laws, by which his poſſeſſions were to be regulated.

Nor were theſe infant legiſlators more conſiſtent than juſt. What an inconſiſtency was it, after having decreed, that the exerciſe of the liberal profeſſions ſhould not derogate from the dignity of the *nobles*; and that citizens of all ranks and conditions ſhould,

[10] See the ſpeech of the preſident of the National Aſſembly, on the 27th of June, 1789.

in future, be entitled, equally with the *nobles*, to the poſſeſſion of all offices, eccleſiaſtical, civil, and military, as their conſtituents had deſired, to decree afterwards, that there ſhould no longer be any nobility!

It has been well-obſerved, that nobility is, in a moral ſenſe, a ſource of economy: "It "is the only reward for ſervice done to the ſtate that is not burdenſome; the only one "that can keep alive the ſpirit of emulation in a great kingdom, without degrading or "corrupting the people; it is, in a generous nation, the moſt potent ſtimulus, the moſt "infallible motive to the performance of great and glorious actions."—By its abolition France was reduced to that degradation of democratical government which Cicero deſignates, when he quotes, as an example, the decree pronounced by the Epheſians, on the baniſhment of Hermodorus.—"Let no one of us be placed above the reſt; but if there "be any one thus circumſtanced, let him take refuge in ſome other country, with ſome "other people[11];"—a decree which Heraclitus, the philoſopher, declared a capital crime in all who were concerned in it.

We ſhall conclude this ſubject with a quotation from their own Encyclopedia, where it is remarked, that, "Every monarchy, in which there is no nobility, muſt be a govern-"ment purely tyrannical.—Nobility tempers ſovereignty, and by its own brilliancy ac-"cuſtoms the eyes of the people to look on, and ſupport, the ſplendor of royalty, with-"out being dazzled. It is proper that the nobles ſhould not be too powerful, and that, "nevertheleſs, they ſhould preſerve ſufficient dignity to ſecure eſteem, and ſo far to re-"preſs popular inſolence, as to prevent it from making attacks on the majeſty of the "throne."

But though hiſtorical juſtice compels us to cenſure, in the ſevereſt terms, the leading meaſures of the new legiſlature, a ſtrict adherence to truth and impartiality forbids that cenſure to be indiſcriminate. It is with pleaſure we record thoſe ſalutary decrees, that would reflect honour on the wiſeſt and beſt-regulated ſtate: the chief among thoſe is that which declares—"That the eſtates of Proteſtants, in the hands of the public, ſhall be "reſtored to the heirs of thoſe who have been deprived of them, on condition of their "aſſerting their rights by proper titles, according to rules to be laid down by the Aſſem-"bly."—Some wiſe regulations on the formation of a new judicial code were likewiſe adopted. The abolition of the ſale of offices of judicature—the payment of the ſalaries of the judges by the ſtate—the declaration that, in all caſes, civil and criminal, the pleadings, reports, and judgments ſhall be in public; and that every citizen ſhall have

[11] "Univerſas, ait, Epheſos eſſe morte mulctandos, quod cum civitate expellerent Hermodorum, ita locuti ſunt "*Nemo de nobis unus excellat; ſur quis extitarit, alio in loco & apud alios ſit.*" Cic. Tuſcul. Quæſt. lib. v. cap. 361.

right to plead his own cauſe, verbally, or by writing—and the adoption of *trial by jury* in all criminal caſes. Boards of conciliation were appointed in every diſtrict, where the parties in a ſuit were to be cited perſonally, and where every means were to be employed to effect an amicable termination, before the cauſe could be brought to a hearing in the ordinary courts of juſtice. Family arbitrators were alſo authorized to terminate petty diſputes between near relations, and the forms preſcribed in all theſe caſes were the ſimpleſt that could be invented.

But, might not theſe and many other wholeſome and judicious regulations have been eſtabliſhed without a Revolution that has overturned the ſettled ſyſtem of government, and violated all the principles of the ancient conſtitution? We are clearly of opinion they *might*.—"In conſidering the Revolution impartially"—ſays an ingenious and judicious writer[12]—"the compariſon will not lie between what France now is, or hereafter "may be, and France under its late goverment; but we muſt conſider what it would "now have been, or might have ſhortly become, on the principles of the reform pro- "poſed by the ſovereign. The periodical meeting of the States; their excluſive right "of impoſing the public burthens; the eſtabliſhment of provincial aſſemblies [13]; the equal "taxation of the property of the clergy and nobles with that of other citizens; the "equal right of all to ſerve their country in civil or military employments; the redemp- "tion of vexations and rights; the abolition of *lettres de cachet*; the liberty of the preſs, "and the reſponſibility of miniſters, were in reality held out, and might moſt certainly "have been obtained, without any public commotion, or private calamity. Nothing was "wanting, but to reduce theſe propoſitions into laws, and the conſtitution was compleat- "ed: the amendment of the judiciary code, and a variety of other matters, muſt natu- "rally have followed. Here, indeed, would have been room for the admiration of this "and future ages; to ſee the ſubjects and the ſovereign of an immenſe nation concur in "eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of government for their mutual happineſs; who could have ſaid "to poſterity, 'We tranſmit to you this work of peace and concord; a compact made "with our free conſents, without being diſgraced by any act of injuſtice, or tinged with "a drop of blood?' A conſtitution formed under theſe happy auſpices, and founded on "ſuch wholeſome principles, muſt naturally have grown into vigour, while internal "tranquillity would have remained undiſturbed, and the revenue uninterrupted. Let "us look on what France might have been—and then let us look at the picture it now "exhibits. We ſee the flame of civil diſcord blazing in all its force from the Pyrennees "to the Rhine, from the Alps to the ocean; the clergy complaining that their property "has been confiſcated; the nobility, that rights which formed part of their eſtates have "been taken them from without any compenſation; while the houſes of many were burned "and plundered, and the poſſeſſors obliged to ſeek refuge or conceal themſelves in other

[12] Mr. Crawford, author of the Hiſtory of the Baſtille. [13] Vide the king's declaration, p. 232, 233.

" countries. We ſee the ſtreets and highways covered with vagabonds, or artizans who
" can no longer find employment; the priſons filled with real, or ſuppoſed, criminals;
" the minds of all tormented with mutual hatred, and a conſtant ſucceſſion of juſt or
" imaginary terrors; and an innumerable people with arms in their hands, and furniſh-
" ed with a declaration, which, being above their comprehenſion, has already produced,
" and may hereafter be the cauſe of, unſpeakable misfortunes.

" After immenſe loſſes to the kingdom, occaſioned by the failure in the revenue, the
" interruptions to induſtry and commerce, and loſs of credit with foreign nations; after
" many public and private calamities, experienced while they are employed in ſpecula-
" tive diſcuſſion, they will probably find themſelves, in many inſtances, obliged to re-
" turn in their own footſteps, and, abandoning the theory of ſchools, to have recourſe to
" principles proved by experience."

Early in the month of June, M. Baillie had communicated to the Aſſembly a plan for the celebration of a grand confederation, in which the repreſentatives of the nation, the king, the ſoldiery, and all who were in oſtenſible ſituations, ſhould, ſolemnly, and in the face of the whole nation, renew their oaths of fidelity to the new conſtitution: it was accordingly decreed to take place on the fourteenth of July, in honour of the taking of the Baſtille, and of the firſt eſtabliſhment of Gallic liberty. The preparations for this grand feſtival immediately commenced, and were proceeded on with aſtoniſhing rapidity. The *Champ de Mars* was choſen for this ſolemnity. This piece of ground, about eight hundred yards in diameter, is bounded on the right and left by lofty trees, and commands at the further extremity a view of the military academy. In the middle of this vaſt plain an altar was erected for the purpoſe of adminiſtering the civic oath; round it an immenſe amphitheatre was thrown up, of a league in circumference, capable of containing four hundred thouſand ſpectators. The entrance into the *Champ de Confederation* (as it was now called) was through triumphal arches. The king's throne was placed under an elegant pavilion in the center, and on each ſide of it were ſeats for the members of the National Aſſembly.

Two thouſand workmen were employed upon this immenſe labour; but the citizens of Paris, fearing leſt the preparations ſhould not be completed at the appointed time, flocked from every quarter to aſſiſt in the undertaking. The provincials, too, who came from the moſt remote parts of the kingdom to join in the confederation, emulated the citizens in their ardour and enthuſiaſm; and the work was completed ſo as, for expedition and magnitude, to ſurpriſe every beholder.

A proclamation was publiſhed by the king, on the thirteenth, arranging the whole order of the proceſſion, and appointing M. de la Fayette major-general of the Federation

tion; and in this quality his orders were to be conſidered as coming immediately from the king. M. Gouvion was appointed major-general *en ſecond.*

The important day at length arrived. At ſix o'clock in the morning the perſons appointed to aſſiſt in the proceſſion aſſembled on the Boulevards, between the gate of Saint Martin and the gate of Saint Antoine, and were arranged in the following order:

A troop of horſe, with a ſtandard, and ſix trumpets; one diviſion of the muſic, conſiſting of ſeveral hundred inſtruments; a company of grenadiers; the electors of the city of Paris; a company of volunteers; the aſſembly of the repreſentatives of the commons; the military committee; a company of chaſſeurs; a band of drums; the preſidents of the diſtricts; the deputies of the commons, appointed to take for them the federal oath; the ſixty adminiſtrators of the municipality, with the city guards; ſecond diviſion of muſic; a battalion of children carrying a ſtandard, with the words, "The "Hopes of the Nation;" a detachment of the colours of the national guard of Paris; a battalion of veterans; the deputies of the thirty-two firſt departments of the nation, in alphabetical order; the oriflamme, or grand ſtandard of the king, borne by a cornet-blanche of France, in the firſt rank of the deputies of the troops of the line, compoſed of mareſchals of France; general officers; officers of the ſtaff; ſubaltern officers; invalids; lieutenants of the mareſchals of France; deputies of infantry; deputies of cavalry; deputies of huſſars, dragoons, and chaſſeurs; general officers and deputies of the marine, according to rank; the deputies of the forty-one laſt departments, in alphabetical order; a company of volunteer chaſſeurs; a company of cavalry, with a ſtandard, and two trumpets.

The proceſſion being formed, made a moſt noble appearance; for the variety of emblematic ornaments were endleſs. Every order was marked by diſtinguiſhing indications of the diſtrict from whence it came, or the body which they repreſented; and in doing this much fruitful fancy had been employed, to make the marks ſerve for ornament as well as diſtinction.

The military deputies had only their ſide-arms. In each diviſion, a banner, indicative of the department, was borne by the oldeſt perſon in the firſt rank, and the ranks were formed eight a-breaſt. The proceſſion paſſed along the ſtreets of Saint Denis, of the Feronnerie, Saint Honoré, Royale, to the Place of Louis the Fifteenth, where they halted, and the detachment of the colours of the national guard of Paris opening to the right and left, received into the center the members of the National Aſſembly, who were thus ſurrounded and eſcorted by the body who had before protected them. The proceſſion then moved on through the Cours de la Reine, along the quay, to the bridge of boats, over which they paſſed, and from thence they entered the Champ de Mars.

In entering the Champ de Mars, the cavalry marched off to the right, and ranged themſelves in the exterior line, on the oppoſite ſide to the entrance. The company of grenadiers formed under the ſteps of the amphitheatre, as well as all the companies that were employed as eſcorts.

The civil bodies took the places allotted to them in the amphitheatre. The battalion of children formed about a hundred paces from the grand altar, croſſing the Champ de Mars, but facing the altar.

While the National Aſſembly paſſed through the triumphal arch, the eſcort of colours paſſed through the two lateral gates, and the members took their ſeats on the right and left of the chair of ſtate, and the chair of their own preſident. The battalion of veterans was placed a hundred paces behind the altar, acroſs the Champ de Mars, but facing the altar. The detachments of national guards, appointed to take the oath, ranged themſelves each under the banner indicative of his place in the amphitheatre. The muſic, now all collected into one immenſe band, occupied the ſide of the platform under the altar, next the invalids; the band of drums the oppoſite ſide. The detachment of cavalry, that cloſed the proceſſion, formed the exterior line on the ſide where they entered, oppoſite to the firſt detachment.

While the deputies were taking their ſeats, the entrances to the tier of elevated benches, that ſurrounded this immenſe amphitheatre, were opened, and the people of all ranks and of both ſexes, the ladies all dreſſed in white, took their places. Theſe benches, riſing thirty in number above one another, and extending an immenſe way, were capable of containing, it is ſaid, three hundred thouſand perſons.

Their majeſties entered the Champ de Mars through the Military School, and took their places to aſſiſt at the ceremony, in a ſuperb box erected for the occaſion, and elevated about fifteen feet. The foreign miniſters took their ſeats in an elegant box near them.

As ſoon as they were ſeated, after a ſolemn invocation to God, the grand ſtandard and all the banners of the ſeveral departments were brought up to the platform, and received benedictions; after which they were carried back to their ſeveral ſtations. High maſs was then celebrated; after which the nation, thus aſſembled, proceeded to the great object of the day. The major-general having announced the ſolemnity, the aſſembly all roſe, and the king approached the grand altar, and ſwore, in the preſence of God, and of three hundred thouſand of his people—"I, the king of the French, do ſwear to the na-
"tion, that I will employ the whole power delegated to me by the conſtitutional law of
"the ſtate, to maintain the conſtitution, and enforce the execution of the law."

His majeſty was followed by the preſident of the National Aſſembly, who took the oath to the nation, the law, and the king; while all the other members, holding up their right hand, pronounced, "*Je le jure!*" The ſieur de la Fayette then took the oath for himſelf, and all the other deputies of the eighty-three departments of the national guards, who, all ſtanding, pronounced after him, "*Je le jure!*" and theſe words, with uplifted hands, were ſolemnly pronounced by every individual of this immenſe aſſembly.

Te Duem was then ſung. The performance was loſty beyond the powers of deſcription. Never did France ſee ſuch an orcheſtra, and never, ſurely, did the world behold ſuch an audience. Their numbers baffled the eye to reckon; and their ſhouts, as it were, rent the ſkies.

After the whole was over, the deputies of the national guards linked themſelves with the deputies of the regiments; and, thus united by the ſocial compact, the ſoldier and the citizen marched to the chateau of La Muette, in the garden of which dinner was laid in tents, provided by the nation for thirty thouſand gueſts, federative deputies. In the Gros Caillot, and in the environs of the invalids, dinner was provided for the people of all deſcriptions, not deputies. For the higher communities, ſumptuous entertainments were provided in different places. In the evening there was a moſt ſuburb court, and their majeſties ſupped in public.

The grand altar of liberty was erected in the middle of the field. The approach to it was up a lofty flight of ſteps, compoſed of four different ſtaircaſes. The ſteps were formed from the ſtones of the Baſtille, and ſupported by large pillars.

The records of the conſtitution, the royal ſceptre, the hand of juſtice, with a ſpear bearing the cap of liberty, were placed on the altar.

About the altar were painted ſeveral allegorical deſigns of the ſubject of the day. Four grand paintings were hung, one on each front of it: the firſt repreſented the Genius of France, pointing to the word "CONSTITUTION," with a picture of Plenty, holding two cornucopias.

The ſecond painting deſcribed ſome of the glorious deſcendants of France, blowing the trumpet of Fame, and bearing this inſcription:—"Hold in your remembrance theſe "three ſacred words, which are the guarantee of your decrees—the Nation, the Law, "and the King. The nation is yourſelves; the law is your own, for it is your will; "and the king is the guardian of the law."

The third painting repreſented the national deputies taking the civic oath; and the fourth deſcribed the arts and ſciences, with the following words underneath:—"Men are

" equal: it is their virtue, and not their birth, which diſtinguiſhes them. The law " ought to form the baſis of every ſtate; in its preſence all men are equal."

Myrrh and frankincenſe were burnt in large urns about the altar; the form of it was round, the ceiling of ſky-blue, and was ornamented with large chandeliers. At the end of it was placed the ſword of juſtice.

Previous to the confederation, M. d'Orleans deſired leave to return and aſſiſt at this auguſt ceremony. On the receipt of his letter M. de la Fayette aſcended the tribune, and explained his motives for having adviſed the departure of the duke; which were, " that he apprehended an ill uſe might be made of his name, while preſent, in order to " diſturb the public tranquillity. Theſe reaſons," he added, " did he believe ſtill ſubſiſt; " though he ſaw nothing to make him apprehenſive, at preſent, for the public ſafety." The duke arrived on the eleventh of July, and, having renewed his civic oath in the National Aſſembly, aſſiſted perſonally at the confederation.

The capital now experienced a calm of near three months, when, on the thirteenth of November, it was again agitated, in conſequence of a duel between M. Caſtries and M. Charles Lameth, in which the latter was dangerouſly wounded; it was immediately rumoured that M. Lameth was killed; and the people, ever prone to ſuſpicion, immediately conceived the idea that a general conſpiracy was formed to aſſaſſinate all the patriotic members. A prodigious mob aſſembled at the Hotel de Caſtries, which they inſtantly began to demoliſh. M. de la Fayette, no ſooner heard of the commotion, than, with a party of the national guard, he repaired to the ſpot, and forcibly repreſented to the populace the raſhneſs of their conduct, when they immediately deſiſted, and even, on coming out of the houſe, cauſed every man to be ſearched, to evince that plunder was not in the leaſt their object.

In the middle of November the buſineſs of Avignon came before the Aſſembly. It is well known that the county of Avignon is encloſed on every ſide by the dominions of France; that it formed anciently a part of Provence; was alienated by a queen, who was at that period both under the circumſtances of compulſion and a minor; that when ſhe came of age, ſhe reclaimed it; that the ceſſion had not been formally acknowledged by the parliaments; and that ſeveral monarchs had renewed their claims to the city, as a part of their hereditary dominions. On the other hand, it muſt be acknowledged, that long poſſeſſion had given to the popes that title by which moſt ſovereignties are held; that the ceſſion of Jane, queen of Naples, had been ratified by the ſtates of Provence; and that, although ſome of the kings had denied the right of the pope, it had been acknowledged by others.

A party



Jones Fecit

M.C. LAMETH,

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A party in that city ſaw with a ſpirit of emulation the new government of France; they wiſhed to make it their model, but ſtill profeſſed obedience to the pope. They elected a municipality, and formed the active citizens into a national guard. A conteſt between the vice-legate and the people immediately ſucceeded: on the tenth of June a violent inſurrection took place in the city; the people ſeized the palace; the papal arms were thrown down, and thoſe of France erected in their place. A petition was diſpatched to the National Aſſembly, entreating, that the territory of Avignon might be incorporated into the dominion of France. This firſt application, the Aſſembly only anſwered, by ſending a body of troops to reſtore tranquillity, and to preſerve order in the city; at the ſame time, adjourning the queſtion concerning the object of the petition. In May 1791 the diſcuſſion was again reſumed, and again deferred. In the mean time a moſt dreadful civil war deſolated that beautiful country. It would be diſguſting, as well as tedious, to enter into a detail of the bloody ſcenes and the horrid outrages which ſucceeded. The circumſtances being made known to the Aſſembly, after repeated deliberations, it was at length reſolved, on the fourteenth of September 1791, that the territory of Avignon, with the adjacent county of Venaiſſin, ſhould be conſidered as a part of the French empire, and that a compenſation in lieu of thoſe countries ſhould be offered to the pope[15].

The year 1790 cloſed with ſome little acceſſion of popularity to the National Aſſembly of France. A ſtatue was decreed to be erected to the memory of Rouſſeau, and his widow was allowed a penſion. Some other popular acts were paſſed; but what conferred upon them the moſt ſolid applauſe, was the report of the committee of finances, from which it appeared, that the national receipt exceeded the expenditure by three millions, and that there was upwards of five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling in ſpecie in the public treaſury. The pernicious and diſgraceful tax of *lotteries* was totally aboliſhed and prohibited. About the cloſe of the year M. de St. Prieſt, miniſter of the interior department, reſigned.

The firſt act of the new year, inſtead of indicating an inclination to prolong its ſeſſion, like the long parliament of England, enumerated a liſt of articles which were neceſſary to be diſcuſſed previous to the final eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution; after the determination of which, the Aſſembly declared its intention of diſſolving itſelf, and accordingly reſigned its authority.

The jealouſy of the neighbouring potentates now began to be alarmed, and there was much reaſon to apprehend that a league was formed againſt the riſing liberties of France,

[15] This was the firſt violation of that excellent maxim, which the new legiſlature of France had ſo ſolemnly teſted, to avoid all conqueſts, all acceſſion of territory, all increaſe of dominion.

among

among the moſt powerful nations of the continent. Cordons of troops were advanced from Germany on the north, from Spain on the ſouth, and from Italy and Savoy on the weſt; and France might be ſaid literally to be beſieged with hoſtile armies. The events which took place in France, retarded for a while the execution of this plan: but the diſpoſitions of deſpotic courts never alter; their action is occaſionally interrupted by circumſtances; but their tenour is direct, and their conduct commonly conſiſtent: what Leopold left unperformed, Francis has endeavoured to accompliſh.

The only plea which the conduct of France afforded theſe powers for interfering in her domeſtic concerns, was the claims of the German princes who had eſtates in Alſace and Lorraine. On the ſubverſion of the feudal inſtitutions, the claims of vaſſalage, mortmain, &c &c. which theſe princes conſidered as their right, were neceſſarily aboliſhed. It was in vain that the National Aſſembly repeatedly decreed them the ampleſt compenſation. The views of the German courts were different. Alſace and Lorraine afforded the excuſe, but the object of the projected war was certainly not the ſeignorial rights of a few petty princes, who would think themſelves amply recompenſed by the receipt of a few louis in their empty treaſuries. The cautious politics of Leopold, however, led him to purſue the moſt courtly meaſures in treating with France. On the twenty-ſecond of January, the king communicated to the Aſſembly a letter from the emperor of Germany, in which that monarch makes the moſt unqualified proteſtations of his amicable intentions towards France; but intimates at the ſame time, that "It is neceſſary that all "the innovations that have taken place in conſequence of the decrees of the fourth of "Auguſt be done away, and matters put upon the ancient footing."—The king, when he communicated the letter, treated it merely as an official meaſure of the emperor, as head of the German empire; and obſerved, that he received at the ſame time the moſt pacific aſſurances from the court of Vienna. The Aſſembly, however, were not to be impoſed upon by the fineſſe of Leopold; they immediately decreed a conſiderable augmentation of the national force, and that every defenſive meaſure ſhould be expeditiouſly adopted.

On the twentieth of February, the preſident of the National Aſſembly received a letter from the king, ſtating that his aunts, the daughters of Louis the Fifteenth, had left Paris that morning at ſix o'clock, and that, as he was perſuaded that they could not legally be deprived of the liberty which the conſtitution gave to every citizen to travel wherever he would, he had not attempted to prevent their departure. This report was no ſooner made, than M. Camus propoſed, that the civil liſt ſhould be diminiſhed in proportion to the proviſion which the nation allotted them: this was again oppoſed by M. Martineau; but the aſſembly conſidering the ſubject unworthy of their notice, paſſed to the order of the day. On the following day, however, the ſubject was renewed by M. Barnave, who, as the conſtitutional committee were at preſent occupied in providing a ſet of regulations for the government of the royal family, propoſed that they ſhould be inſtructed to preſent

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to the Aſſembly the plan of a decree to aſcertain the right which perſons allied to the throne ſhould have to travel out of the kingdom. This propoſal produced another from Meſſrs. Martineau, Goupil, and others, that the law againſt emigrants ſhould extend not only to the royal family, but to all other individuals; and that a reaſonable abſentee tax ſhould be impoſed, in order to diſcourage emigration in general.

In the mean time the ladies continued their journey, and with a train of carriages preſented themſelves before Moret, and produced to the magiſtrates a paſſport from the king, counterſigned Montmorin, and a declaration from the municipality of Paris, ſtating that they arrogated to themſelves no right to ſtop any perſons travelling through the kingdom. As the municipality of Moret was informed that the matter was now under the conſideration of the conſtitutional committee, they determined to arreſt them. They had, however, no ſooner taken this determination, than a party of a hundred or more of the chaſſeurs de Lorraine, with a number of the domeſtics of M. Montmorin, mayor of Fontainebleau, appeared before the gates, forced them open, and made a clear paſſage for the travellers. At Arnay-le-Duc, the municipality was more ſucceſsful: there they effectually ſtopped the progreſs of the royal emigrants, and diſpatched an account of their proceedings to the National Aſſembly. On mature conſideration, however, the legiſlative body decreed, that "as there was no poſitive law exiſting which ſanctioned the arreſt of "meſdames aunts to the king, it ſhould be referred to the executive power;" and in conſequence of this decree, after ſome delays, they were left to purſue their journey to Rome.

On the twenty-eighth of February an event of a more extraordinary and ſuſpicious nature occurred, and unfortunately contributed to encreaſe the jealouſy and diſſatisfaction of the public. On the morning of that day, at the uſual hour of divine ſervice at the Royal Chapel, a gentleman, after walking for ſome time in the gallery, requeſted of the attendants on the dauphin to be permitted to ſee the prince. As he paſſed into the apartment, a poniard of a peculiar conſtruction was diſcovered under his coat: he was arreſted, and examined before the mayor of Paris, and committed to cuſtody.

While the mayor was occupied with this affair, he received intelligence of a riot in another quarter. The caſtle of Vincennes had been directed to undergo ſome repair; and, as that edifice had formerly been uſed as a ſtate priſon, the jealouſy of the populace immediately took fire, and their imaginations repreſented to them the horrible ſpectre of a Baſtille ſtill more formidable than that which had been demoliſhed. The ſuburb of St. Antoine was preſently in motion, and the object of popular ſuſpicion was powerfully aſſailed. M. Bailly was however no ſooner informed of this commotion, than he proceeded thither, accompanied by M. de la Fayette and a ſtrong party of the national guard. The populace were eaſily undeceived, and perſuaded to diſperſe; but what was the ſurpriſe of the magiſtrate and the national guard, on their return to the Thuilleries,

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to find the gates barred againſt them; and as ſoon as they were forced open, the apartments were diſcovered to be filled with men who had aſſembled under the pretence of defending the king! As no criminal intention could be proved againſt them, after being ſearched, and deprived of their arms, they were ordered civilly to depart, and leave the protection of the royal family to the national guard. The general ſuſpicion was, that a conſpiracy had been concerted by the chiefs of the ariſtocratic party, to take advantage of the firſt commotion, which would neceſſarily draw off the national guard, to put in effect their long-projected plan of carrying off the king. Whatever might be the motive of the perſons who aſſembled on this occaſion, it is much to be regretted, as it gave too much countenance to the ſuſpicions of the people, and cheriſhed that ſpirit of party which it was ſo much the intereſt of the nation to counteract and ſubdue.

The beginning of March was dedicated by the Aſſembly chiefly to the organization of the army; and towards the concluſion of the month, ſeveral decrees were paſſed relative to the caſe of a regency.—"Women were excluded from that truſt, as well as from the "ſucceſſion to the crown. The regency was declared to belong of right to the next "male heir to the crown, during the whole minority of the king. The perſon of the "minor king, however, was not confined to the regent; and he was pronounced to be "of age at eighteen."—Nearly about the ſame period it was decreed, "that all public "functionaries ought to reſide in whatever place was the proper ſcene of their employ-"ments; that the king, as the firſt public functionary, ſhould be always reſident, during "the ſeſſion, within twenty leagues of the legiſlative body; and that if he or the heir "apparent went out of the kingdom without a decree of the legiſlature, they ſhould be "conſidered as having abdicated the crown."

This was ſucceeded by one of ſtill greater importance to the welfare of the community. It regarded the ſucceſſion to property, and the right of diſpoſing of poſſeſſions after death. In the outſet of the debate, a very judicious diſtinction was eſtabliſhed; and it was determined, firſt, to decide what was proper to be decreed with reſpect to the effects of perſons dying inteſtate; and, ſecondly, whether any reſtriction ought to be laid on the right of teſtamentary alienation. In the firſt part of this inveſtigation, the evils of the exiſting law of inheritances were ſtrongly depicted. The abſurd feudal inſtitution of primogeniture was ſucceſsfully attacked. It was demonſtrated, "that no ſuch inſtitu-"tion exiſted amongſt the enlightened nations of antiquity; that it originated among "the moſt barbarous tribes, and in the moſt uncivilized periods; that, in the preſent cir-"cumſtances of ſociety, it was warranted by no motive, no reaſon, no excuſe; that its "baſis was injuſtice, its conſequences, profligacy, and crimes; that the heir to a large for-"tune was generally corrupted by the poſſeſſion of it, and the younger branches devoted "to beggary and proſtitution; that its effects in a public view were ſtill more deplora-"ble; and that it was the principal cauſe of that inequality among the citizens, which "produced moſt of the vice and all the miſery that exiſts in ſociety." In fine, the opi-

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nion, that an equal diviſion of property ſhould take place among the children or relations of perſons dying inteſtate, ſeemed to meet with unanimous approbation, and was ſome time after the diſcuſſion decreed. On the other topic, there was a greater diverſity of ſentiment. "In defence of the unlimited power of teſtators, recourſe was had to the "ſacred light in which property ought always to be regarded; to the diſcouragement "which would be held forth to induſtry, if a man was not permitted to diſpoſe of his "property agreeably to his inclination. The power of parents over their children was "another forcible argument which was reſorted to on this topic. To make children "independent of their parents, it was ſaid, would be the annihilation of good morals. "Youth, it was added, is the torrid zone of human life, and muſt fall the unreſiſting "prey of temptation, of debauchery, of uſury, of every exiſting corruption and depra-"vity, if poſſeſſed of an independent patrimony. The character of a father was repre-"ſented as the moſt ſacred of titles; it was that which the Deity himſelf aſſumes. The "equal partition of eſtates, which was the principal argument employed by the other "ſide, was adduced as a proof in favour of that arrangement which left the diſpoſal of "his property to the will of the teſtator. In the increaſe of population, it was ſaid, the "landed property of individuals would be ſubdivided into atoms, and the portions "would be ſo extremely ſmall as even to baffle the diligence of the collectors of the "land-tax."

The arguments on the other ſide were not leſs forcible and ingenious. It was ſaid, "that the queſtion in this caſe was ſimply, whether the will of the law, or the will of "the individual, ſhould be obeyed?" The will or determination of the law ought to be preferred, becauſe it was totally exempt from the influence of the paſſions; whereas the will of the individual was always under their direction. If the law had determined, therefore, that an equal diviſion of property was for the good of the ſtate, the will of the individual ought not to interfere with the public welfare. The arbitrary diſpoſition of parents not only obſtructed the public proſperity, by contributing to the inequality of fortune among the citizens; but frequently produced the moſt cruel outrages, by diſinheriting their children from paſſion or miſrepreſentation.—It was not however contended that the reſtriction ſhould be ſo abſolute that a parent ſhould have nothing left to diſtribute as a recompenſe to a deſerving child, nothing to withhold as a check upon one leſs worthy; the object was, to leave a part of the inheritance at the diſpoſal of the teſtator, and to diſtribute a part in ſuch proportions as ſhould ſeem moſt likely to promote the proſperity of the common-wealth.

Of this latter opinion was Mirabeau; but he ſpake no longer from the tribune, which had ſo often reſounded with the thunders of his eloquence, but from the dark and ſilent regions of the dead. In the beginning of his diſorder, his hope of recovery was great, and his courage in the ſubſequent ſtages of it was not leſs. He deliberately made his will; and recollecting that a law relating to teſtaments was then before the Aſſembly, he

ſaid to the abbé Taleyrand, "The National Aſſembly is now engaged upon a law relat-
"ing to teſtaments, and they will not think it unſuitable, that a man who has juſt
"made one ſhould offer them his opinion on the queſtion, as his laſt homage. I entruſt
"this paper to your care, to be read to the Aſſembly." At the early age of forty-two, he departed this life, leaving many of his intended plans unfiniſhed; his character was of that complex ſort which cannot be haſtily or conciſely developed, and which we ſhall not attempt to delineate: one truth may perhaps be ſhortly told, as to the worth of his intentions; that the principles were *bad*, and that the *good* which he did was accidental, or done only becauſe he happened to believe it the moſt expedient. We ſay *happened*; for, notwithſtanding his talents, he very rarely ſaw the homely but irreſiſtible truth, "*that*
"*honeſty is the beſt policy*."

The nobleſſe aſſembled on the borders of Alſace, for the purpoſe of re-conquering their titles, began now to create ſome alarm in the people. The emigrant army had been reviewed by the prince of Condé: their uniform was black, faced with yellow, with a death's head ſurrounded with a laurel wreath on one cuff, and a ſword on the other, with the motto, "Conquer or die!" The emigrants alſo, it was added, were well received by moſt of the German princes, and every thing appeared hoſtile on the frontiers. As the cardinal de Rohan had taken an active part in ſeducing the people from their duties, an act of impeachment was decreed againſt him and ſome other of the principal emigrants.

With this circumſtance ſeveral others occurred to keep awake the ever-watchful eye of popular ſuſpicion. The king, whether he entertained them through prejudice and predilection, or through mere compaſſion, was ſurrounded with non-juring prieſts, and other perſons of a dubious character; and the people had not forgotten the ſingular tranſaction of the Thuilleries, on the twenty-eighth of February, which, in all probablity, was frequently exaggerated and miſrepreſented to them. However, therefore, we may condemn, we cannot be ſurprized at the tumult which took place on the eighteenth of April, while the royal family were preparing to ſet out for Saint Cloud, where they intended to paſs the Eaſter holidays. The populace, who conſidered this as only forebodding the flight of the king, and a counter-revolution, clamorouſly ſurrounded the carriage, and inſiſted on their majeſties' return. It was in vain that M. Bailly and M. de la Fayette oppoſed this phrenzy; in vain they exerted themſelves to procure a free paſſage for the carriage. A ſet of orators better adapted to the ears of the common people, exclaimed, "If the king eſcapes, there will be a civil war, and the ſtreets of Paris will be
"deluged with the blood of the citizens." The national guard refuſed to act—"We
"know"—ſaid the grenadiers—"that we are violating the law; but the ſafety of the
"country is the firſt of laws."

The royal family, in ſhort, were obliged to return. The king, on the following day, repaired to the Aſſembly, where, with becoming firmneſs and dignity, he complained of the inſult, and declared his intention of perſevering in his reſolution. He was anſwered in a reſpectful ſpeech by the preſident; and he proceeded on his journey. At the ſame time, his majeſty embraced this opportunity of notifying to all the foreign courts his acceptance of the conſtitution; and, in compliance with a requeſt from the municipality of Paris, diſmiſſed from about his perſon thoſe obnoxious perſons who had been the principal cauſe of the ſuſpicion. New aſſurances of fidelity to the conſtitution, and of loyalty to the king, paſſed between the ſovereign and the National Aſſembly, and all was quiet.

During theſe tranſactions in the capital, the provinces could not even yet be pronounced in a perfect ſtate of tranquillity. At Toulouſe, in particular, ſeveral citizens were aſſaſſinated on the night of the ſeventeenth of March. The murder was attributed to the officers or ſoldiers of the regiment of Saint Barthelemi. The people immediately took arms, but happily the tumult ended in burning the colours of the regiment. The real authors of the aſſaſſinations, however, eſcaped into Spain.

In the latter end of June, the city of Paris, and the whole kingdom of France, were thrown into the moſt violent conſternation by the evaſion of the king. It was remarked, that for ſome time weeks previous to this event, the emigrations had greatly increaſed; and the circulating ſpecie of the kingdom diſappeared, as it were by a miracle. The non-juring prieſts were more active and audacious than ever, and emiſſaries were employed to corrupt the ſoldiery of almoſt every regiment, and eſpecially on the frontiers.

M. de Bouillé was entruſted with the protection of the frontiers; a truſt which he exerciſed more conſiſtently with his own character and views, than with the principles of duty and honour; he either permitted the fortification of all the frontier towns to run to decay, or aſſiſted in their dilapidation. The garriſons were left without proviſions or ammunition. The national ſoldiery were replaced, wherever it was poſſible, with foreigners, and the utmoſt pains were taken to ſpread diſunion, and diſcontent among the national troops. The place nominally appointed for the retreat of the king, was Montmedi, a fortified town of Luxemburgh; but it was generally ſuppoſed that his actual reſidence was to be within the emperor's dominions. Here the emigrants from all quarters were to be aſſembled, and were to act in concert with the powerful ſuccours which were to be furniſhed by Pruſſia and Auſtria; while other diverſions were to be made on the ſide of Spain and Savoy, by the reſpective monarchs of thoſe countries.

Such is the account which is moſt generally believed of the motives and plan of this ill-concerted and unfortunate journey; unfortunate for the country, becauſe it deſtroyed that confidence which the people ought to have in the executive government; and doubly

unfortunate for the monarch, becauſe it for ever loſt him the love of a people, who, in the moſt diſtreſsful and tumultuous circumſtances of the Revolution, were never before known to waver or abate in the perſonal regard which they retained for their ſovereign. The king's intention was not kept ſuch a profound ſecret, but that it was known to M. Gouvion, one of the officers of the national guard, who communicated it to the mayor and M. de la Fayette: the guard was in conſequence doubled, and ſuch precautions were taken as appeared likely to prevent every poſſibility of effecting the intention. On the night of the twentieth of June, however, the king, the queen, madame Elizabeth, ſiſter to the king, and the whole of the royal family, diſappeared. Monſieur and madame took the road to Mons; and the king's party that of Montmedi.

On the twenty-firſt of June, at eight o'clock in the morning, when the report of their eſcape was firſt propagated through the capital, Paris exhibited a ſcene of confuſion, equalled only on that memorable day when the demolition of the Baſtille proclaimed to its inhabitants a revolution in the government. The ſhops were already opened, and their tenants were about to commence their uſual occupations, when their attention was ſuddenly diverted from the object of their toil, by an ominous whiſper that ran through the city, and, like a contagious whirlwind, ſpread terror and diſmay wherever it paſſed. "The king is fled!" was repeated in a tone of mingled apprehenſion and incredulity: but, as doubt was converted into certainty, terror gave way to indignation, and the flight of the royal family was ſpeedily and loudly announced throughout the capital, with execrations too horrid to repeat.

In the midſt of this conſternation the National Aſſembly met. M. Regnault was the firſt who ſpoke: he made a motion, that the miniſter for the home department ſhould be commanded immediately to diſpatch couriers on every road, with orders to the municipalities to arreſt all perſons who ſhould attempt to leave the kingdom. This motion was carried *nem. con.*

The people, in the mean time, had arreſted, on the bridge of Lewis the Sixteenth, two of the marquis de la Fayette's aids-de-camp, who had been ſent to announce the news of the king's eſcape to the different municipalities, and to conſult on the proper meaſures to be purſued in conſequence thereof. One of theſe aids-de-camp had been conducted to the Corps de Garde des Feuillans, from whence he was taken before the National Aſſembly, where he gave an account of his miſſion; and deſired immediate orders for his comrade and himſelf, that they might know how to proceed in caſe of further interruption.

The Aſſembly decreed, that two of its members ſhould be ſent to inform the people, that they ought not to detain the two officers of the national guard whom they had juſt ſtopped, ſince they were entruſted with a commiſſion of eſſential importance to the welfare of the ſtate.

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The ſame ſpirit of miſtruſt led the people to inſult M. de Cazales, as he was repairing to the Aſſembly; and it is probable that he would have fallen a ſacrifice to the fury of an enraged mob, but for the interpoſition of that body, who deputed Meſſieurs Petion and Gregoire to reſcue him from their hands; and he was accordingly conducted to his ſeat, under the protection of the national guard.

A proclamation was then decreed, by which the municipality of Paris was ordered to divide itſelf into ſeveral ſections; to proclaim, by ſound of trumpet, in different parts of the city, that the Aſſembly would immediately take into conſideration the meaſures neceſſary to be adopted in the preſent alarming exigency; and to adviſe the people to a ſtrict preſervation of tranquillity, as the only means of defending the conſtitution from the evil effects of anarchy and confuſion.

The keeper of the ſeals preſented a paper, ſigned by the king, which he ſaid had been delivered to him by M. de la Porte, intendant of the houſhold, and which expreſsly forbade him to affix the ſeal to any act of the legiſlative body, without his (the king's) particular order. Another paper, of ſimilar import, and bearing a ſimilar addreſs, was alſo preſented.

Meſſieurs Bailly and La Fayette next appeared: the latter referred the Aſſembly to major-general Gouvion, who was better informed of the tranſactions of the preceding night.

M. Gouvion being called to the bar, begged the Aſſembly would, in the preſent moment, diſpenſe with his diſcloſing the names of ſome perſons, on whoſe conduct he would ſpeak hereafter. He obſerved, that on Saturday ſe'nnight, (Whitſun-eve) a commandant of a battalion of the national guard came to inform him, that, by certain movements in the chateau of the Thuilleries, he believed a plan was formed to take away the dauphin and Madame Royale, and that he had his information from the beſt authority. On M. Gouvion's replying that it was too ſerious an affair to admit of a third perſon, he told the commandant from whom he had received the intelligence. He had an interview with that very perſon; and having acquainted the commandant-general of the fact, he recommended double vigilance. M. Gouvion kept, at his houſe, in the night, ſeveral officers of the national guard, whom he ordered conſtantly to parade the Thuilleries. The next day he got a more particular account: and at night he retained a number of officers, as before, to watch the event.

On Saturday evening a volunteer grenadier came to the houſe of M. Gouvion, and told him, that he had juſt come from the Committee of Reſearch, and had made a ſimilar declaration to M. Sillery.

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His inquietude encreaſing, he went to the mayor, who aſſembled the officers of the tribunal of the police, and ſent two commiſſioners to the office of the Committee of Reſearch, but no perſons were there. In the evening he diſpatched a commandant of a battalion to acquaint the mayor, and the commandant-general, who, in conſequence, came to the Thuilleries. Orders were then given for all the gates to be ſhut; many officers were on the watch all night; and, notwithſtanding, in the morning, he received the news of the king's departure, through the ſame channel by which he had previouſly been informed of the project. This perſon pointed out the gate or door by which his majeſty paſſed; though he, for his own part, did not think it poſſible that he could have effected it, becauſe himſelf and five other officers had not quitted the ſpot the whole night.

A reſolution of the department of Paris was ſubmitted to the Aſſembly, by a deputation from that body, and unanimouſly adopted: it ordained, that ſeals ſhould be immediately placed on all the apartments of the palace; that all perſons holding any office in the houſhold, or otherwiſe employed about the palace, ſhould be put under arreſt; and that guards ſhould be ſtationed at the different gates of the city, with orders to prevent any perſon from leaving Paris without a paſſport from the municipality.

To favour their eſcape, the royal family had obtained a paſſport through the medium of the Ruſſian ambaſſador, in the name of a baroneſs de Korff, with her ſuite, as travelling to Frankfort. They travelled in the moſt private manner, till they found themſelves at a conſiderable diſtance from the capital, when they were furniſhed by M. de Bouillé with detachments of dragoons, under the pretence of guarding ſome treaſure for the pay of the ſoldiers. They proceeded without interruption for an hundred and fifty-ſix miles, and were but a few leagues from the frontiers when they were arreſted. M. Drouet, the poſt-maſter at Saint Menehoud, gave the following account of the tranſaction to the National Aſſembly.

" I am the poſt-maſter of Saint Menehoud, formerly a dragoon in the regiment of " Condé. My comrade, William, was formerly a dragoon of the queen's regiment.

" On the twenty-firſt of June, at half paſt ſeven o'clock in the evening, two carriages " and eleven horſes baited at my houſe. I thought I recognized the queen; and per- " ceiving a man at the back part of the carriage, on the left, I was ſtruck with the re- " ſemblance of his countenance to the king's effigy on an aſſignat of fifty livres.

" Theſe carriages were conducted by a detachment of dragoons, which ſucceeded a " detachment of huſſars, under pretence of protecting a treaſure. This eſcort confirm- " ed me in my ſuſpicions; particularly when I ſaw the commander of the detachment " ſpeak with great animation to one of the couriers. However, fearing to excite falſe " alarms, being alone, and having no opportunity of conſulting any one, I ſuffered the

" carriages

" carriages to depart; but ſeeing immediately the dragoons making preparations to fol-
" low them, and obſerving, that, after having aſked horſes for Verdun, the carriages
" took the road to Varennes, I went to my comrade and told him what I had ſeen,
" and that I propoſed to follow them, he readily offering to accompany me, we inſtantly
" mounted our horſes and taking a croſs road, arrived before them at Varennes. It was
" eleven o'clock at night, very dark, and every one gone to bed. The carriages were
" ſtopt in the ſtreet, by a diſpute which had taken place between the poſtillions and the
" poſt-maſter of the town. The poſt-maſter was deſirous that they would ſtop and re-
" freſh their horſes according to cuſtom; the king, on the contrary, wiſhed to haſten his
" departure.

" We ſtopped at the ſign of the Golden Arm, and calling for the landlord, M. le Bianc,
" I took him aſide, and ſaid to him—" Are you a ſtaunch patriot?"—" Don't doubt it,"
" replied he. " Well,"—ſaid I—" the king is at Varennes; he muſt be ſtopped."—We
" then alighted, and reflected, that in order to ſecure ſucceſs to our plan, it was neceſ-
" ſary to barricade the ſtreet and the bridge by which the king was to paſs.

" My companion and I then went to the bridge of Varennes—fortunately we found
" a carriage there, loaded with furniture; we overturned it, ſo as to render the road im-
" paſſable; in the mean time le Bianc had been to the procureur de la commune, the mayor,
" the commandant of the national guard, and, in a few minutes our number increaſed to
" eight men, who were all hearty in the cauſe.

" The commander of the national guard, accompanied by the procureur, approached
" the carriage, aſked the travellers who they were, and where they were going. The
" queen petulantly anſwered they were in a hurry. A ſight of the paſſport was then
" demanded. She at length gave her paſſport[16] to one of the guards, who alighted,
" and came to the inn.

" When

[16] The paſſport was conceived in the following terms:

" By the King.

" To all officers, civil and military, entruſted with the preſervation of the public welfare, in the different de-
" partments of the kingdom, and all others whom it may concern, greeting.

" You are hereby ordered and directed to permit the bearer, the baroneſs de Korff, with two children, a female
" attendant, one valet de chambre, and three domeſtics, to paſs freely on her journey to Frankfort, without any
" lett or moleſtation whatever. The preſent paſſport remains in force for the ſpace of one month only."

Given at Paris, June the 5th, 1791. (Signed) LOUIS.
(Counterſigned) MONTMORIN.

This paſſport occaſioned, in the minds of the people, and of the Aſſembly, the moſt violent ſuſpicions againſt the miniſter who had ſigned it, and he was immediately ordered to appear at the bar. He arrived at the Aſſembly, preceded by an immenſe crowd, who, with the utmoſt impatience, anxiouſly awaited his condemnation. After a ſhort interrogation, which he anſwered with all the calmneſs of conſcious innocence, Rœderer, Gourdan, Camus, and Miguel, were appointed commiſſioners by the Aſſembly, to examine the regiſters of the office for foreign affairs, and

" When the paſſport was read, ſome ſaid it was ſufficient; we combated this opinion,
" becauſe it was not ſigned by the preſident of the National Aſſembly, as it ſhould have
" been. If you are a foreigner, ſaid we to the queen, how came you to have ſufficient
" influence to have a detachment follow you? How came you, when you paſſed
" through Clermont, to have ſufficient influence to be followed by a firſt detachment?

" In conſequence of theſe reflections, and our perſeverance, it was determined that
" the travellers *ſhould not proceed* till the following day. They alighted at the houſe of
" the procureur. The procureur then produced a picture of the king, and aſked him if
" that was not his portrait: his majeſty then throwing off his diſguiſe, replied—" My
" friends, I am indeed your king—I have fled from Paris, from poniards, and from bayo-
" nets; I have determined to take refuge in the provinces, where I hope to find loyalty
" and reſpect; my route is for Montmidi; I have no intention of leaving the kingdom;
" I entreat you not to impede my journey:—Theſe are my wife and children! we con-
" jure you to treat us with that reſpect which the French have ever ſhewn their kings."

" The national guards immediately came in crowds, and, at the ſame time, the huſſars
" arrived ſword in hand; they endeavoured to approach the houſe where the king was,
" but we let them know, that if they perſiſted in taking him away, they ſhould not
" tear him from us alive.

" The commander of the national guards had the precaution to bring up two ſmall
" field-pieces, which he planted at the upper end of the ſtreet, and two others at the
" lower end, ſo that the huſſars were between two fires. They were ſummoned to diſ-
" mount. M. Jouglas refuſed; he ſaid, that he and his troop would guard the king;
" he was anſwered, that the national guards would protect him without his aſſiſtance.

and to develope the motive which was aſſigned for granting the paſſport. The commiſſioners, after having inveſted the neceſſary documents, gave in the following report:

" In the records of the office for foreign affairs we found a minute of a paſſport iſſued on the fifth of June for a
" baroneſs de Korff; and, in a column of the ſame regiſter, we find it was granted at the requiſition of M. de
" Simolin the Ruſſian ambaſſador. Annexed to the regiſter, is the letter ſoliciting the paſſport; alſo a letter from
" de Simolin, incloſing a ſecond letter from the baroneſs de Korff, addreſſed to a third perſon—this letter has no
" direction. The baroneſs acquaints the third perſon, that her mother was ill, and that, preparatory to her depar-
" ture, ſhe, in burning a variety of uſeleſs papers, had unfortunately committed the paſſport to the flames. " I beg"
" —ſays ſhe—" you will excuſe my importunity, my journey being indiſpenſable; I muſt, therefore, conjure you
" to obtain me another paſſport, through the means of M. Simolin." This letter was encloſed in a ſecond note,
" addreſſed by M. Simolin to M. Montmorin, and, in conſequence, the miniſter for foreign affairs delivered the
" ſecond paſſport. Thus madame Korff procured a paſſport for herſelf, and a ſecond, under the ſame name, for the
" king. It is certain that M. Simolin was groſsly impoſed on, and that the miniſter could not refuſe a paſſport on
" the requiſition of an ambaſſador."—The Aſſembly, thoroughly convinced that the ſuſpicions againſt M. de Mont-
morin were unfounded, publiſhed a decree, wherein they declared that the conduct of the miniſter for foreign affairs was irreproachable.

" He

" He perſiſted in his reſolution; upon which the commander of the national guards " gave orders to the gunners to form their ranks, and to fire. They took the matches " in their hands;—but I have the honour to obſerve to you, that the cannons were not " then loaded. In a word, the commander of the national guards, and the troops under " him, acted ſo judiciouſly, that they contrived to diſarm the huſſars. The king was " then made a priſoner.

" Having thus fulfilled our duty, we returned home, amidſt the applauſes of our fel- " low-citizens; and are come to lay before the National Aſſembly the homage of " our ſervices."

The news of theſe tranſactions was received by the Aſſembly with inexpreſſible ſatisfaction. Bouillé was ſuſpended from his functions; and orders were given for arreſting him, and all who appeared to be concerned in the flight of the king: but Bouillé evaded the purſuit of his enemies by flying the kingdom. The Aſſembly next appointed two commiſſioners to examine the inferior agents of the king's flight; and three commiſſioners, Meſſrs. Tronchet, d'André, and Duport, were appointed to receive the declaration of the king and queen.

The royal family were eſcorted to Paris by a conſiderable body of the national guard, who increaſed in numbers as they approached the metropolis. Meſſrs. Barnave, Petion, and Latour Maubourg had been diſpatched to Varennes for the purpoſe of accompanying them back to Paris; and public tranquillity was ſo well preſerved, that they entered the Thuilleries on the twenty-fifth without any diſturbance, and with no apparent inconvenience but the fatigue of the journey.

On the twenty-ſeventh, the commiſſioners waited on the king and the queen to receive their declaration; the following is their account: " In the evening at ſeven o'clock, we " found the king alone in his bedchamber; and, after reading to him our commiſſion, " he declared as follows:

" I think it neceſſary, reſpecting the miſſion with which you are charged, to obſerve " to you, that I do not underſtand *ſubmitting* to interrogatories; but I will willingly, " ſince the National Aſſembly requires it, make public the motives which induced me " to quit Paris. They were the threats and the outrages committed againſt my family " and myſelf, and which have been circulated in different publications; and all theſe in- " ſults have remained unpuniſhed. I thence thought that it was neither ſafe nor proper for " me to remain any longer in Paris; but, in quitting the capital, I never had an intention " of going out of the kingdom. I never made on this ſubject any agreement, either " with the neighbouring powers, with my family, or with the French malcontents in " foreign countries. My plan was, to retire to Montmidi; for which purpoſe I had, " previouſly, ordered apartments to be prepared for me. As that town is well forti- " fied, I thought I could not chuſe a better place for the ſafety of my family. Being near " the frontiers, I ſhould have been more conveniently at hand to oppoſe every invaſion of

" France which might be attempted. I ſhould beſides have been able to go, with more " facility to thoſe places where my preſence might be neceſſary. Another powerful mo- " tive for my retreat was, to put an end to the aſſertion of my not being at liberty. If " my intention had been to go into a foreign country, I ſhould not have publiſhed my " Memorial before my departure—I would have done it after I paſſed the frontiers. Be- " ſides, ſhould a knowledge of our intentions be deſired in *that* particular, let the ſame " Memorial be conſulted; at the end of which will be ſeen with how much pleaſure I " promiſe to the Pariſians to join them again.

" As a further corroboration of this, I had in my carriage only thirteen thouſand two " hundred livres in gold, and five hundred and ſixty thouſand livres in aſſignats. I de- " clare ſolemnly, that I was not adviſed to this ſtep by any one, and that I alone pro- " jected and executed it. I informed Monſieur of it only on the evening of my de- " parture; and it was agreed between us, that we ſhould not purſue the ſame route. I " gave orders to the three perſons who were found with me, to follow me. The ſame " evening one of them received my orders. The paſſport which I had with me was ne- " ceſſary to facilitate my journey, and the route for Frankfort was not even kept. I have " made no other proteſtation than the Memorial which I left behind me, and which has " been publiſhed, in which there is no attack againſt the principles of the conſtitution, " but only againſt the form—the decrees not having been paſſed together, I could not " ſo well judge of their propriety. I experienced in my journey, that the public opinion " was decidedly in favour of the conſtitution. I did not believe that I could with cer- " tainty come at a knowledge of this fact at Paris. Convinced how much it was neceſ- " ſary to give force to the eſtabliſhed powers, as ſoon as I knew the general will, I did not " heſitate to make thoſe ſacrifices, which the welfare of the people, always the object of " my wiſhes, required of me. (Signed) LOUIS."

This declaration was dictated by the king, and committed to writing by one of the commiſſioners. After the king had read it, and before ſigning it, he recollected having omitted to ſay, " That the governeſs of his children was not informed of the journey " till the moment of their departure."

The commiſſioners informed the Aſſembly, that they then proceeded to the apartments of the queen, where they found the king and madame Elizabeth ſitting down to table; and were informed, by order of the queen, that ſhe was in the bath, and could not then ſee them. Her declaration in conſequence was not received by the commiſſioners till the next morning; which was as follows:

" I declare, that the king, being deſirous of quitting Paris with his children, nothing " in nature could have diſſuaded me from following him; for, that I will never conſent " to quit him, my whole conduct for theſe two years paſt has given ſufficient proofs. I " was confirmed in my determination to follow him, from the confidence and perſuaſion " which I had, that he would never quit the kingdom. Had he been even ſo inclined,

" all

" all my influence would have been exerted to prevent him. The governeſs of my daugh-
" ter, who had been indiſpoſed for five weeks, did not receive orders for departure till the
" evening preceding—ſhe had not even taken any cloaths with her, I was obliged to lend
" her ſome—ſhe was abſolutely ignorant of our deſtination. The three couriers neither
" knew the deſtination nor the object of the journey; they were ſupplied, from time to
" time, with money upon the road, and received our orders as we proceeded. The two
" femmes-de-chambre did not receive orders till the moment of our departure; one of
" them, whoſe huſband was in the palace, had not an opportunity of ſeeing him. Mon-
" ſieur and Madame ſeparated from us, and took the road to Mons, only to avoid embar-
" raſſment, and to prevent delay from the want of horſes upon the road; they were to
" join us in France. We went out of the palace, by paſſing through the apartment of
" M. Villequier; and, that we might not be perceived, we went ſeparately, and at ſome
" diſtance of time from each other. (Signed) MARIE ANTOINETTE."

M. Tronchet acquainted the Aſſembly that the commiſſioners had received a note from his majeſty, requeſting them to attend him, he having ſomething further to communicate. They were then authorized to wait on the king; and, on their return, reported, that his majeſty deſired to have the following ſubjoined to his declaration.

" I gave M. de Bouillé peremptory orders to eſcort me, in order to facilitate my journey
" to St. Midi: I alſo gave orders, ſome days before my departure, to the three perſons
" who accompanied me, to have couriers' liveries made, as I ſhould have occaſion to ſend
" them with diſpatches. It was not till the night of my departure that one of them
" received my verbal orders. I always entertained the ſincereſt intentions of returning
" to my capital, and it was in that ſenſe I meant the laſt ſentence in my Memorial ſhould
" be underſtood."

When the declarations of the king and queen, were read to the Aſſembly, the greateſt attention and ſilence was obſerved; and M. Chabroud moved, that they ſhould be taken into conſideration by the Committee of Enquiry.

Monſieur and Madame, who had taken a different road, were more ſucceſsful in effecting their eſcape, and arrived ſafe at Bruſſels on the twenty-third.

The neceſſity of compleating the fabric of the conſtitution became now more than ever apparent, and the Aſſembly laboured inceſſantly on the municipal code, and the organization of the army. In the mean time every precaution was taken to preſerve the peace of the kingdom; and a decree was paſſed, the ſubſtance of which was, that ſuch of the emigrants as did not return within two months ſhould be ſubjected to triple taxes for the year 1791.

The

The unanimity which prevailed throughout France, from the time of the king's return till his acceptance of the conſtitution, was however interrupted by a ſhort, but diſgraceful, riot at Paris. Several efforts had been made by ill-diſpoſed perſons, ſuppoſed to be in the pay of the emigrants, or of the hoſtile princes, to diſturb the public tranquillity, by circulating liſts of members of the Aſſembly who were reported to be bribed to betray their truſt, and other inſidious manœuvres. Theſe efforts, however, all proved abortive till the morning of the ſeventeenth of June, when the magiſtrates were alarmed by the report, that a large body of ſeditious perſons were about to aſſemble in the Champ de Mars. Two of the magiſtrates were ſent to the ſuburb of Saint Antoine, where they had the ſatisfaction to find that every thing was quiet. At eleven o'clock, however, intelligence was brought, that in the quarter of Gros-Caillou two perſons had been murdered: three municipal officers were therefore diſpatched, at the head of a battalion of national guards, to ſeize the murderers, and diſperſe the inſurgents. At the ſame moment information was received of an alarming tumult in the Champ de Confederation. The mob attacked the national guard, and one man had the audacity to fire on M. la Fayette himſelf. The man was ſeized; but M. la Fayette, with a falſe generoſity, ſuffered him to eſcape. The red flag was now diſplayed, and martial law proclaimed. The national guard was at length obliged to fire upon the people, who did not diſperſe till about twelve were killed, and fifty or ſixty wounded. It was aſſerted, with what truth it is difficult to ſay, that foreign emiſſaries were diſcovered among the populace, diſtributing money, and exciting them to rebellion.

The period now approached when the conſtituent aſſembly were to terminate their labours. A committee had been for ſome time employed in compiling and digeſting into a code the conſtitutional decrees; and, on the fourth of Auguſt, it was read to the Aſſembly by M. Thouret, and debated, article by article[16], on the following days. On the third of September it was preſented to the king. He ſignified his acceptance of it in writing on the thirteenth; and the following day he appeared at the Aſſembly, introduced by a deputation of ſixty members, and ſolemnly conſecrated the aſſent which he had already given, and concluded with an oath, "To be faithful to the nation, and to the law; "and to employ the powers veſted in him for the maintenance of the conſtitution, and "the due execution of the law."

While the conſtitutional act was in agitation, an additional decree was paſſed, importing that no branch of the royal family could exerciſe any employment in the gift of the people; and on the thirteenth of September the Conſtituent National Aſſembly terminated an uninterrupted ſeſſion of two years and four months, and ſpontaneouſly diſſolved itſelf.

[16] For a copy of the Conſtitution, and other eſſential documents, ſee the Appendix.

Previous



Jones Fecit.

M: THOURET,

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BRITISH
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Previous to the diſſolution of the conſtituent aſſembly, meaſures ought to have been taken for aſſembling the new legiſlature, in ſome place where its deliberations would have been more free and independent than they could be in the factious metropolis; and they ſhould have corrected the error into which their own vanity had betrayed them, of admitting a numerous and inſolent audience to ſeat themſelves in the galleries, as judges of the debate, which they frequently diſturbed by their inſolent teſtimonies of applauſe or diſapprobation.

The new Aſſembly conſiſted chiefly of country gentlemen, whoſe inexperience in political affairs rendered them incompetent to act for themſelves, and made them the paſſive dupes of a party, which, though not numerous, compenſated for this defect by its activity and boldneſs. This faction conſiſted of men of letters, but not of the higheſt rank in literature. The editors of newſpapers, and the publiſhers of periodical libels, were, by the ſingular change in the affairs of France, elevated to the rank of ſenators, and ſoon aſſumed to themſelves the authority of ſovereigns. Even of this faction, however, it would be uncandid in the extreme, to conſider all the members as equally unprincipled. The great majority of them were decided republicans; but ſome were mere enthuſiaſts in this ſyſtem, while the object of others was undoubtedly to gratify their private ambition, or to ſatiate their private revenge. In this point, however, they were all agreed, that no government but a pure democracy was adapted to the condition of free men; and that France could never be happy and flouriſhing till every veſtige of monarchy was finally obliterated. This point they determined to enforce; and few of them, we fear, heſitated with reſpect to the means by which it was to be accompliſhed.

There is ſomething in true religion which ſoftens the ferocious paſſions of man: it can arreſt the hand of the aſſaſſin, it can whiſper peace to the perturbed ſpirit; it rejects the attainment of its end by unlawful means, and follows rather the dictates of conſcience, and immediate duty, than the moſt ſplendid viſions which the imagination may form of diſtant perfection. This only ſafeguard of moral principle, the republican philoſophers of France unfortunately wanted; they were even bigots in infidelity; the throne and the altar were equally obnoxious to them; and many of the exceſſes into which they plunged, may be more properly attributed to their irreligious prejudices than to any other cauſe.

The Aſſembly met on the firſt of October, and the following day proceeded to the verification of their powers. On the third M. Paſtoret was elected preſident, and M. M. Francois, Garron de Coulon, Cerutti, Lacepede, and Guyton-Morveau, were proclaimed ſecretaries. On the fourth, all the members of the Aſſembly ſolemnly took the conſtitutional oath, in the following terms:

" I ſwear to maintain, to the utmoſt of my power, the conſtitution of the kingdom, " decreed by the conſtituent National Aſſembly, in the years 1789, 1790, and 1791; " and neither to propoſe nor conſent to any thing, during the continuance of this legiſ- " lature, which may be injurious or contrary to it; and to be in every thing faithful to " the nation, the law, and the king."

A deputation of the members was at the ſame time appointed to wait upon the king, to acquaint his majeſty that the Aſſembly was finally conſtituted. On the return of the deputation to the Aſſembly, on the fifth, the reporter having ſtated that the king had informed them, by the miniſter of juſtice, that he would receive the deputation at nine o'clock, one of the republican members adverted to a decree in the month of July 1789, which enacted that the Aſſembly and its deputations ſhould correſpond directly with the king, and not through the medium of the miniſters: that decree was therefore re-enacted, and enforced with peculiar rigour.

The king having announced that he would repair to the Aſſembly on Friday the ſeventh, it was next debated in what manner he ſhould be received. In the decree that followed this debate, the mean and trifling ſpirit by which the Aſſembly was afterwards to be actuated, was clearly evinced. The moment the king entered the Aſſembly, the members were to riſe and be uncovered; but as ſoon as he arrived at the bar, they were to ſit down and cover themſelves. The king was to be ſeated on the *left* of the preſident, not on an elevated throne, but on a ſimilar ſeat to that of the preſident. Theſe petty indignities were as impolitic as they were undeſerved, and were inconſiſtent with magnanimity, and utterly unbecoming a great nation.

Previous to the arrival of his majeſty, ſeveral deputations appeared at the barof the Aſſembly; among the reſt, one from the commons of Paris, which renewed their proteſtations to maintain the conſtitution inviolate; the king, alſo, ſent a written notice, that he had appointed M. Bertrand to be the naval miniſter, in the room of M. Thevenard.

Notwithſtanding the jealouſy which had been manifeſted by the Aſſembly on the fifth, and the deſire which they had ſince ſhewn of degrading the regal dignity, yet the firſt meeting between the king and the legiſlature was cordial. The urbanity of Lewis did not permit him to retain his reſentment; and the courteſy and affability with which he entered the hall, commanded reſpect from the moſt inveterate republicans. The king addreſſed the Aſſembly in a judicious and patriotic oration. He pointed out briefly to them the nature of the duties they had undertaken to perform, and recommended ſome objects as requiring inſtant attention. The ſtate of the finances, he obſerved, was ſuch as required ſtrong and ſpeedy exertion to eſtabliſh an equilibrium between the receipt and the expenditure; to accelerate the aſſeſſment and collection of taxes, and to introduce an invariable order into all the departments of this immenſe adminiſtration.

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The reviſion of the civil code was alſo an object which he recommended to their care; and the ſimplifying the mode of proceeding, ſo as to render the attainment of juſtice more eaſy and more prompt.

He proceeded to enlarge on the neceſſity of a ſyſtem of national education; on the organization of the army, and the propriety of reſtoring order and diſcipline. He reſerved himſelf to a future occaſion for the communication of his ſentiments concerning the navy. He ſtated his hopes that the nation would not be troubled by any attack from abroad; recommended, in a ſtyle of paternal regard, unanimity and unalterable confidence between the two great branches of government, the legiſlative and executive powers, as, he pointedly remarked, the enemies to the proſperity of the country were continually labouring to diſunite them.

The ſpeech of the king was received with unbounded applauſes, and the preſident replied in terms of confidence and reſpect. He complimented the king on his appearance among the repreſentatives of the nation, which he termed a new engagement with the country. He obſerved that the conſtitution, ſo far from diminiſhing the real power of the king, had only placed it on the firmeſt foundation; it had converted thoſe into friends, who had formerly been termed ſubjects; and had made him the firſt monarch in the world. He concluded with expreſſing the wiſh of the Aſſembly to co-operate with the benevolent views of the king; to purify the buſineſs of legiſlation; to re-animate public credit; to repreſs anarchy. "Such, ſire,"—ſaid he—"is our duty, ſuch are our "earneſt wiſhes, ſuch are yours; ſuch are our hopes—the gratitude and bleſſings of the "people will be our reward."

It would have been a circumſtance truly fortunate for France if this harmony had continued unbroken; but it was not merely the republican ardour of the new legiſlators, which revived the jealouſy between the executive and legiſlative powers; a ſtill more potent cauſe exiſted externally, to which we have already, though but ſlightly, alluded. The hoſtile preparations of the emperor and the continental powers; the veil of ſecrecy which they caſt over their proceedings; the vague and obſcure terms in which they expreſſed themſelves, compared with the open boaſts, and the imprudent and intemperate declarations of the emigrant princes and nobility, contributed to excite in the minds of the people a variety of ſuſpicions, in which all the perſons connected with the court were occaſionally involved.

To unravel more explicitly the cauſe of theſe fatal jealouſies, and in reality of all the unfortunate circumſtances which afterwards afflicted this unhappy and diſtracted country, it will be neceſſary to have a retroſpect to a tranſaction which occurred ſome months previous to the period of which we are now treating, but which was then faintly known by the vague inſinuations of rumour, or by the unconnected intimations of ſome whoſe

information appears to have been rather founded upon conjecture than upon competent evidence.

In the month of July, an extraordinary convention took place at Pilnitz in Saxony, between the emperor Leopold and the preſent king of Pruſſia, between whom, as principals, a treaty was formed, to which other powers are ſuppoſed to have afterwards acceded. The profeſſed object of this treaty was the hoſtile invaſion of France, and the new-modelling of its government. In his circular letter from Pavia, of the ſixth of July, the emperor had avowed a ſimilar intention, and had invited the princes of Europe to co-operate with him in reſiſtance to thoſe principles ſo obnoxious to arbitrary authority, which had pervaded France, and which threatened to extend over the whole face of Europe. The league of Pilnitz, however, in which the empreſs of Ruſſia is alſo to be conſidered as principally concerned, is generally ſuppoſed to have had more extenſive views, and to have involved projects ſtill more offenſive, if poſſible, to the dictates of juſtice, and to the peace of Europe. The partition of France, as well as of Poland, or at leaſt of a conſiderable part of the territories of both, among the confederated powers, and a new-modelling of the Germanic circles, are ſtrongly ſuſpected to have been the real principles upon which this compact was founded [17].

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[17] The following paper, which has ſince been made public, will ſerve to unveil this myſtery:

Partition Treaty between the courts in concert; concluded and ſigned at Pavia, in the month of July 1791.

"His majeſty the emperor will retake all that Lewis the Fourteenth conquered in the Auſtrian Netherlands; and uniting theſe provinces to the ſaid Netherlands, will give them to his ſerene highneſs the elector palatine, ſo that theſe new poſſeſſions, added to the palatinate, may hereafter have the name of Auſtraſia.

"His majeſty the emperor will preſerve, for ever, the property and poſſeſſion of Bavaria, to make in future an indiviſible maſs with the domains and hereditary poſſeſſions of the houſe of Auſtria.

"Her ſerene highneſs the archduchess Maria-Chriſtina ſhall be, conjointly with his ſerene highneſs, her nephew, the archduke Charles, put into hereditary poſſeſſion of the duchy of Lorraine.

"Alſace ſhall be reſtored to the empire; and the biſhop of Straſburgh, as well as the chapter, ſhall recover their ancient privileges; and the eccleſiaſtical ſovereigns of Germany ſhall do the ſame.

"If the Swiſs cantons conſent and accede to the coalition, it may be propoſed to them to annex to the Helvetic league the biſhoprick of Porentrui, the defiles of Franche-Compté, and even thoſe of Tyrol, with the neighbouring bailiwicks, as well as the territory of Verſoy, which interſects the Pays de Vaud.

"Should his majeſty the king of Sardinia ſubſcribe to the coalition, la Breſſe, le Pugey, and the Pays de Gex, uſurped by France from Savoy, ſhall be reſtored to him.

"In caſe his Sardinian majeſty can make a grand diverſion, he ſhall be ſuffered to take Dauphiny, to belong to him for ever, as the neareſt deſcendant of the ancient dauphins.

"His majeſty the king of Spain ſhall have Rouſſillon and Bearn, with the iſland of Corſica; and he ſhall take poſſeſſion of the French part of Saint Domingo.

"Her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias ſhall take upon herſelf the invaſion of Poland, and, at the ſame time, retain Kaminieck, with that part of Padolia which borders on Moldavia.

"His majeſty the emperor ſhall oblige the Porte to give up Choczim, as well as the ſmall forts of Servia, and thoſe on the river Lurna.

"His

The convention of Pilnitz was not unknown in France, though the full extent of the terms and conditions of the treaty was but imperfectly underſtood. It was impoſſible then, in the nature of things, that it could be known, that a concert of princes was formed for the expreſs purpoſe of invading the country, of overturning the conſtitution, of re-eſtabliſhing deſpotic authority, and that the minds of the people ſhould not be agitated with fears and with ſuſpicions. It was next to impoſſible, that a part of theſe ſuſpicions ſhould not fall upon the court. The queen, in particular, had never been popular, and, even ſince the Revolution, candour obliges us to confeſs, that, upon the beſt enquiry, we do not find her conduct to have been guarded with that ſtrictneſs of prudence and reſerve which the circumſtances of the times required. The fatal flight of the king could not be eradicated from the minds of the people. The republican party, and the enemies of order and government, eagerly took advantage of theſe circumſtances; the atrocity of the monarchical combination was magnified, and the whole was laid to the charge of the court and of the king.

The diſtracted ſtate of the public mind was manifeſted in the Aſſembly even ſo early as in the evening ſeſſion of the eighth of October, when the miniſters were introduced into the Aſſembly to render an account of their proceedings. On M. Montmorin being queſtioned with reſpect to the intercourſe maintained with foreign powers, he replied, that the intercourſe with other nations had ceaſed during the ſuſpenſion of the royal authority, and had only re-commenced with the king's acceptance of the conſtitution. "I "move,"—ſaid M. Lacroix, with that impetuoſity which diſtinguiſhes the nation—"that the miniſter for foreign affairs be obliged to anſwer more pointedly. However "the royal functions may have been ſuſpended, have we ceaſed to maintain ambaſſadors "at theſe courts? Theſe ambaſſadors muſt have been acquainted with whatever occurs "at their reſpective courts, and they ought to have informed the miniſter.—"It is this "correſpondence"—added he—"which I wiſh to be laid open." After ſome altercation, a ſeries of interrogatories was put to M. Montmorin, and the ſubſtance of his re-

"His majeſty the king of Pruſſia, by means of the above-mentioned invaſion of the empreſs of all the Ruſſias "into Poland, ſhall make an acquiſition of Thorn and Dantzic, and there unite the palatinate on the eaſt to the "confines of Sileſia.

"His majeſty the king of Pruſſia ſhall beſides acquire Luſace, and his ſerene highneſs the elector of Saxony ſhall "in exchange receive the reſt of Poland, and occupy the throne as hereditary ſovereign.

"His majeſty the preſent king of Poland ſhall abdicate the throne, on receiving a ſuitable annuity.

"His royal highneſs the elector of Saxony ſhall give his daughter in marriage to his ſerene highneſs, the young-"eſt ſon of his royal highneſs the grand duke of all the Ruſſias, who will be the father of the hereditary kings of "Poland and Lithuania.

(Signed) "LEOPOLD,
"PRINCE NASSAU,
"COUNT FLORIDA BLANCA,
"BISCHOFFSWERDER."

plies

plies went to eſtabliſh his former propoſition, that the intercourſe with foreign courts having ceaſed for a time, he had nothing official or ſatisfactory to produce on that ſubject; that the correſpondence alluded to contained nothing but vague and unſupported rumours, which it would be even dangerous to reveal; and that when any thing of certainty occurred, he would not fail to communicate it.

The ſubject was renewed on the ſucceeding day; and a decree was paſſed, ordering that the miniſters ſhould be obliged to inform the Aſſembly concerning the ſtate and arms of the national guards deſtined for the frontiers; concerning the motives for retarding the national Gendarmerie; concerning the neglect in replacing thoſe officers in the troops of the line who had deſerted their corps; concerning the delay in ſending arms to the departments of the Haut-Loire, the Haut-Vienne, the Haut-Rhin, &c; concerning the ſlowneſs of the recruiting ſervice, the want of proviſions in the frontier places, and the neglect in providing arms, &c. On the eleventh, the miniſter at war read a long *memoire* on the actual ſtate of his department; and he cleared up the doubtful points ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the Aſſembly, that his memoire was ordered to be printed.

The emigrants ſtill continued to aſſemble in conſiderable bodies upon the frontiers, and the brothers of the king to iſſue hoſtile proclamations. It became neceſſary, therefore, to purſue more vigorous meaſures, and to take ſome immediate ſteps to repel the approaching danger. The firſt meaſure which the Aſſembly thought proper to employ on this occaſion reſpected the right of Monſieur to the regency, in caſe of the death of the king; and, after ſome deliberation, the Aſſembly paſſed a decree nearly in the following terms:

"The National Aſſembly, conſidering that Louis Staniſlaus Xavier, French prince, "being the next in ſucceſſion to the regency, is abſent from the kingdom—In virtue of "an article in the ſecond ſection of the French conſtitution, decrees, that the ſaid Louis "Staniſlaus Xavier, French prince, is required to return to the kingdom within the "ſpace of two months from the day in which the proclamation of the legiſlative body "ſhall have been publiſhed in Paris.

"In caſe the ſaid Louis Staniſlaus Xavier, French prince, ſhall fail to return to the "kingdom within the period above ſignified, he ſhall then be deemed to have forfeited "his right to the regency, in virtue of the ſecond article of the conſtitutional act. The "Aſſembly further decrees, that, conformably to the decree of the thirtieth of this "month (October), a proclamation to this effect ſhall be printed, affixed, and publiſhed, "within three days, in the city of Paris, and that the executive power ſhall notify the "ſame to the Aſſembly within the three following days."

On



T. Jones Fecit

MONSIEUR,

Brother to Louis the Sixteenth

Published as the Act Directs by C. Lowndes Drury Lane Feb.ry 22 1794

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On the ninth of November, a decree was paſſed, ſtating,—" That the French who " were aſſembled in a hoſtile manner beyond the frontiers, were ſuſpected of a conſpiracy " againſt their country.—That if, after the firſt of January, they ſhould be found in " that ſituation, they ſhould be declared actually guilty of a conſpiracy, and puniſhable " with death.—That all the French princes and public functionaries, who ſhould not " return before the firſt of January, ſhould be adjudged guilty of the ſame crime.— " That the high national court ſhould immediately after that period be called to pronounce " judgment on ſuch offenders.—That ſuch as ſhould be convicted during their abſence, " ſhould forfeit their eſtates and property during their own lives, but not to the preju- " dice of their children.—That all ſuch perſons, holding offices, &c. ſhould be adjudged " to have forfeited the ſame; and all ſuch, being officers in the army or navy, ſhould be " conſidered as deſerters.—All Frenchmen who enliſted men to attack the frontiers were " to be adjudged guilty of high treaſon.—No arms or military ſtores were to be tranſ- " ported out of the kingdom."

On the day on which this decree was paſſed, the public mind was greatly relieved by the report of M. Montmorin, the miniſter of foreign affairs.—It ſtated, at large, the reaſons which induced him to hope for a continuance of the general tranquillity, and contained the anſwers of the ſeveral courts to the general notification from the king, of his acceptance of the new conſtitution. The replies from even the moſt hoſtile of the combined powers were in flattering terms; the emperor and the king of Pruſſia in particular gave the moſt laviſh aſſurances of their amicable intentions; and the elector of Mentz alone had the honeſty to avow his diſapprobation of the ſtate of affairs in France.

The miniſter next ſtated the meaſures taken by the king, with reſpect to the countenance given to the emigrants by foreign powers. The Auſtrian Netherlands principally attracted attention; and, on application to the emperor, the moſt peremptory orders, he ſaid, had been given, to prevent them from collecting in too great numbers in any one place, from appearing in military array, or being ſupplied with any of the implements of war.

This decree was immediately followed by another, ordering the vacancies in the army to be filled up without farther loſs of time. Supplies were voted for putting the kingdom in a reſpectable poſture of defence; and ſome regulations were adopted concerning the military ſchools, and the organization of the army. The party diſaffected to the new conſtitution were furniſhed with freſh matter for murmur and complaint by the refuſal of the king to ſanction the decree of the ninth of November againſt the emigrants. The moderate party exulted in this teſtimony of conſtitutional freedom exhibited by the monarch, and conſidered it as a proof that he intended to govern ſtrictly agreeably to the principles of the conſtitution. A king, they obſerved, who was not ſincere in his attachment to the new order of things, would have borne the maſk of diſſimulation

through

through the whole of his conduct; ſuch a one would not have hazarded an unpopular ſtep, but would have oſtenſibly joined in the moſt violent meaſures, in the hope that they could not long endure, and that the machinations of the enemies of freedom would ſoon reſtore the ancient form of government.

Independent of the factions which diſtracted the councils and divided the ſentiments of the nation, the internal ſtate of France was far from proſperous at the cloſe of the year 1791. The public treaſury was exhauſted, and the revenue was ſtill inadequate to the expenditure. The aſſignats ſtill circulated under a conſiderable diſcount. Poverty pervaded the country; and the neglect of agriculture threatened an impending famine. Diſtreſſing as was this ſtate of affairs in the mother country, that of the colonies was ſtill worſe. The iſland of Saint Domingo in particular was ſtill convulſed by the dreadful conteſt, in which the inflexibility of the white inhabitants, in refuſing the juſt demands of the people of colour, had involved the iſland. The negro ſlaves, taking advantage of the anarchy which enſued from this unfortunate conflict, embraced eagerly the opportunity to emancipate themſelves. In the northern diſtrict, not leſs than *one hundred thouſand* revolted. More than two hundred plantations were entirely burnt; the maſters were maſſacred; and if the women were ſpared, it was to endure a captivity worſe than death. The ſhips that were anchored off the iſland afforded the only aſylum to which the unhappy fugitives could reſort, while fire and devaſtation every where marked the path of the victorious rebels. Such was the repreſentation of the colonial aſſembly: on the thirtieth of October the miniſter of marine announced to the National Aſſembly, that two thouſand three hundred troops of the line had been ſent thither, and this embarkation was immediately followed by that of ſix hundred more. Ten millions three hundred and ſeventy thouſand nine hundred and twelve livres were voted as a ſupply for theſe expeditions; and theſe public efforts were nobly ſeconded by the patriotic offers of an individual. M. Moſneron of Nantz, on the third of November, made a ſpontaneous propoſal to the National Aſſembly to equip a veſſel entirely new, and to tranſport, at his own expence, a body of four hundred men to aſſiſt in reſtoring peace to the diſtracted colonies. The Aſſembly, at the time they accepted the offer of M. Moſneron, paſſed a decree of thanks to the king of Great Britain, to the Engliſh nation, and to lord Effingham, the governor of Jamaica, for his generous conduct in relieving the planters of Saint Domingo from the horrors of famine, and in furniſhing them with arms and military ſtores againſt the rebel negroes.

No meaſure has drawn more odium upon the legiſlative aſſembly, and none has excited more the indignation of other nations, than that ſevere decree which baniſhed for ever from their country, on pain of death, the non-juring clergy. Much as we deplore the harſhneſs of the meaſure; much as we ſympathize in the ſufferings of that body; innocent and reſpectable as we believe a conſiderable portion of them to have been; ſtill juſtice obliges us to confeſs, that this meaſure, harſh as it was, appeared only a neceſſary conſequence of thoſe which had preceded it. It was the raſh and impolitic proceeding of the conſtituent

conſtituent aſſembly, in haſtily confiſcating the property of the church, that unfortunately implanted the ſeeds of diſcord between the religion and the legiſlature of the country. The enlightened part of the community might ſee the error with regret, but they ſaw it only when it was too late to rectify it.

The firſt ſtep of the legiſlative aſſembly againſt the refractory prieſts, was however leſs violent in appearance, though in reality it was fraught with ſeverity. On the eighteenth of November a ſeries of reſolutions were paſſed, by which it was enacted, that the penſions of the ejected clergy, which had been allowed by the conſtituent aſſembly, ſhould be withdrawn from all ſuch as ſtill refuſed the civic oath. That wherever any troubles were found to exiſt, of which religion was the cauſe or the pretext, the municipal officers ſhould have liberty to remove from the neighbourhood ſuch of the non-juring clergy as might be ſuſpected of fomenting or favouring ſuch ſeditions, that in caſe of diſobedience to the directory of the department, they might be proſecuted before the tribunals, and impriſoned; and that thoſe who ſhall be convicted of actual ſedition ſhould be liable to two years impriſonment. To theſe decrees, after ſome delay, the king, from the moſt humane and conſcientious motives, oppoſed his *veto*, and thus unfortunately increaſed the clamour which was inſidiouſly excited againſt him in every part of the kingdom.

The emigrants continuing their enrolments in the circles of the upper and lower Rhine with the utmoſt diligence, the Aſſembly decreed, on the twenty-ninth of November, that a deputation of twenty-four of its members ſhould wait upon the king, to communicate to him, on the part of the Aſſembly, its ſolicitude concerning the dangers which menaced the country from the perfidious combinations of armed emigrants, aſſembled without the kingdom, and the fatal internal conſpiracies which they apprehended might threaten its domeſtic peace; to entreat him to require the elector of Treves, of Mayence, and the other princes of the empire, to iſſue a prohibition to thoſe hoſtile preparations and enrolments, which were openly carried on by the emigrants on the frontiers; and to requeſt that he would embody a force ſufficient to compel them, in caſe of a refuſal.

On the fourteenth of December the king repaired in perſon to the National Aſſembly; he acquainted them, that he had taken their meſſage into deep conſideration, and that on ſo important an occaſion he thought it his duty to be himſelf the bearer of the anſwer. He obſerved, that he had long been of opinion, that the circumſtances of the nation required great circumſpection. He aſſured them that he had done every thing to recall the emigrants to the boſom of their country, and to perſuade them to ſubmit to the new laws. He had employed both amicable intimations, and cauſed formal requiſitions to be made, to divert the neighbouring princes from giving them a ſupport, calculated to flatter their hopes, and encourage them in their raſh deſigns.

He obſerved, that the emperor had done all that could be expected from a faithful ally, by forbidding and diſperſing all aſſemblages within his ſtates. His meaſures at other courts, he ſaid, had not been equally ſucceſsful, and unaccommodating anſwers had been given to his juſt requiſitions. Theſe unjuſt refuſals, he obſerved, called for reſolutions of another kind. As the repreſentative of the people, he felt for their injuries.—In conſequence, he had cauſed a declaration to be made to the elector of Treves, that if before the fifteenth of January he did not put a ſtop within his ſtates to all hoſtile diſpoſitions on the part of the emigrants, he ſhould be obliged to conſider him as the enemy of France. The king added, that he ſhould order ſimilar declarations to all who favoured aſſemblages which might menace the peace of the kingdom. To enable the nation, however, to prepare for that war in which they might find it neceſſary, after all theſe precautions, reluctantly to engage, the king adviſed an attention to the finances of the country, and the ſtrict obſervance of peace and unanimity.—He modeſtly alluded to the violence of thoſe who endeavoured to ſurround with diſguſts the exerciſe of that authority which was entruſted to him—pledged himſelf faithfully to preſerve the depoſit of the conſtitution, and to ſhew to all mankind that he felt how truly glorious it was to be the king of a free people.

But however ſincere the king might be in his declarations, he was not fortunate enough to ſilence the voice of faction. The republican party in particular did not fail to take every advantage which the fears and ſuſpicions of the people afforded, to excite their deteſtation of the court, and of the little remains of the ariſtocratic faction which exiſted in the kingdom. The negative which the king had unfortunately affixed to the decree againſt the emigrants, and his tardineſs in ſanctioning that reſpecting the non-juring clergy, afforded the diſaffected and deſigning a pretext to work on the paſſions of the multitude. Addreſſes crowded in from every part of the kingdom, abounding in commendations of the National Aſſembly, and indicating their diſſatisfaction as to the conduct of the king and his miniſters. Moſt of theſe addreſſes were entered on the journals of the Aſſembly, and were ſeconded by inflammatory ſpeeches from the more violent members. M. Montmorin, unable to withſtand the ſtorm of popular violence, reſigned; M. Deleſſart was nominated to the department of foreign affairs; and M. Cahier de Gerville to that of the interior. In the beginning of December, alſo, M. du Portail was diſmiſſed from his office as miniſter of war, and M. Narbonne appointed in his room. The haſty diſmiſſion and impeachment of miniſters, in conſequence of inflammatory harangues from popular orators, and without any hearing or inveſtigation, may be accounted among the principal cauſes of the calamities of France. The rapid ſucceſſion of miniſters allowed them no time to remedy abuſes, or to make the neceſſary arrangements for the defence of the kingdom; the fear of impeachment rendered them cautious and timid, and directed their attention rather to the arts of acquiring popularity, than to the performance of their duty; rather to intriguing with the deſpicable journaliſts, who governed the mob of Paris, than to the actual ſervice of their king and country.

The

The mayoralty of M. Bailly terminated in the month of November—La Fayette appeared as a candidate to ſucceed him:—he was, however, oppoſed by a violent Jacobin and a declared republican, M. Petion. It is almoſt unneceſſary to ſtate the iſſue of the conteſt, and to add that M. Petion was elected mayor of Paris by a great majority. Experience had evinced the increaſing credit and power of the Jacobins; and it was evident that, by gaining an aſcendancy over the minds of the populace, that ſociety was enabled to controul even the Aſſembly itſelf; as the only means of averting the dreadful conſequences with which the nation was threatened by the diſorganizing principles avowed by the leaders of that club[18]: the friends of the conſtitution and of the monarch endeavoured to counteract its influence, by a new inſtitution of a ſimilar kind[19], but profeſſing principles more moderate, and conſequently more calculated to preſerve the tranquillity and happineſs of the nation.

The republican party and the Jacobins could not behold this new aſſociation without ſecret diſquiet. It was evidently formed to diſconcert their conſpiracies, and to open the eyes of the public to their true intereſt. As they deſpaired of vanquiſhing it by the force of reaſon and truth, they determined to employ that blind and deſperate inſtrument, the ſole guidance of which they had long been labouring to acquire. The firſt alarm was on the twenty-firſt of December, when a large body of ruffians, armed with clubs,

[18] The Jacobin club originated from a ſmall and ſecret aſſociation of about forty gentlemen and men of letters, who united themſelves, long previous to the meeting of the States-General, for the purpoſe of diſſeminating political knowledge among the maſs of the people. It was afterwards blended with the Breton club, at Verſailles, during the firſt ſeſſions of the National Aſſembly; and the ſociety becoming numerous, on the removal of the king and the Aſſembly to Paris, it obtained poſſeſſion of the chapel of the Jacobins, on the diſſolution of the monaſtic orders. The popularity which it acquired ſoon rendered it exceedingly numerous, and this cirumſtance pointed it out as a proper engine to work upon the paſſions of the multitude. From a very early period of its inſtitution, one principal object was to diſcuſs ſuch political queſtions as were likely to be agitated in the National Aſſembly, in order that the members might act in concert, according to the deciſions of the majority. This plan was reduced to a ſyſtem, when the club became numerous, and a regular preſident and ſecretaries were choſen, and it became a National Aſſembly in miniature. Beſides the members an immenſe number of auditors were admitted into the galleries, who applauded or condemned the ſpeakers as paſſion or caprice dictated. Here inflammatory declamations were heard with the moſt clamorous teſtimonies of approbation, and every propoſition in the leaſt inclining to moderation of ſentiment, or wiſdom in political conduct, was reprobated and condemned. In a few words, it became ultimately the mere vehicle of faction, where, as is uſually the caſe in ſuch inſtances, the worſt men and the worſt meaſures were commonly triumphant. *Fraternal* ſocieties (according to the barbarous jargon, which was adopted as the language of anarchy) were inſtituted in all the conſiderable towns in the kingdom; and the only object of emulation in theſe neſts of political hornets ſeemed to be, which ſhould act moſt unwiſely and leaſt for the public benefit.

[19] This ſociety (the Feuillans) received its name, as well as the Jacobin club, from the place of its meeting. It was compoſed of the moſt active and moſt reſpectable members of the conſtituent aſſembly, among whom were M. M. d'André, Barnave, the Lameths, Du Port, Rabaud, Sïeyes, Chapelier, Thouret, Labord, Taleyrand, Monteſquieu, Beaumetz, &c.; to theſe may be added two hundred and ſixty-ſix members of the exiſting Aſſembly, and about eight hundred and eighty other reſpectable citizens.

clubs, forced themſelves into the hall of the Feuillans; they commenced with direct threats to ſeveral of the members, with interrupting all diſcuſſion, and, at length, openly acknowledged that they were ſent thither to effect the diſſolution of the ſociety.

A riot of a ſtill more ſerious nature was threatened on the twenty-third, and M. Charon, the preſident, wrote to the mayor, to requeſt that a commiſſaire de police might be ordered to attend the meeting, for the purpoſe of preſerving the peace; but M. Petion, who was indebted for his own elevation to the Jacobin club, could not be ſuppoſed to be extremely intereſted in favour of its rival, excuſed himſelf, by ſaying that he could not command the attendance of a commiſſaire, but that he would take every precaution in his power. At the inſtance of the commander of the national guard, however, M. Petion wrote to the commiſſaire de police, and requeſted his attendance. As the members of the ſociety came armed as well as the rioters, a tumult of a very ſanguinary nature was expected; but happily, by the interpoſition of the municipal officer, a maſſacre was prevented The rioters imperiouſly inſiſted on the diſſolution of the club; and this, by the other party, was contemptuouſly refuſed. On the exhortation of the peace officer, however, to ſeparate and depart from the ſcene of altercation, the ſociety afforded the firſt example of moderation, by quitting its hall, and leaving their property to the diſcretion of their opponents.

The majority of the Aſſembly had, from theſe circumſtances, an immediate opportunity of manifeſting its diſpoſition towards the new inſtitution. The vicinity of their place of meeting to that of the legiſlative body, and the various committees, afforded M. Merlin, and others of the Jacobin faction, a ready excuſe for inſiſting on their removal; and a motion being made to that effect, it was unanimouſly decreed. Thus was victory at once declared in favour of the Jacobins. The conſtitutional party, indeed, were too late in their adoption of active meaſures. Their more diligent adverſaries had already obtained poſſeſſion of the public mind, and they entered the field only when the conteſt was virtually decided.

Theſe tranſactions afford a tolerable accurate picture of the ſtate of parties in France, at the concluſion of the year 1791. Its ſituation, with reſpect to foreign powers, became every day more and more critical. The conduct of Leopold was a ſingular tiſſue of inconſiſtency and deception. He pretended formally to revoke the circular of Pavia, in conſequence of the king's acceptance of the conſtitution, and yet exhorted the powers of Europe not to deſiſt from the meaſures concerted between them, but to continue vigilant, and to declare that their coalition had ſtill an exiſtence. This declaration was followed by a letter to the king of France, reviving the claims of the Imperial vaſſals in Alſace and Lorraine; inſiſting that no compenſation could be accepted, but that matters ſhould be reſtored in every reſpect to their ancient ſituation; and acquainting the king, that the emperor conceived himſelf not only bound to interpoſe by ſolemn proteſtation,

tation, "but alſo to give to the injured *all the aid* which the dignity of the Imperial "court, and the maintenance of the preſent conſtitution, required."

While ſuch were the pretences of Leopold, it appeared that the German princes, in general, were more than ſatisfied with the mode of compenſation propoſed by the French. The prince of Loweſtein readily accepted of an indemnification, and the prince of Hohenloe, and the prince of Salm-Salm, declared themſelves equally ready to treat upon the ſame terms. The dukes of Wirtemberg and Deux Ponts, as well as prince Maximilian, freely negociated, and only required, what in itſelf was no more than perfectly reaſonable, the reimburſement of their revenues on the feudal rights in queſtion, from the fourth of Auguſt 1789.

The deſigns of Leopold gradually unfolded. The declaration to the European powers, the ſubſtance of which is given in a preceding paragraph, was dated the tenth of November, the letter to the king the third of December; and on the twenty-firſt of the ſame month the following official notice was delivered to the French miniſter at Vienna; in anſwer to the French king's notification to the elector of Treves.

"Prince Kaunitz Rietbergh, the chancellor of the court and ſtate, having preſented "to the emperor the official communication made by the French ambaſſador, he has been "authorized to expreſs, in return to the ſaid ambaſſador, an anſwer with that entire free- "dom which his Imperial majeſty thinks it his duty to obſerve on all objects relative to "the important criſis in which the kingdom of France is. The chancellor has, in con- "ſequence, the honour to communicate, on his ſide, that the elector of Treves has alſo "ſent to the emperor a note, which the miniſter of France was charged to preſent him at "Coblentz, as likewiſe the anſwer which the elector gave to the ſaid note; that this "prince, at the ſame time, had made known to his Imperial majeſty, that he had adopted, "reſpecting the aſſembling and arming of the French refugees and emigrants, with re- "gard to the furniſhing them with arms and warlike ammunition, the ſame principles "and regulations as had been put in force in the Auſtrian Low Countries. But that diſ- "contents began to ſpread between his ſubjects and thoſe in the environs; that the "tranquillity of his frontiers and ſtates were likely to be troubled by incurſions and "violences, notwithſtanding this wiſe meaſure; and that the elector claimed the aſſiſt- "ance of the emperor, in caſe the event realized his fears.

"That the emperor is perfectly tranquil on the juſt and moderate intentions of the "Moſt Chriſtian king, and not leſs convinced of the great intereſt which the French go- "vernment has in preventing foreign ſovereign princes from being provoked to act "againſt them by force of arms; but daily experience ſhews, that there does not appear "principles of ſtability and moderation enough in France, in the ſubordination of her "powers, and eſpecially in the provinces and municipalities, to prevent the apprehenſions

"that

" that the force of arms muſt be exerciſed, in ſpite of the king's intentions, and in ſpite " of the dangers of the conſequences.

" His Imperial majeſty, neceſſitated, as well by his friendſhip for the elector of Treves, " as by the conſideration he owes to the intereſt of Germany as a co-eſtate, and to his " own intereſt as a neighbour, has enjoined marſhal de Bender, commandant-general of " the troops in the Pays Bas, to march to the ſtates of his Electoral highneſs ſpeedy " and efficacious ſuccours, in caſe he ſhould be attacked with hoſtile incurſions, or even " imminently menaced with ſuch.

" The emperor is too ſincerely attached to his Chriſtian majeſty, and takes too great " a part in the well-being of France, and the general repoſe, not to deſire ardently the " prevention of this extremity, and the infallible conſequences which it will produce, as " well on the part of the chief and the ſtates of the German empire, as of other ſove- " reigns, who have united in concert to maintain the public tranquillity, and for the " ſafety and honour of crowns; and it is in conſequence of this latter that the chancel- " lor prince Kaunitz is ordered to be open and unreſerved to the ambaſſador of France, " to whom he has the honour of repeating his aſſurances of having the moſt diſtinguiſh- " ed conſideration."

This notice was tranſmitted by the king to the Aſſembly, encloſed in the following letter, dated the thirty-firſt of December.

" Gentlemen, I have cauſed the miniſter for foreign affairs to communicate to you " the official notice which the emperor has cauſed to be delivered to the ambaſſador from " France at Vienna. This notice, I muſt ſay, has cauſed me the greateſt aſtoniſhment. " I had a right to reckon on the ſentiments of the emperor, and of his deſire of preſerv- " ing with France the good intelligence and all the connections that ought to ſubſiſt be- " tween two allies. I cannot yet think that his diſpoſitions are changed: I wiſh to per- " ſuade myſelf that he has been deceived reſpecting the true ſtate of facts; that he has " ſuppoſed that the elector of Treves had fulfilled the duties of juſtice and good neigh- " bourhood; and that, nevertheleſs, this prince had cauſe to fear that his ſtates might be " expoſed to violences, or particular incurſions.

" In the anſwer which I have given to the emperor, I repeat to him, that I have de- " manded nothing but what is juſt from the elector of Treves, and nothing but what the " emperor himſelf had given an example of. I remind him of the care the French na- " tion took immediately to prevent the aſſembling of the Brabanters, when they attempt- " ed it in the neighbourhood of the Auſtrian Pays Bas. Finally, I renew to him the " wiſh of France for the preſervation of peace; but at the ſame time I declare, that if, " after the epoch which I have fixed, the elector of Treves has not really and effectual- " ly

" ly diſperſed the aſſemblages which exiſt in his ſtates, nothing ſhall prevent me from " propoſing to the National Aſſembly, as I have already announced, to employ force of " arms to conſtrain it.

" If this declaration does not produce the effect which I have a right to hope; if the " deſtiny of France is, to have to fight with her children and her allies; I ſhall make " known to Europe the juſtneſs of our cauſe. The French people will ſupport it by " their courage; and the nation will ſee that I have no intereſt but her's; and that I " ſhall ever maintain her dignity and her ſafety as the moſt eſſential of my duties.

(Signed) " LOUIS.
(Underneath) " DELESSART."

As the intentions of Leopold therefore could be no longer doubted, the preparations for war were renewed with redoubled vigour. By an act of the legiſlature, the king had previouſly been requeſted to confer on M. M. Rochambeau and Luckner the dignity of marſhals of France, and M. La Fayette had proceeded to aſſume an important command on the confines of Germany. The war miniſter, M. Narbonne, made the circuit of the frontiers, to inſpect perſonally the ſtate of the army there. New levies were immediately ordered, and the whole country aſſumed the garb of war.

Though the ſpirit of the nation was not depreſſed by the proſpect of impending hoſtilities, ſtill, if the ſtate of the finances be conſidered, war could not be contemplated without the moſt ſerious apprehenſions. The extraordinary reſources had all proved hitherto inadequate to the liquidation of the public debt. On the twenty-ninth of December, twenty millions of livres were voted by the Aſſembly, which the miniſter at war informed them, on the ſucceeding day, muſt be all appropriated to the deficit of 1791, and not to the expences of 1792. M. Lafond on the ſame day preſented a general eſtimate[20], from the particular eſtimates of the ſeveral miniſters, of the expences of 1792: alſo an eſtimate of the ordinary ways and means; conſiſting of land-tax, tax on perſonal

	Livres.
[20] Appanage of the princes —	5,000,000
Army — — —	221,000
Foreign affairs — —	6,000,000
Marine and colonies — —	43,000,000
General adminiſtration —	5,000,000
Public worſhip — —	81,000,000
Penſions to eccleſiaſtics —	68,000,000
National Aſſembly — —	5,000,000
Carried forward —	213,221,000

	Livres.
Brought forward —	213,221,000
Civil liſt — — —	25,000,000
Bridges and roads — —	4,000,000
High national court, and court of appeal	450,000
Schools and academies — —	1,000,000
Intereſt of public debt —	20,000,000
Life annuities — —	100,000,000
Perpetual annuities — —	300,000,000
Total —	663,671,000

property,

property, patents, ſtamps, &c. taken at 530,000,000. The remaining ſum of 133,671,000 was to be provided for from the fund of extraordinaries.

Notwithſtanding previous appearances, the year 1792 opened with fair but deluſive omens to the peace of Europe and the liberties of France. Leopold again wavered or prevaricated. Unprepared for the attack, or confident that his deep and ſiniſter policy would be ſucceſsful in amuſing the Aſſembly, his language to the French miniſters at Vienna and Bruſſels was contradictory to his former public declarations; indeed, contrary to his actual conduct, it was pacific and conciliatory: thus, while a cordon of troops was gradually forming on the frontier of the Netherlands, the ſolemn proteſtations of the emperor aſſerted them to be intended merely for the purpoſe of precaution and defence. M. de Sainte Croix, who had been diſpatched as an envoy extraordinary to the elector of Treves, was received by that prince with the moſt perfect cordiality and reſpect. The emigrants were prohibited from continuing their military exerciſes, and the elector pledged himſelf by the ſtrongeſt aſſurances to the French miniſter, that within eight days the hoſtile aſſemblages in his dominions ſhould be entirely diſperſed. All military ſtores, and even horſes, for the emigrants were prohibited; and he declared, that in every reſpect it was his moſt ardent wiſh to maintain perpetual peace and amity with France.

The people willingly ſeconded this diſpoſition. In many towns the emigrants were ignominiouſly expelled by the populace; and the prince of Condé was compelled by the magiſtrates of Worms to leave that city for fear of inſurrection. While their enemies thus appeared to be cruſhed or removed, the apprehenſions of the French for their own frontier were completely diſpelled by the report of the war miniſter on his return from his tour. The fortreſſes were repreſented as being in a moſt reſpectable ſtate, and the patriotiſm of the ſoldiery exceeded every expectation that the moſt ſanguine friend of his country could form. The credit of the paper currency experienced an immediate riſe from theſe favourable appearances; and manufactures and agriculture began once more to flouriſh. The accounts from the colonies were leſs encouraging: the dreadful revolt of the negroes at Cape François had indeed produced a temporary ceſſation of the diſſentions which exiſted between the white inhabitants of Saint Domingo and the people of colour; and an actual concordat, or agreement, had been entered into by the two parties. The ſucceſſes of the free inhabitants, thus united, againſt the revolted negroes, were brilliant; though every new inſtance of ſucceſs but added to the calamity of individuals, as it was a deſtruction of property. It affords matter for aſtoniſhment, that the moſt ſevere calamities are frequently inſufficient to deſtroy the force of prejudice. That rancorous ſpirit which prevailed in the white coloniſts, that contempt in which they continued to hold the people of colour, was repreſſed, but not extinguiſhed, by the concordat. While the ratification of this contract was ſtill in agitation, a private quarrel ſerved once more to rekindle the flames of civil war. On the ſixteenth of November the ſections of Port au Prince were aſſembled for the purpoſe of deliberating on the execution

cution of the concordat, and the forming of a new provincial aſſembly, to which the people of colour ſhould have equal admiſſion with the white inhabitants. At the very moment in which this important queſtion was in agitation, a free negro quarrelled with a white cannonier. The ſoldier drew his ſword; but the ſuperior force of the negro wreſted it from him, and broke it in pieces. For this offence the negro was apprehended; he was immediately tried, condemned, and hanged, in oppoſition to the moſt urgent and humble entreaties of the people of colour, who only requeſted that the execution of the ſentence might at leaſt be deferred.

The conſequence of this haſty and imprudent act was, that the people of colour fired on the cannoniers; the white coloniſts flew inſtantly to arms, and the conteſt was renewed with all its former fury. The ſucceeding day the town of Port au Prince was ſet on fire by ſome unknown incendiaries, and twenty-eight iſlets, making two fifths of the whole, were totally conſumed. The ſubſequent hiſtory of this diſtracted colony is nothing but a repetition of crimes and diſaſters. The iſland, divided into three parties, has continued a prey to its inteſtine diviſions. The revolted negroes have ſtill maintained their ground. The people of colour have either remained undecided and inactive, or have taken the part of the inſurgents.

A decree of accuſation of high-treaſon was now paſſed againſt the brothers of the king, the prince of Condé, M. Calonne, and Mirabeau the younger; and as, notwithſtanding the profeſſions of the emperor, reports had gone forth that a congreſs was to be formed by Auſtria and Pruſſia, for the purpoſe of ſubverting, or modifying at leaſt, the French conſtitution, a decree was paſſed by the legiſlature, and immediately ſanctioned by the king, pronouncing every Frenchman infamous, and guilty of high treaſon, who ſhould, directly or indirectly, take any part in ſuch meaſures, or who ſhould, in any reſpect, unite with thoſe whoſe object was a modification of the exiſting conſtitution.

The principal misfortune, however, that afflicted France, was the parties which exiſted within its boſom, and which precipitated rapidly, one after another, the miniſters from their ſtations. M. Deleſſart was accuſed, and M. Bertrand declared, by a vote of the Aſſembly, unworthy of being employed. While the republican party were thus obtaining a gradual aſcendancy in the Aſſembly, and taking advantage of every circumſtance that could increaſe their power, the more deſperate among them were inſidiouſly employed in diſperſing rumours among the people, atrociouſly ſlanderous of the king and the exiſting government. Pikes were openly manufactured in different parts of the city, and avowedly diſtributed among the populace, under the ſpecious pretext of arming them againſt the enemies of liberty. On the ſeventeenth of February, therefore, the king thought it neceſſary expreſsly to deny, in a ſpirited letter to the mayor and municipality, all the charges which were circulated againſt him, relative to his ſuppoſed diſaffection to the conſtitution; the municipality alſo, nearly about the ſame period,

paſſed a reſolution, prohibiting the citizens from keeping ſtores of concealed arms in their houſes.

In one inſtance, however, it muſt be confeſſed, that the Jacobin and republican party evinced ſuperior ſagacity, and ſhewed that they were poſſeſſed of either better information, or more honeſty, than their opponents. They penetrated more ſucceſsfully the deſigns of Leopold, and ſaw that the falſe ſerenity which prevailed at the commencement of the year only preceded a ſtorm; and that it was a mere deluſion created by that prince to lull the ſpirit of France into a fatal tranquillity. Not uninformed, probably, of the actual grounds of the treaty of Pilnitz, they ſaw that an alliance of ſuch extent was not likely to vaniſh in vapour; the reaſons ſtill exiſted in which it originated. With this opinion the preparations of Auſtria and Pruſſia entirely correſponded; and while no motive of ſufficient weight had occurred to induce the combination to lay aſide their project, there was an obvious reaſon for the concealment of it, and that was, that it was evidently not yet ripe for execution. At their inſtance, therefore, the military preparations were carried on with vigour; at their inſtance, a deciſive anſwer was demanded from Leopold, and a period was fixed, after which his ſilence was to be conſtrued into a declaration of war. The court itſelf indeed was not without its alarms; for marſhals Luckner and Rochambeau, and M. La Fayette, were ordered to Paris, towards the latter end of February, to concert with the executive power concerning the proper arrangements for the defence of the country; a conſiderable promotion of officers was made, and even a marine equipment was ordered, in expectation that ſome naval power might be induced to join the confederacy.

In the month of January 1792, the emperor had tranſmitted to the French court the complaints which had been addreſſed to him by ſeveral German princes of Alſace and Lorraine, on the abolition of the feudal ſyſtem on their eſtates in thoſe provinces. The National Aſſembly having ſome months before aboliſhed all juriſdiction, metropolitan and dioceſan, exerciſed by foreign prelates; which fell principally on the archbiſhops of Metz and Treves, and on the biſhops of Spire and Bale, theſe prelates preferred their complaints alſo to the emperor, and the emperor ſent them to the diet at Ratiſbon. The Diet made a *concluſum* on the ſubject, which was, That all things, both temporal and ſpiritual, muſt be put upon their ancient footing, agreeable to treaties and conventions. The emperor confirmed this *concluſum*, and ſent it to the circles of the empire. Upon which the French king addreſſed the following note to the emperor:

"The French nation does not derive the title to its ſovereignty from the archives of the
"Imperial chancery; it is ſovereign, becauſe it is free; it is free, becauſe it choſe to be
"ſo; and the object of its choice muſt be eternal. This idea muſt extend alike, with-
"out diſcrimination or limit, to all its territories—to the whole of the eighty-three de-
"partments. All have concurred to form the national repreſentation—all are integra
" part

" parts of the French monarchy. Theſe principles will admit of no change or modifi-
" cation. Would the nation have reſcued its rights from the hands of domeſtic tyrants, to
" ſurrender them merely to I know not what foreign ſupremacy? The French acknow-
" ledge no ſupremacy but their own. When then the National Aſſembly conſented to
" indemnify certain German princes, it conſulted its own generoſity rather than the
" claims of juſtice. It is time to extirpate theſe laſt remains of the feudal ſyſtem.
" From this period it will grant no immunities or favours, which ſtrangers, having pro-
" perty or reſidence in France, enjoy in common. Have you not ſeen, that the faith of
" Frenchmen, with reſpect to treaties, is, by the new conſtitution, placed beyond the
" power of change? Kings may ſometimes have failed in their engagements; but the
" monarchy of a free people never will follow the example, nor will the people ſuf-
" fer him. The ſureſt pledge of the good faith of governments, is the liberty of the
" people."

The National Aſſembly at this time ordered the following manifeſto to be delivered, by their ambaſſadors to all the courts in Europe.

" At a moment when, for the firſt time ſince the epoch of their liberty, the French
" people may ſee themſelves reduced to the neceſſity of exerciſing the terrible right of
" war, their repreſentatives owe to Europe, to all mankind, an account of the motives
" which have guided their reſolutions, and an expoſition of the principles which direct
" their conduct. *The French nation renounces the undertaking of the war with the view of*
" *making conqueſts, and will never employ her forces againſt the liberty of any ſtate.* Such is
" the text of their conſtitution: ſuch is the ſacred vow upon which they have con-
" nected their own happineſs with the happineſs of other people, and they will be faith-
" ful to them. But who can conſider that a friendly territory, in which exiſts an army
" waiting only the proſpect of ſucceſs for the moment of attack?

" Is it not equivalent to a declaration of war, to give places of ſtrength, not only
" to enemies who have already declared, but to conſpirators, who have long ſince com-
" menced it? Every thing, therefore, impoſes upon the powers eſtabliſhed by the con-
" ſtitution for maintaining the peace and the ſafety of the public, the imperious law of
" employing force againſt rebels, who, from the boſom of a foreign land, threaten to
" tear their country in pieces.

" The right of nations violated—the dignity of the French people inſulted—the cri-
" minal abuſe of the king's name, employed by impoſtors to veil their diſaſtrous projects
" —their diſtruſt kept up by ſiniſter rumours through the whole empire—the obſtacles
" occaſioned by this diſtruſt to the execution of the laws, and the re-eſtabliſhment of
" public credit—the means of corruption exerted to delude and ſeduce the citizens—the

" diſquiets

" diſquiets which agitate the inhabitants of the frontiers—the evils to which attempts " the moſt vain, and the moſt ſpeedily repulſed, may expoſe them—the outrages, al- " ways unpuniſhed, which they have experienced on the territories where the revolted " French find an aſylum—the neceſſity of not allowing the rebels time to complete " their preparations, or raiſe up more dangerous againſt their country—ſuch are our " motives. Never did more juſt or more urgent exiſt; and, in the picture which we " have drawn, we have rather ſoftened than over-charged our injuries. We have no oc- " caſion to rouſe the indignation of citizens in order to inflame their courage.

" The French nation, however, will never ceaſe to conſider as a friendly people the " inhabitants of the territory occupied by the rebels, and governed by princes who offer " them protection. The peaceful citizens, whoſe country armies may occupy, ſhall " not be treated by her as enemies, nor even as ſubjects. The public force, of which ſhe " may become the depoſitary, ſhall not be employed but to ſecure their tranquillity, " and maintain their laws. Proud of having regained the rights of nature, ſhe will " never outrage them in other men. Jealous of her independence, determined to bury " herſelf in her own ruins, rather than ſuffer laws to be taken from her, or dictated to " her, or even an inſulting guarantee of thoſe ſhe has framed for herſelf, ſhe will never " infringe the independence of other nations. Her ſoldiers will conduct themſelves on " a foreign territory as they would on their own, if forced to combat on it. The in- " voluntary evils which her troops may occaſion ſhall be repaired. The aſylum which " ſhe offers to ſtrangers ſhall not be ſhut againſt the inhabitants of countries whoſe " princes ſhall have forced her to attack them; they ſhall find a ſure refuge in her bo- " ſom. Faithful to the engagements made in her name, ſhe will fulfil them with a " generous exactneſs; but no danger ſhall be capable of making her forget, that the ſoil of " France belongs wholly to liberty, and that the laws of equality ought to be univerſal. " She will preſent to the world the new ſpectacle of a nation truly free, ſubmiſſive to " the laws of juſtice amid the ſtorms of war, and reſpecting every where, on every occa- " ſion, towards all men, the rights which are the ſame to all.

" Peace, which impoſture, intrigue, and treaſon, have baniſhed, will never ceaſe to be " the firſt of our wiſhes. France will take up arms, compelled to do ſo for her ſafety " and internal peace, and we will be ſeen to lay them down with joy, the moment ſhe is " aſſured that there is nothing to fear for that liberty—for that equality, which is now " the only element in which Frenchmen can live. She dreads not war, but ſhe loves " peace; ſhe feels that ſhe has need of it; and ſhe is too conſcious of her ſtrength to " fear making the avowal. When, in requiring other nations to reſpect her repoſe, ſhe " took an eternal engagement not to trouble others, ſhe might have thought that ſhe de- " ſerved to be liſtened to, and that this ſolemn declaration, the pledge of tranquillity, " and the happineſs of other nations, might have merited the affection of the princes

" who

" who govern them; but ſuch of thoſe princes as apprehend that France would endea-
" vour to excite internal agitations in other countries, ſhall learn, that the cruel right
" of repriſal—juſtified by uſage, condemned by nature—will not make her reſort to the
" means employed againſt her own repoſe; that ſhe will be juſt to thoſe who have not
" been ſo to her; that ſhe will every where pay as much reſpect to peace as to liberty;
" and that the men who ſtill preſume to call themſelves the maſters of other men, will
" have nothing to dread from her but the influence of her example.

" The French nation is free; and, what is more than to be free, ſhe has the ſentiment
" of freedom. She is free; ſhe is armed; ſhe can never be reduced to ſlavery. In vain
" are her inteſtine diſcords counted on; ſhe has paſſed the dangerous moment of the
" reformation of her political laws; and ſhe is too wiſe to anticipate the leſſon of ex-
" perience; ſhe wiſhes only to maintain her conſtitution, and to defend it.

" The diviſion of two powers proceeding from the ſame ſource, and directed to the
" ſame end, the laſt hope of our enemies, has vaniſhed at the voice of our country in
" danger; and the king, by the ſolemnity of his proceedings, by the frankneſs of his
" meaſures, ſhews to Europe the French nation, ſtrong in her means of defence and
" proſperity. Reſigned to the evils which the enemies of the human race, united
" againſt her, may make her ſuffer, ſhe will triumph over them by her patience and her
" courage; victorious, ſhe will ſeek neither indemnification nor vengeance.

" Such are the ſentiments of a generous people, which their repreſentatives do them-
" ſelves honour in expreſſing. Such are the projects of the new political ſyſtem which
" they have adopted—to repel force, to reſiſt oppreſſion, to forget all when they have
" nothing more to fear; and to treat adverſaries, if vanquiſhed, as brothers; if recon-
" ciled, as friends. Theſe are the wiſhes of all the French, and this is the war which
" they declare againſt their enemies."

The following papers (the firſt addreſſed to the French king by the Emigrants at Cob-lentz, the other from the French princes to the emperor) farther elucidate this ſubject, and fully explain the grounds of difference between France and Auſtria.

" It is not to you, Sire, that we undertake to juſtify our reſiſtance,—we know too
" well the true intentions of your majeſty. We ſhall never believe that you have free-
" ly renounced the ſovereignty, which you hold from God alone, to render yourſelf
" the ſubordinate agent of the revolters who uſurp your throne.

" Your majeſty, leſs unhappy than was the head of your houſe, may reckon among
" your defenders two auguſt brothers, the princes of the name of Condé, a name ſo dear
" to victory; the French nobility; and a great number of perſons of the Third Eſtate,

" who have all dedicated their blood and the remainder of their fortune to the taſk of " replacing the crown upon your head. It is in theſe circumſtances, Sire, that we are " invited to abandon your rights, and to ſubmit ourſelves to the multitude who have " deprived you of your liberty. The fidelity which we have ſworn, Sire, is to the " whole houſe of Bourbon; and when it ſhall be poſſible that you may wiſh to deprive " us of our obligations to you, theſe obligations will not ſubſiſt the leſs between us and " your deſcendants. The throne will belong to them as it was tranſmitted to you, and " ſuch as you poſſeſſed it at your acceſſion to the crown. Our fidelity will be due to " them; we are, therefore, not permitted to conſent to any act which may deprive them " of the rights of their birth, and of the inheritance to which they are called. In all " nations, the proprietors of the land, the poſſeſſors of the richeſt perſonal property, " have always formed a diſtinct claſs from the other inhabitants: without this precau- " tion, the latter, neceſſarily the moſt numerous, would continually hold the others in " a precarious and uncertain ſtate.

" Do not believe, Sire, that we have abandoned our country: we hope to return with " all thoſe whom common danger has compelled to quit their houſes; we ſhall return to " bring with us order and peace; to replace your majeſty upon your throne; and to en- " joy, with all your people, the bleſſings which you ſhall freely judge it ſuitable to " grant them."

The letter from the French princes to the emperor was as follows:

" OUR BROTHER AND COUSIN,

" The abſolute ſilence of your majeſty, and the conduct which you have been " pleaſed to evince ſince the treaty of Pilnitz, ſeem to require from us an entire " reſerve and diſcretion; but, notwithſtanding appearances, and the rigorous mea- " ſures which your majeſty's government in the Low Countries unceaſingly pur- " ſues againſt the French, faithful to their duty and their honour, we always re- " call with confidence the ſacred promiſes which your majeſty has made to the comte " d'Artois; and we have the firm aſſurance, that Leopold, faithful to his engagements, " guided by the ſentiments of his heart, and enlightened by his own proper intereſts, now " wiſhes, and always will wiſh, to ſuccour his ally, deliver his ſiſter, and guarantee his " own ſtates, by deſtroying the germ of contagion.

" A great occaſion has at length preſented: never could a more favourable opportunity " be offered. It is our duty to ſubmit to your majeſty what can be done in favour of " France—it is for you to determine. We do not here recall to your memory the pre- " ſent ſtate of Europe. The north and the ſouth have publiſhed their intentions. " Pruſſia and your majeſty have but one opinion. We are deſirous to ſpeak of the in- " ternal ſituation of France.

" The

" The new Aſſembly has fallen into diſrepute; the frightful diſorder of the finances " announcing an approaching bankruptcy; no power, no order, any longer exiſts in the " ſtate; our enemies are acquainted with their danger; they perceive their ruin inevi- " table, but they ſtill perſevere in the audacioufneſs of their crimes; and we dare to ſay, " to a ſovereign who loves truth, that the *ſeeming* conduct of your majeſty ſuſtains their " hopes, and emboldens them in their ſanguinary projects. The decree which they paſſed " againſt Monſieur and the emigrants ſufficiently develope their deſigns. They know " that the brothers of the unfortunate Lewis the Sixteenth deſpiſe their menaces; they " know that the nobility of France are attached only to honour; but, directed at preſent " by the duke of Orleans, and the republican party, they wiſh to profit by the ſilence " of Europe, and to ſeek their ſafety in the exceſs of their crimes. To ſucceed in their " deſigns, it was neceſſary they ſhould take the audacious meaſure of depriving us both " of a right, which their own decrees gave us, to the regency. Sufficient time has " elapſed to judge of the effect which this new crime has produced upon the ſovereigns " of Europe, and more eſpecially upon your majeſty; but if they can be perſuaded of " your indifference, or of the prevalence of a dilatory ſyſtem, which is equally dan- " gerous, they will haſten to conſummate their crimes; they will annihilate the phan- " tom of royalty which they now ſuffer to exiſt; they will make an attempt on the life " of the queen; and they will elect a thief, by beſtowing the regency upon the duke of " Orleans. We do not advance any thing of which we are not certain; and your ma- " jeſty may be perſuaded that we ſpeak not the language of exaggeration.

" But, Sire, by a ſingle word, by a ſingle action, which will prove the firmneſs of " your reſolutions, not only will your majeſty diſconcert all the projects of our enemies, " but the change of opinions is ſuch, the diſcredit of the Aſſembly ſo great, that at one " and the ſame inſtant, an inſurrection will take place in all parts of the kingdom, and " more eſpecially in the heart of the capital, where the people are kept in ſubjection by " the audacity of the rebels alone. What we now demand of your majeſty is, that " you will be pleaſed to make a public declaration, on purpoſe to aſſure the French " princes of your protection, and alſo the other French, whoſe zeal, and the purity of " whoſe principles, have obliged them to leave the kingdom. There is nothing *perſonal* " in our conduct: we act only for honour, which is our ſole recompence, and nothing " can deprive us of it.

" But it is left for your majeſty to conſider, whether you will guarantee the life of " the king and of the queen, and produce the beſt and greateſt effects by a meaſure which " will not any way affect you; or whether you chuſe to leave the deareſt and moſt pre- " cious claims to the chance of events, and the audacity of crimes."

The preceding papers being laid before the National Aſſembly, they came to the following reſolutions:

" 1. The king ſhall be *invited* by a meſſage, to declare to the emperor, that he cannot " in future treat with any power but in the name of the French nation, and in virtue " of the powers delegated to him by the conſtitution.

" 2. The king ſhall be invited to demand of the emperor, if, as head of the houſe of " Auſtria, he intends to live in peace with the French nation, or if he renounces all " treaties and conventions directed againſt the ſovereignty, independence, and ſafety " of the nation.

" 3. The king ſhall be requeſted to declare to the emperor, that in caſe he ſhall, be- " fore the firſt day of May next, fail to give full and entire ſatisfaction upon the points " above ſtated, his ſilence ſhall be conſidered as a declaration of war.

" 4. The king ſhall be requeſted to adopt the moſt efficacious meaſures to put the " troops in a ſtate to take the field, on the firſt orders they may receive."

Theſe reſolutions being delivered to the king, he returned to the Aſſembly the following anſwer:

" I have examined, gentlemen, the *invitation* which you cauſed to be preſented to me. " It is to me alone that appertains the right of preſerving foreign connections, or con- " ducting negociations; nor can the legiſlative body deliberate upon war, but on a for- " mal and neceſſary propoſition from me. Without doubt, you may demand of me to " take into conſideration whatever intereſts the national ſafety and dignity; but the " form which you have adopted is ſuſceptible of important obſervations. I will not " now develope them. The weight of preſent circumſtances requires that I ſhould " rather be ſolicitous to preſerve an agreement in our ſentiments, than conſtitutionally " to diſcuſs my rights. I ought, therefore, to make known to you, that I have demand- " ed of the emperor, more than a fortnight ſince, a poſitive explanation on the principal " articles which are the object of your invitation. I have preſerved towards him that " decorum which is reciprocally due between powers. Should we have a war, let us " not have to reproach ourſelves with any wrong which might have provoked it. A " certainty of this can alone aſſiſt us to ſupport the inevitable evils it brings with it.

" I know it is glorious for me to ſpeak in the name of a nation which diſplays ſo " much courage, and I know how to put a value on this immenſe means of ſtrength. " But what more ſincere proof can I give of my attachment to the conſtitution, than " that of acting with as much mildneſs in negociation as celerity in our preparations, " which will permit us, ſhould neceſſity require it, to enter into a campaign within ſix " weeks. The moſt uneaſy diſtruſt can find in this conduct only the union of all my " duties.

" I remind

" I remind the Aſſembly, that humanity forbids the mixture of any movement of en-
" thuſiaſm in the deciſion for war. Such a determination ſhould be the act of mature
" reflection, for it is to pronounce, in the name of the country, that her intereſts require
" her to ſacrifice a great number of her children. I am nevertheleſs awake to the ho-
" nour and ſafety of the nation, and I will haſten, with all my power, that moment when
" I can inform the National Aſſembly, whether they may rely on peace, or if I ought
" to propoſe to them a war.

(Signed) " LOUIS.
(Counterſigned) " DUPORT."

In the month of February 1792, the Imperial miniſter at Paris preſented a memorial to the French court, in which he ſaid—

" I anſwer, in the name of the emperor, my maſter, to the explanations required by
" the court of France:—His ſentiments are ſo pure, that he willingly ſubmits to
" explain away the deluſion artfully propagated in order to diſturb the tranquillity
" of both ſtates. The requeſt reſted on two points; the firſt relative to the orders
" iſſued to general Bender to prepare for war. This armament was merely defenſive;
" it had no other object but to protect the electorate of Treves from an invaſion. The
" ſecond point related to the emperor's alliance with the king of Pruſſia and other
" powers. Though it be miſnamed a *league*, nothing can be more juſt than the treaty
" by which the kings declared, in the month of June 1791, that they would ſupport
" the cauſe of his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty againſt his rebel oppreſſors. Nothing but the
" king's perfect ſtate of freedom could have diſarmed his avengers; but ſhould rebel-
" lion break out anew, the confederacy of kings would have its effect."

The fallacious calm which had pervaded the nation and the Aſſembly, was, on the publication of theſe diſpatches, changed into a tempeſt of rage and reſentment. The miniſter, Deleſſart, was charged with having deceived the nation; the various communications from foreign powers were treated as little better than forgeries, and the miniſter for foreign affairs was conſidered as being a party in the fraud: to many it appeared that war itſelf was a leſs formidable evil than the enormous expences in which a continued ſtate of alarm involved the nation; and ſome even went ſo far as to regard the menaces of the confederacy as empty threats, and as concerted ſolely to increaſe the diſtreſſes of the nation, by deranging its finances.

While the indignation of the popular party in the Aſſembly was directed againſt M. Bertrand, miniſter of the marine, and M. Deleſſart, miniſter for foreign affairs, the court, under the influence, as was confidently ſuſpected, of the houſe of Auſtria, determined on the diſmiſſion of M. Narbonne from the war department; and of M. Cahier de Gerville from that of the interior. M. de Grave was appointed as ſucceſſor to M. Narbonne,

bonne, whoſe diſmiſſion was both reſented and reſiſted by the leading members of the Aſſembly. M. Sage moved, "That M. Narbonne carried with him the regret of the "National Aſſembly;" and on a motion of cenſure, by M. Cambon, on the miniſters who adviſed the king to retain M. Bertrand in his ſervice, after he had loſt the public confidence, M. Cahier de Gerville was expreſsly excepted.

Theſe meaſures were followed, in the ſame ſitting, by the impeachment of M. Deleſſart. He was accuſed, by M. Briſſot, of omitting to give information to the Aſſembly of the concert formed among foreign powers againſt the liberty and independence of France; of not preſſing the meaſures proper for the ſafety and defence of the nation; of having given to prince Kaunitz details on the ſituation of the kingdom, calculated to convey an improper idea; of having meanly ſued for peace; and of having refuſed to obey the decrees of the National Aſſembly. In conſequence of a decree paſſed againſt him, M. Deleſſart was apprehended, and conducted to Orleans, to be tried by the high national court.

The impeachment of M. Deleſſart ſo completely terrified the marine miniſter, M. Bertrand, that he loſt no time in requeſting leave to give in his reſignation. Thus the miniſtry was at once completely diſſolved; and yet, unpermanent and difficult as the ſituation was, the conteſt to ſupply the vacant offices ſerved ſtill farther to divide the diſtracted empire.

While France was thus agitated by internal faction, and the apprehenſion of a foreign attack, the politics of Europe once more appeared to vibrate in favour of peace, by the ſudden death of the emperor of Germany. This event happened on the firſt of March; and from the ſuddenneſs of the attack, and the nature of the complaint, violent ſuſpicions were at firſt entertained that he owed his death to poiſon. The complaint entirely affected the ſtomach and the inteſtines, his body ſwelled to an enormous degree, and his bowels literally burſt. The accuſation of poiſon was naturally directed againſt the French party; but the whole ſuſpicion was ſoon removed by the narrative of his diſeaſe, which was publiſhed by authority, and which aſcribed the fatal event to a rheumatic fever.

As a man, Leopold was generally conſidered as a debauched and ſenſual character; as a prince, he was certainly poſſeſſed of ability; and, though his principles were deſpotic, it muſt be confeſſed, that in general he made uſe of his power for the good of his ſubjects. His political career, while grand duke of Tuſcany, was marked by wiſdom and moderation. He ſimplified the laws, he remitted the moſt grievous of the public burdens, and his regard to the adminiſtration of juſtice was ſuch, that he allowed, and even encouraged, appeals to himſelf, wherever any party conceived himſelf injured in the courſe of a proceſs in the ordinary courts of law. He had the merit of reſtoring peace

to

to the empire, as well as to Auſtria and the Netherlands, notwithſtanding the diſtreſs and confuſion in which he found them all involved, by the imprudent adminiſtration of his predeceſſor. His political wiſdom and general ſagacity were certainly far above the ordinary ſtandard of hereditary monarchs. The ſoundneſs of his judgment, and his regard to his people, were ſtrongly evinced by one trait—he loved peace. How far his conduct in uniting with the confederacy of princes againſt the liberties of France may be fairly cited in contradiction to this aſſertion, we are ſcarcely qualified to decide, unleſs we were better informed as to the motives and the extent of that confederacy.

The death of the emperor, inſtead of protracting, appears to have accelerated hoſtilities between Auſtria and France. The young king of Hungary, Francis the Firſt, was ſcarcely ſeated upon the throne, when he deſired a conference with the Pruſſian miniſter, Biſchoffwerder, and directed him to inform his maſter, that he was determined ſtrictly and literally to adhere to the convention of Pilnitz. The preparations on the part of France, in the mean time, proceeded with alacrity; and the new miniſter, M. Dumourier, declared, in the Jacobin club, that he would, in his negociations with Auſtria, direct them to the point of obtaining, without delay, a ſolid peace or a deciſive war.

The aſcendancy which the Jacobin club had obtained by their victory over the Feuillans, and ſtill more by the impeachment of M. Deleſſart, rendered their authority abſolute in every thing that concerned the politics of France. The court ſeemed at this moment to relinquiſh every thought of reſiſtance, and to ſail with the tide. This was ſoon evinced in the appointment of miniſters; M. Dumourier and M. Lacoſte, two of the leading Jacobins, being nominated to the vacant departments of foreign affairs and the marine; and his majeſty, as a farther teſtimony of his attention to the will of the people, diſmiſſed the Swiſs guards on the ſeventeenth of March; and on that day the guard appointed by the conſtitution entered upon duty.

On the twenty-ſecond of March a decree of ſequeſtration was paſſed againſt the property of the emigrants, ſaving, however the right of creditors to be reimburſed their demands; and ſuch as returned within the ſpace of one month were to be re-eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of their eſtates, ſubjected, however, to a proportionate tax, to defray the expences of the armament which their emigration had occaſioned. By an additional decree, they were deprived of the rights of active citizens for two years after their return to France; and ſuch of them as ſhould not return within a month, were deprived of thoſe privileges for ten years.

The ſucceeding day the king announced the appointment of three more of the popular party to the miniſtry, viz. M. Garnier, miniſter of juſtice, in the room of M. Duport du Tertre; M. Roland, miniſter of the interior, inſtead of M. Cahier de Gerville; and M. Claviere, miniſter of finance, in the room of M. Tarbe. The new miniſters were

were all members of the Jacobin club, which, at this period, ſeems to have poſſeſſed the entire confidence of the nation. The vigorous meaſures purſued by the Aſſembly, had alſo the happieſt effects both upon public credit and upon the minds of the emigrants, upwards of four hundred having paſſed through Liſle on their return in one day.

The French miniſter at Vienna having demanded a farther explanation of the deſigns of the Imperial court, and a requeſt of the new king of Hungary to recognize the French conſtitution, he received the following anſwer, dated the eighteenth of March.

" That the king of Hungary having fully adopted the political ſyſtem of the late " emperor, he would explain himſelf with a frankneſs that became a great power. The " king of France complains of the aſſembling troops in Germany. No aſſembling of " troops there is known, that ought to be conſidered as an indication of hoſtility. " *Troops are aſſembled in much greater numbers in France.* The king of Hungary, and " the princes of Germany, may perhaps think it proper to aſſemble ſtill greater numbers, " to maintain the internal peace of their ſeveral ſtates, diſturbed by the example of the " troubles in France, and the criminal machinations of the Jacobin party; but theſe " princes will never conſent to tie up their own hands in that reſpect, which no power " has a right to require of them. With reſpect to the engagements and concerts be- " tween the court of Vienna and the moſt reſpectable powers in Europe, this court will " continue to maintain them, till the French nation, adopting a milder courſe, ſhall re- " pel the inſinuations of a ſanguinary faction, that excites tumults and acts of violence " againſt the liberty of the kings, and the faith of the treaties; but ſhould the deſign " and artifices of that faction prevail, the king of Hungary flatters himſelf, that the " *ſound and principal part of the nation* will conſider, as a conſolating proſpect of ſupport, " the exiſtence of a concert, the views of which are worthy of its confidence, and the " moſt important criſis that ever has affected the common intereſts of Europe."

Notwithſtanding the indignation which ſuch an addreſs muſt neceſſarily have produced, M. Dumourier entreated the Aſſembly to wait in tranquillity for the categorical anſwer of the court of Vienna, which he expected in the courſe of a few days: and this recommendation of the miniſter was unanimouſly aſſented to. From the king of Sardinia a more moderate and favourable anſwer was received. He aſſured the miniſter, in general terms, that his troops were actually below the peace eſtabliſhment, and that he permitted no hoſtile aſſemblages of the emigrants within his dominions.

The diſpatch of M. Dumourier to the king of Hungary was accompanied by the following letter in the king's own hand-writing:

" Sir, my Brother and Nephew,

" The tranquillity of Europe depends on the anſwer which your majeſty ſhall " make to the conduct which is due from me to the great intereſts of the French " nation

" nation—to its glory, and to the ſafety of the unfortunate victims of that war " with which a powerful combination threatens France. Your majeſty cannot doubt " that I freely and voluntarily accepted the conſtitution;—I have ſworn to main- " tain it—my repoſe and my honour are inſeparably connected with it—my fate is " linked with that of the nation, whoſe hereditary repreſentative I am, and which, " in ſpite of the calumnies thrown out againſt it, merits, and ſhall always poſſeſs, the " eſteem of all nations. The French have ſworn to live free, or to die—I am pledged " by the ſame oath.

" The Sieur de Maulde, whom I ſend as ambaſſador extraordinary to your majeſty, " will explain to you the means to avert thoſe calamities of war which threaten Eu- " rope. With theſe ſentiments I remain, &c. &c.

(Signed) " Louis."

The Imperial miniſter in his anſwer ſtates—" That the concert was no longer per- " ſonal to the king of Hungary; that he could not withdraw himſelf but with other " courts; and that this concert would continue till what remained to be ſettled with " France was brought to a concluſion."—He ſpecifies three points:

" 1. That ſatisfaction ſhould be given to the princes poſſeſſioned in Alſace.

" 2. That ſatisfaction ſhould be given to the pope for the county of Avignon.

" 3. That the neighbouring powers ſhall have no reaſon for the apprehenſions which " ariſe from the preſent weakneſs of the internal government of France; that the " note, dated the eighteenth of March, contains the anſwer to the demands; and that " the diſpoſition expreſſed in that note could be the leſs altered, ſince it contained alſo " the opinion of the king of Pruſſia upon the affairs of France; an opinion agreeing, " in all reſpects, with that of the king of Hungary."

On Friday, the twentieth of April, his majeſty came to the Aſſembly, the members of which roſe and were uncovered as he entered, and took their ſeats when he had reach- ed his place. The king then ſpoke as follows:

" Gentlemen, I have come among you for an object of the higheſt importance in the preſent circumſtances. My miniſter for foreign affairs will read to you the report which he made to me in council, on our ſituation with regard to Germany."

M. Dumourier then went up, and, ſtanding by the king's ſide, read the report, which the king had notified to the Aſſembly, as follows:

" Sire, When you took an oath of fidelity to the conſtitution, you became the object " of the hatred of the enemies of liberty. No natural tie could ſtop—no motive of " alliance, of neighbourhood, of propriety could prevent their enmity. Your ancient " allies eraſed your name out of the liſt of deſpots, and from that moment they forgot " your majeſty's fidelity. The emigrants, rebels to the laws of their country, are gone " beyond the frontiers to prepare a guilty aggreſſion againſt France. They wiſh to car- " ry into its boſom fire and ſword. Their rage would have been impotent, if the fo- " reign princes had not ſeconded and encouraged their criminal manœuvres. The houſe " of Auſtria has done every thing to encourage their audacity. The houſe of Auſtria, " who, ſince the treaty of 1756, has found us good and faithful allies! This treaty, " Sire, ſubjected us to the ambitious views of this houſe. She engaged us in all her " wars, to which ſhe called us as her allies. We have been prodigal of our blood in " the cruel tragedies of deſpotiſm. The inſtant that the houſe of Auſtria ſaw ſhe " could no longer govern us for her purpoſes, ſhe became our enemy.

" It was Auſtria that had ſtirred up againſt France the reſtleſs Northern potentate, " whoſe tyrannical phrenzy had at laſt made him fall under the ſword of an aſſaſſin.— " It was Auſtria, who in circumſtances of which Europe ſhall judge, adviſed one party of " Frenchmen to take up arms againſt the other. The note of the court of Vienna, of " the eighteenth of February was, in truth, a declaration of war; M. Kaunitz there " avows the league of the powers againſt France. The death of Leopold ought to " have made ſome change in this ambitious ſyſtem, but we have ſeen the contrary. The " note of the eighteenth of March is the *ultimatum* of the court of Vienna. This note " is more provoking ſtill than the former. The king of Hungary wiſhes that we ſhould " ſubmit our conſtitution to his reviſion; and he does not diſſemble the project of arm- " ing Frenchmen againſt Frenchmen.

" Sire,"—continues the miniſter—" in charging me with the adminiſtration of fo- " reign affairs, you have impoſed on me the taſk of telling you the truth: I proceed to tell " you the truth. It reſults from this meaſure that the treaty of 1756 is broken in " fact, on the ſide of Auſtria. That the maintenance of a league of the powers, is an " act of hoſtility againſt France; and, that you ought this inſtant to order M. Noailles, " your ambaſſador, to quit the court of Vienna, without taking leave.—Sire, the Auſ- " trian troops are on the march—the camps are marked out—fortreſſes are building. The " nation, by its oath, on the fourteenth of July, has declared, that any man who ſhall " accede to an unconſtitutional negociation is a traitor. The delay granted to Auſtria " is expired—your honour is attacked—the nation is inſulted; therefore there remains " for you no other part to take, but to make to the National Aſſembly the formal pro- " poſition of war againſt the king of Bohemia and Hungary."

The miniſter having read this minute the king reſumed his ſpeech:

" You

" You have heard, Meſſieurs, the deliberation and the deciſion of my council. I " adopt their determination. It is conformable to the wiſh, many times expreſſed, of " the National Aſſembly, and to that which has been addreſſed to me by many diſtricts " of France. It appears to me to be the wiſh of all the French people. Frenchmen " prefer war to a ruinous anxiety, and to an humiliating ſtate, which compromiſes our " conſtitution, and our dignity. I have done every thing to avert war—but I judge it " indiſpenſable; I come, therefore, in the terms of our conſtitution, *to propoſe to you for-* " *mally to declare war againſt the king of Bohemia and Hungary.*" The preſident anſwered—" Sire, The Aſſembly will proceed to deliberate on the great propoſition which your " majeſty has made to them. They will addreſs to you, by a meſſage, the reſult of " their deliberation."—The king then retired with his miniſters.

In the afternoon of the ſame day, the Aſſembly reſumed the ſubject; and having come to a reſolution, " That war be declared againſt the king of Bohemia and Hun- " gary;" at eleven o'clock at night, a deputation of twenty-four members waited upon the king, with the following meſſage:

" Sire, The National Aſſembly have thought it their duty to come to a ſpeedy deter- " mination on the propoſition you made to them, for declaring war againſt the king of " Bohemia and Hungary. They charge us to preſent their decree for your majeſty's ſanc- " tion. It is conformable to the wiſh that you have expreſſed to them. It is the re- " ſult of the lively and conſtant ſolicitude of the elected repreſentatives, and the heredi- " tary repreſentative of the nation, for maintaining its dignity, its liberty, and its conſti- " tution."

The king returned the following anſwer:—" I ſhall take the decree of the Aſſembly " into deep conſideration. It involves the moſt important intereſts of the nation."

Next day the miniſter of juſtice informed the Aſſembly that the king had ſanctioned the decree; when the following declaration of war againſt the king of Bohemia and Hungary was decreed:

" The National Aſſembly, deliberating on the formal propoſition of the king, conſi- " dering that the court of Vienna, in contempt of treaties, has continued to grant an " open protection to the French rebels; that it has excited and formed a concert with " ſeveral powers of Europe, againſt the independence and ſecurity of the French nation:

" That Francis the Firſt, king of Bohemia and Hungary, has refuſed to renounce " this concert:

" That, notwithſtanding the propoſition made to reduce, on both ſides, to a peace " eſtabliſhment, the troops on the frontiers, he has continued and increaſed the hoſtile " preparations.

" That he has formally infringed the ſovereignty of the French nation, by declaring " that he would ſupport the pretenſions of the German princes, poſſeſſionaries in France, " to whom the French nation have continued to hold out indemnifications:

" That he has attempted to divide the French citizens, and to arm them againſt one " another, by holding out ſupport to the malecontents in the concert of the powers: " Conſidering, in fine, that the refuſal of an anſwer to the laſt diſpatches of the king of " the French, leaves no longer any hope to obtain, by the means of an amicable nego- " ciation, the redreſs of thoſe different grievances, and amounts to a declaration of war, " decrees that there exiſts a caſe of urgency.

" The National Aſſembly declares, That the French nation, faithful to the principles " conſecrated by the conſtitution, not to undertake any war with the view of making " conqueſts, and never to employ its force againſt the liberty of any people, only take " up arms in defence of their liberty and their independence: That the war into which they " are compelled to enter, is not a war of nation againſt nation, but the juſt defence of a " free people, againſt the unjuſt oppreſſion of a monarch: That the French will never " confound their brothers with their enemies; that they will neglect nothing to ſoften " the rigours of war; to preſerve their property, and prevent it from ſuſtaining any " injury; and to bring down upon the heads of thoſe alone who league againſt liberty, " all the evils inſeparable from war.

" That it adopts all thoſe foreigners who, abjuring the cauſe of its enemies, ſhall " join its ſtandard, and conſecrate their efforts to the defence of freedom; that it will " even favour, by all the means in its power, their eſtabliſhment in France.

" Deliberating on the formal propoſitions of the king, and after having decreed the " caſe of urgency, decrees war againſt the king of Hungary and Bohemia."

In conſequence of the decree, war was immediately declared, with the uſual formalities, in every city throughout France, and was anſwered by the following proclamation of the government at Bruſſels.

" LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS AND CAPTAINS-GENERAL OF THE LOW " COUNTRIES, &c. &c.

" A faction, by which the kingdom of France has, for four years, been torn aſunder, " has juſt prevailed on his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to ſanction a declaration of war " againſt his Apoſtolical majeſty, our honoured lord and nephew. The firſt acts of hoſ- " tility ſeem to be directed againſt theſe provinces; and the enemies of all order and " power, who are meditating an aggreſſion ſo unjuſt, found their hopes of ſucceſs on " the ſpirit of party which was unfortunately diſſeminated during the late troubles.

" We

"We will carefully attend to the defence of thoſe provinces, with the government of "which we are entruſted, relying with confidence on the protection of the Lord of "Hoſts, who is pleaſed to manifeſt the effects of his omnipotence in favour of thoſe who "are inſpired with a ſacred reſpect for the laws, and for all powers by him ordained on "the earth for the government of human ſocieties.

"We flatter ourſelves that every claſs of citizens will be animated with one ſpirit, and "that they will vigilantly attend to the maintenance of internal tranquillity, and the "preſervation of property, while we order to the frontiers part of his majeſty's troops, "full of glory, and crowned by victory under the two laſt reigns; until the league, "formed between ſeveral great powers, ſhall oppoſe a mound to the torrent of ſiniſter "projects which menace the overthrow of Europe.

"We owe it to the faithful ſubjects of his majeſty, to inform them of the meaſures "which we have adopted, during a whole year, in hopes of remaining at peace with "France; and to warn them of the innumerable calamities which our enemies are ea- "ger to ſpread and perpetuate, under the ſpecious veil of a chimerical liberty, offered to "a credulous multitude by an impious ſect of innovators, *ſoi-diſant* philoſophers, as the "infallible reſult of their mad projects. Their's is not to war with the princes of the "earth, but againſt the religion of our anceſtors, againſt ſocial order, againſt proſperity, "and againſt all the comforts which naturally flow from it. They have already, by "the adoption of their abſurd ſyſtems, plunged their country into all the horrors of "anarchy. Jealous of the proſperity of thoſe nations who ſtill enjoy the fruits of ſo- "cial order, they have formed, for their own protection, the barbarous project of in- "ſpiring them with a ſimilar delirium of propagating their errors, and with them all the "calamities with which the kingdom of France is at this time afflicted.

"They have been during a whole year meditating and inventing pretexts for the ag- "greſſion on which they had reſolved. Having driven away from the boſom of France, "by dint of perſecutions, all thoſe citizens who were attached to the eſtabliſhed religion, "and to the prerogative, hitherto held ſacred by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, "they have attempted to prevent them from enjoying, in any part of the world, the "ſweets of hoſpitality, which men reciprocally owe to each other. We have been ex- "tremely careful not to afford the ſlighteſt grounds of complaint, reſolved not to meddle, "in the leaſt degree, with the political government of any neighbouring ſtates. We have "taken care to prevent any thing that ſhould be attempted, or even written, in thoſe "provinces, againſt the conſtitution juſt eſtabliſhed in France; and, as a reward for our "ſtrict attention to the laws of good neighbourhood, a horde of factious vagabonds has "been aſſembled on our frontiers, reſolved on the execution of the moſt infernal plots. The "moſt infamous writings againſt religion, and againſt the conſtitutional authority of the "ſovereign, have been diſperſed in theſe provinces: theſe writings were ſubſtantially

" the ſame as the ſpeeches delivered in the midſt of authoriſed ſocieties, in which the moſt " atrocious crimes have been recommended as virtues, with a view to flatter the crimi- " nal propenſities of a ſet of men, in hopes of reconciling them to a ſyſtem, which in " hiſtory will be the diſgrace of the preſent generation.

" All our remonſtrances on this ſubject have been made in vain; and whilſt we paid " the greateſt attention to complaints relative to armaments which had no exiſtence, and " to pretended inſults offered to Frenchmen, all kinds of exceſſes have been multiplied " againſt the ſubjects of his majeſty, and committed on his territories, and we have never " obtained, on ſo many ſubjects of complaint, any thing more than promiſes of ſatisfac- " tion, which have in no inſtance been performed; and when we have, on our part, ex- " erciſed that vigilance, which was become neceſſary on the conduct of emiſſaries, who, " it was boaſted openly, were ſent into theſe provinces on purpoſe to excite inſurrections " and create anarchy, we have been inſulted for having taken thoſe precautions, which " were conſtrued into attempts againſt the ſafety and the liberty of the French travellers. " On the other hand, we were applauded for having given orders to prevent the aſſem- " bling of the unfortunate French gentlemen who had emigrated from the kingdom, and " to oblige them to conform moſt ſtrictly to the laws of ſimple hoſpitality, in order to " preclude the poſſibility of their arming, and forming themſelves into a military corps.

" Theſe meaſures, which France ſeems now to have forgotten, were quoted to the " princes of the empire as an example proper for them to imitate in their reſpective ſtates, " and with which the deſpotic agents of the French government would be ſatisfied.

" We ſhall avoid taking notice of all the calamities with which France is afflicted— " we ſhould leave to time the diſcloſure of the machinations perpetually recommended " by a ſet of inſidious writers in their dangerous publications, were it not evident that, " at the moment of the intended aggreſſion againſt theſe provinces, a reſolution is taken " to ſpread the poiſon of a ſeductive illuſion on the pretended advantages of the French " conſtitution, with a view to make thoſe partakers of it who may be deluded by this " means; but it is neceſſary that the people who are confided to our government be re- " minded and informed, that the kingdom of France groans at this time, in the name of " liberty, under the moſt hateful ſlavery, of every ſpecies of vice, of the moſt unbridled " paſſions, and of a ſpecies of anarchy which is without example; that rights and pro- " perty are aboliſhed; that the holy religion which we profeſs is there trodden under " foot; that altars are profaned and polluted; that their true miniſters are deprived of " their juſt rights, ill treated, perſecuted even in their retreats among foreign nations, and " replaced by intruders, who have no miſſion from the hierarchy of the church; that " the paſtors of the people have even been deprived of the diſtinctive veſtments by which " they were known to their flocks; that, in a monſtrous code, rights have been extolled " which man cannot enjoy in ſociety, and which he tacitly renounces, by being born " in

"in civilized aſſociations; that, purſuant to thoſe chimerical rights, attempts have been "made to aboliſh, overturn, and confound thoſe real rights which have been tranſmitted "under the protection of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, from generation to ge- "neration, to thoſe venerable claſſes to which the French nation had, in every reſpect, "the higheſt obligations; that real property has given way to the name, by ſeizing the "eſtates of thoſe who had been ſolemnly inveſted with them by time, by the laws, and "by an uninterrupted poſſeſſion, an hundred times renewed and confirmed by the true "repreſentatives of the nation; and all this under the deceitful colour of an equality of "chimerical rights, not exiſting in fact, and annihilated, if it could for a moment exiſt, "by that variety of character, impreſſed on all mankind at their birth, by which they "ſhare, in very unequal proportions, moral faculties, the very diſproportion of which "has always determined, and will ever determine, the aſcendancy of genius, ſtrength, "patience, induſtry, and economy, over the oppoſite qualities, together with all the ad- "vantages which may lawfully ariſe from them, and which may be transferred like "every other ſpecies of property.

"Finally, it is neceſſary that the faithful ſubjects of his majeſty be informed, that, "whilſt pains are taken to extol the pretended glory and proſperity of the kingdom of "France, lately the moſt flouriſhing in Europe, there is now no commerce, no circula- "tion of ſpecie or goods, no public force, no juſtice, no police; and that the philoſophi- "cal perſecutors of all thoſe who are not of their ſect, know no bounds to their ex- "ceſſes, which they excite their people to commit, except a ſatiety of crimes.

"Who, after this, could be ſo blind or ſtupid as to place the leaſt confidence in the "promiſes, and in the inſidious aſſurances made by theſe tyrants, to thoſe nations whom "they wiſh to ſubdue, that they will reſpect their property, their religion, their rights, "their privileges, and their conſtitution?—tyrants, who, ſince they have uſurped the "public power and force in France, have trodden under foot, with an effrontery and au- "dacity hitherto unheard-of, the moſt ſolemn public treaties, all rights, human and "divine, and every thing which is held moſt ſacred over all the world; who, the mo- "ment they ſhould become maſters of one province, would ſeize, as they have in their "own country, the eſtates of the clergy and the nobility, and the property of the "citizens.

"Once more, having never had any inclination to meddle with the internal govern- "ment of any neighbouring ſtate, we ſhould not have entered on theſe afflicting details, "relative to objects which are foreign to the government with which we are entruſted, "were it not that French writings and French emiſſaries, and even the recent acts of "the new legiſlature of France, have a tendency to render univerſal a ſyſtem of innova- "tion, whether good or bad for the French nation, certainly and decidedly ruinous to "the people under government; becauſe it is ſubverſive of all that political organiza-

"tion

" tion delineated by a conſtitution, which they love, which the ſovereign has engaged to
" maintain, and on which the happineſs of Belgium has for ages been founded.

" It was our duty to warn the people of the imminent dangers with which they are
" threatened. We have laid before them truths which all well-meaning perſons will ac-
" knowledge to be ſtriking; and they will, of courſe, uſe their utmoſt endeavours to
" maintain peace and public tranquillity within theſe provinces; and we ſhall conſider
" thoſe as enemies to the ſtate, and treat them as ſuch, who ſhall attempt to diſturb them.

(Signed) " MARIE ALBERT.
(Counterſigned) " BARON DE FELIZ."

On the twenty-eighth of April three bodies of French troops entered the Auſtrian Netherlands in different parts. Ten ſquadrons of cavalry, under the command of M. Theobald Dillon, was directed to march from Liſle to Tournay. Another of ten thouſand men, under lieutenant-general Biron, was to preſent itſelf before Mons, in order to prove the diſpoſitions of the Auſtrian ſoldiers, and ſtill more of the inhabitants of the country, from whom conſiderable aid was expected; and a third detachment, of twelve hundred men, under the command of M. Carl, was to proceed to Furnes. Valenciennes was the general rendezvous for the troops which marſhal Rochambeau was to draw from the garriſons, to ſupport thoſe under M. Biron.

At Tournay M. Dillon found a ſtrong body, under general count d'Happencourt, ready to receive him, and ſtrongly poſted. The national troops, not yet accuſtomed to ſuſtain the fire of regular ſoldiers, were thrown into diſorder almoſt on the firſt attack. The general made every exertion to reduce them to their duty, and was obſerved in the front of the line, exhorting them to keep their ranks. Unfortunately, in the midſt of the confuſion, ſome perſon, actuated either by cowardice or treachery, exclaimed—" *Sauve* " *qui peut*[21] *!*" and the voice appearing to proceed immediately from the ſpot where M. Dillon ſtood, a general cry of—" Treaſon, treaſon! we are betrayed!" ſpread from rank to rank; the panic became univerſal, and the whole party fled before the purſuers in the utmoſt diſorder, even to the gates of Liſle. M. Dillon, was murdered almoſt as ſoon as he entered the city. A near relation of this unfortunate general, an eye-witneſs of the tranſaction, gives the following account:

" At a place near the town I met four dragoons, who, as ſoon as they ſaw me, made
" ſigns by their ſabres for me to return, crying that all was loſt: that the army had been
" betrayed, and cut in pieces. I begged them not to ſpread the alarm in the town, but
" firſt to acquaint general Daumont and the principal officers of it. They ſoon left me

[21] Save themſelves who can!

" behind

BRITISH
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MUSEUM



Jones Fecit

M:Dumourier.

Engravd for C:Lowndes and I.Parsons N.°21 Paternoster Row. 28.th June 1794.

" behind. I returned into town with a man without a uniform, who related that " his comrade was killed by his ſide: with him was an officer of the national guards, on " a horſe belonging to one of the artillery carriages, who alſo cried out that all was loſt, " betrayed, and cut to pieces; but he could not give any detail of particulars.

" I took my domeſtic with me, and returned again on foot to the gate of Fiffe. The " ſtreet was full of ſoldiers and national guards, who impeded the paſſage of the cuiraſ- " ſiers, who began to enter in crowds with great diſorder. The Swiſs of Dieſback, who " guarded the gate, had erected ſome works, and ſtationed patroles on the outſide; in " the mean time the cavalry entered, raiſing the cry of Treaſon! Ariſtocrate! and *à la* " *lanterne!*

" The confuſion now became general; many, without knowing who commanded, de- " manded the head of Rochambeau: I then went to the ſuburbs; the infantry now pre- " ſented themſelves, but in ſmall numbers; the road was covered with cavaliers, all cry- " ing treaſon; not one wounded, not even a horſe. I aſked many officers and ſoldiers " news of the general; not one could give me any account of him. An officer of the " cuiraſſiers ſaid, that he was ſurprized to hear me aſk news of a general who had led " them to butchery. The deputy marſhal general (M. De V——) ſaid, that M. Dillon " had given him orders to charge the cavalry: as ſoon as he perceived the enemy, he " found them retiring, and in general confuſion. The ſoldiers informed me it would be " imprudent to advance farther; that the Auſtrian huſſars preſſed them cloſely: I ſtop- " ped ſome time, and advanced again. I had not yet heard the report of a fuſſee, nor ſeen " a huſſar, nor any perſon that had ſeen one. The road was now crowded with carts of " baggage and peaſantry, who fled with their moveables into the town. I again return- " ed: the confuſion was now very great; the cry of *lanterne!* of Rochambeau! of " traitor! ariſtocrate! and noiſes from every ſide. The infantry now began to enter, " and brought in three or four Auſtrians, one in a grey uniform, ſtriped with green, and " the others in round frocks. An hundred yards from the gate, they hung an officer of " engineers, M. Berthois, ſuſpended by the feet with cords. I ſaw more than twenty " ſhots through his body; and a horſe-grenadier, as I was told, gave him a cut on the " head with his ſabre, and fired a piſtol at his breaſt. Then the national guards and in- " fantry took poſſeſſion of him. I ſaw one of the Auſtrian priſoners killed, and two or " three who were diſpatched trampled under feet, and their bodies run through.

" I heard the ridicule and the barbarous ſhouts of the ſoldiers, and ſaw them amuſe " themſelves in ſtriking the dead bodies with their hands. They were crowded in a " wheel-barrow, with the officer of engineers—I ſhudder at the thought. The munici- " pal officers arrived with a cart, in which they placed the dead bodies, and continued " to abuſe them. It was two o'clock, and I had not been able to hear the leaſt news of " the general, or the action. Not a wounded man had yet appeared; and, among all

" ſoldiers, not one ſeemed to have been in a battle, except a foot ſoldier, who had re-
" ceived ſome ſhot through his hat.

" I remained in the ſtreet to obſerve the diſpoſitions of the people. About four
" o'clock I went towards Fiffe gate: in the entrance of the ſtreet the agitation was
" great, and the howling terrible. At laſt I heard the cry of " He's coming, he's com-
" ing! To the lanterne!" I aſked, with a trembling voice, " Who?" " Dillon,"—they
" anſwered—" the traitor, the ariſtocrate; we are going to tear him to pieces; he, and
" all that belong to him. Rochambeau muſt alſo periſh, and all the nobility in the
" army. Dillon is coming in a cabriole; his thigh is already broken, let us go and finiſh
" him." The cabriole ſoon appeared; the general was in it, without a hat, with a calm
" and firm look; he was eſcorted by four horſe guards; he had hardly paſſed through
" the gate, when more than a hundred bayonets were thurſt into the cabriole, amidſt the
" moſt horrible ſhouts. The horſe guards made uſe of their ſabres, it is true, but I
" cannot ſay whether it was to defend themſelves, or to protect the general. The man
" who drove the cabriole diſappeared, the horſe plunged, and no bayonets had yet been
" fatal; when a ſhot was fired into the carriage, and I think this killed M. Dillon, for I
" never ſaw him move afterwards. He was taken from the carriage, and thrown into the
" ſtreet, when they trampled upon his body, and ran a thouſand bayonets through it. I
" neither heard from him complaints or groans.

" Between ſeven and eight o'clock I went to the market-place, where a great fire was
" lighted, into which his body was thrown. French ſoldiers danced round the burning
" body of their general:—this barbarous ſcene was intermixed with the moſt ſavage
" howlings. Parties of Swiſs were paſſing and repaſſing in good order during this atro-
" cious ſcene, with the greateſt indignation painted in their countenances. The ſiſter
" of the general was alſo threatened; ſhe changed her abode four times, being warned of
" her danger; nobody dared to ſhelter her in their houſes; however the night was paſſed
" in tranquillity." The news of theſe atrocities were received in the capital with a uni-
verſal ſenſation of horror; nor was the army under M. la Fayette leſs earneſt in ex-
preſſing its abhorrence, and in demanding juſtice on the murderers.

The only one of the three parties which ſucceeded, was that under M. Carl, and
which conſiſted of only fourteen hundred infantry and two hundred and forty cavalry.
This ſmall party preſented themſelves, on the twenty-ninth of April, before Furnes, and
h e commander deſired a conference with the magiſtrates; in the courſe of which he in-
formed them, that the French were not come to make war on the Flemings, but to treat
them as friends and brothers. The magiſtrates offered to deliver up the keys of the gates;
but this was declined. The failure of the general plan obliged M. Carl to retreat to
Ghywilde, and ſoon after to Dunkirk, with no other fruit from his expedition.

It was concerted in the French cabinet, that all the troops ſhould be in motion about the ſame time, and form, if poſſible, a general rendezvous in the centre of the Auſtrian Netherlands. Agreeably to this plan, M. la Fayette was to be at Givet by the thirtieth of the month; the orders only reached him on the twenty-fourth, and though he was in moſt reſpects very ill appointed, he, by great exertions, provided ſeventy-eight pieces of cannon by the twenty-ſixth, and on the ſame day diſpatched a large body, with the convoy of artillery, under the command of M. Narbonne, late miniſter of war, to penetrate by forced marches to Givet. The reſt of the troops arrived without loſs on the appointed day. On the firſt of May, major-general Gouvion took poſt at Bouvines, half way to Namur, and every thing appeared to conſpire to crown this expedition with ſucceſs. The failure of M. M. Biron and Dillon, however rendered it utterly fruitleſs, though M. la Fayette continued to retain his poſt, and even ſlowly to advance upon the enemy.

So ill concerted had the meaſures of the French miniſtry been, that M. Rochambeau complained, that the plan of M. Biron's expedition was publiſhed in all the journals before he knew it officially; and he ſays, in his letter, to the king, that "The miniſters, "and particularly the miniſter of war, wiſhed to play the whole game, and made him "only a piece to be moved about at will." On this account, and becauſe he diſapproved of offenſive war, he deſired permiſſion to reſign; and, after ſome delay, marſhal Luckner was appointed to the command of the northern army in his ſtead.

Notwithſtanding the repulſe of the French northern army, on their attempt to penetrate the Auſtrian frontier, it was ſome time before the enemy was in a condition to retaliate. On the ſeventeenth of May, a body of Auſtrians, to the amount of three thouſand, attacked Bavai, and took the garriſon, amounting to eighty men, priſoners: but intelligence was no ſooner brought of the attack, than M. Noailles, with a vanguard of cavalry, was ſent to the relief of the town. Marſhal Luckner in perſon accompanied this advanced guard; and marſhal Rochambeau followed to ſupport him with a body of infantry. The expedition of the Auſtrians was, however, only a predatory excurſion, and they had retreated two hours before the arrival of M. Luckner, and took with them a quantity of forage, which, in effect, appeared to be their principal object.

On the twenty-third, M. Gouvion was attacked at Hamphine, near Florennes, by a force ſuperior to his own, which amounted to only four thouſand men. The Auſtrian advanced guard were twice repulſed; but M. Gouvion obſerving the great ſuperiority of the enemy, gave orders to diſpatch his camp equipage to Philipville; and this was effected with the loſs of only twenty tents, which he had not the means of tranſporting. After this precaution, M. Gouvion effected a retreat with the utmoſt regularity. The

French

French in this action had twenty-four killed and ſixty-three wounded, and loſt three pieces of cannon.

On the eleventh of June, the Auſtrians attacked the advanced guard of M. la Fayette, at Griſelle, near Maubeuge; but M. Gouvion, who commanded, aware of their deſign, diſpatched his camp equipage to Maubeuge, and began a retreating fight, in which his infantry was conſtantly covered by the hedges, and the enemy's columns ſuffered conſiderably from his cannon. A violent hurricane prevented the main body from hearing the ſignals; but as ſoon as the news arrived at the camp, a conſiderable reinforcement was conducted by M. Narbonne on the flank of the enemy; while M. la Fayette himſelf advanced with the main army. The Auſtrians abandoned the field, and a part of their killed and wounded, to the French, who purſued them more than a league beyond the ground of their advanced guard, which again took poſſeſſion of its former poſt.

In the courſe of the action the lieutenant colonels of the regiment of Côte d'Or were killed; and M. Gouvion, enraged that an ammunition cheſt did not come up in time, went to expedite it, with a huſſar, towards a houſe not in ſight of the enemy, and there by a moſt fatal accident was killed by a rolling ſhot.

The concerns of the war, and the conteſts of party, occupied the National Aſſembly ſo completely, that little was effected in the buſineſs of legiſlation from the commencement of the year. The decree which ordered the burning of the parchments, writings, and pictures, relative to the pedigrees of the nobility, was a farther inſtance of that trifling ſpirit, ſo utterly diſgraceful to the legiſlature of a great nation, which they already had frequently evinced. A decree paſſed about the ſame period, for educating, at the expence of the nation, thoſe children who had been ſent from Saint Domingo to France, but whoſe parents or relations had been diſabled by the troubles from remitting money for their ſupport, was truly laudable. Some laws were alſo made reſpecting the crime of deſertion, which, unleſs we conſider them as adapted entirely to the exigencies of the time, muſt be accounted too ſevere for *even the military* code of a free country. The decree, however, for the ſuppreſſion of privateering, was calculated in every view to reflect honour on a civilized nation. War is a ſtate ſo naturally pregnant with evil, as to induce the benevolent mind to wiſh for every mitigation of its calamities; and the plunder of individuals is a ſhameful practice, calculated entirely to pervert the morals of a people.

On the reſignation of M. de Grave, which ſoon followed the unfortunate affair of M. Dillon, M. Servan, another violent Jacobin, was added to the miniſtry, which in the beginning of May was entirely compoſed of that party, who were indefatigable in exciting the ſuſpicious and turbulent ſpirit of the factious metropolis. The exiſtence of what they termed an Auſtrian committee, or a combination of courtiers to betray the public

public to the houſe of Auſtria, was openly aſſerted; and as the ex-miniſters, M. M. Montmorin and Bertrand were charged with being at the head of this combination, they determined on the proſecution of their calumniators. An unfortunate ſtep, which was taken by M. la Riviere, a judge of the peace, in citing M. M. Chabot, Bazire, and Merlin, three deputies of the Aſſembly, and among the moſt clamorous of the detractors of M. Montmorin, to appear before him, rather injured the cauſe it was meant to ſerve. A decree of accuſation was paſſed againſt M. la Riviere, and M. M. Genſonne and Briſſot undertook to prove the exiſtence of an Auſtrian committee.

A report was induſtriouſly circulated, that, on the twenty-third of May, the king intended ſecretly to abſcond from Paris; and to ſtrengthen the fiction, M. Petion, the mayor, wrote to the commandant-general of the national guard, communicating his ſuſpicions, and entreating him to employ every meaſure of obſervation and prudence. The letter of M. Petion produced an immediate reply from the king, directed to the municipality of Paris. His majeſty treats the report as a new and horrible calumny, intended only to excite the people to inſurrection, and to force him to quit the capital—He however aſſures them, that the efforts of theſe traitors ſhall be in vain.—"While France," —ſays he—"has enemies to encounter at home and abroad, it is in the capital my poſt "is to be eſtabliſhed.—I commit myſelf"—he adds—"without reſerve to the citizens "of Paris and the national guard—ſurrounded by them, and ſtrong in the purity of my "intentions, I ſhall wrap myſelf up in tranquillity, fearleſs of all events, &c."

That the king, haraſſed as he was by the factions of the metropolis, and the intrigues of the Jacobins, might indeed meditate a ſecond flight, is by no means improbable; that, even ſuppoſing the ſuſpicion not well founded, M. Petion might receive information to that effect, either from ill-intentioned or credulous perſons, is equally to be believed; but, in either caſe, the evidence on which the fact reſted ſhould have been brought forward; the caſe ſhould have been elucidated by every poſſible means, ſince an accuſation, unſupported by proof, muſt, according to every law of evidence, be deemed a calumny.

Notwithſtanding the defect of evidence which we have juſt noticed, the king's intention to withdraw himſelf appears to have obtained ſome degree of credit; and as the body guard which had been allotted to the king by the conſtitution was particularly ſuſpected of *inciviſm*, it was diſbanded by a decree of the Aſſembly on the thirtieth of May, and the province of defending the perſon of the king was committed to the national guard of Paris.

The refuſal of the king to ſanction the decree againſt the non-juring clergy, only ſerved to provoke a meaſure of ſtill greater ſeverity and cruelty againſt theſe unhappy perſons. On the twenty-ſixth of May a decree was paſſed, authoriſing the baniſhment of any non-juring prieſt, on a petition preſented to the directory of the diſtrict by twen-

ty citizens. The eccleſiaſtic was, in ſuch caſe, to declare to what foreign country he meant to retire, when he was to be furniſhed with a paſſport, and to quit the diſtrict within twenty-four hours. To this decree alſo the king, after ſome deliberation, affixed his *veto*.

The national guard of Paris did not eſcape the ſuſpicions of the republican party. They ſtill feared, or affected to fear, the Auſtrian committee; it was therefore propoſed, on the ſixth of June, by the military committee—"That a camp of twenty thouſand "men ſhould be formed under the walls of Paris; that, to complete this levy, every "canton in the kingdom ſhould be obliged to contribute five men, one of whom was to "be a horſeman; and that they were to aſſemble at Paris before the fourteenth of July, "the day of the celebration of the general confederation, at which, to augment their "patriotiſm, they were to aſſiſt." This propoſal, which was firſt ſuggeſted by the miniſter of war, was received with infinite diſſatisfaction by the national guard and volunteers of Paris; and, as the object did not eſcape the penetration of the court, the king refuſed to ſanction the decree.

A propoſal about this time was made to the National Aſſembly, by the ſection of Croix Rouge, that, as the neceſſity was urgent for arming the whole nation, in the preſent critical moment, and as the ſcarcity of fire-arms, and their immenſe price, prevented many patriotic citizens from obtaining a ſupply; the deputation requeſted the Aſſembly to order an immediate fabrication of pikes throughout the kingdom.

On the twelfth of June the king announced to the Aſſembly, in the following letter, the diſmiſſion of the Jacobin miniſtry:

"I pray you, Mr. Preſident, to inform the National Aſſembly, that I have juſt chang-"ed the ſecretaries of the war department, of the home department, and the miniſter of "the public contributions. The two firſt are replaced by Meſſrs. Dumourier (late for "foreign affairs) and Morgues; the third has as yet no ſucceſſor. The French miniſter "at Deux Ponts is to ſucceed M. Dumourier in the foreign department. I will have "the conſtitution, but I will have order too, and exertion in every branch of the ad-"miniſtration: all my efforts ſhall be directed towards that end.

("Signed") "LOUIS.
("Counterſigned") "DURANTON."

Previous to his diſmiſſion, M. Roland had written a letter to the king, the purport of which was, to preſs him to ſanction the decrees concerning the baniſhment of the refractory clergy, and the camp near Paris. M. Roland alſo blamed the conduct of the king's guard; and repreſented to him, that his proclamation on its diſſolution, in which he expreſſed the high ſatisfaction he had derived from its ſervices, was an impolitic meaſure.

As

As a private communication to the king, the letter of M. Roland might be calculated to do good; but every means were now employed to render the king odious in the eyes of the people. Marat had even exhorted the populace to murder their ſovereign. The moſt ſeditious addreſſes were received by the Aſſembly. The inhabitants of the ſuburb of Saint Antoine, accompanied by immenſe crowds of the lower rank from all parts, and all armed with pikes, and headed by M. Santerre, a brewer, on the ninth of June, preſented to the Aſſembly an addreſs, congratulatory on the decree for the camp; and twenty thouſand armed men, in direct violation of the laws, filed off through the Aſſembly.

M. la Fayette wrote a long letter to the Aſſembly, dated from the camp at Maubeuge, the ſixteenth of June, in which he draws a very formidable picture of the dangerous ſituation in which the nation was placed by the attempts of its enemies, foreign and domeſtic; he unveils the criminal deſigns of the Jacobin club, and attributes to that ſource of faction a conſiderable portion of the public calamities: he, at the ſame time, addreſſed a letter to the king, expreſſive of ſimilar ſentiments. Dumourier made a poſitive demand of the king, either to ſanction the decree for the camp near Paris, or to accept his reſignation. The king remained ſteady to his purpoſe, and the miniſter reſigned, and was followed by M. M. Morgues, La Coſte, &c. On the eighteenth of June a new appointment took place: major-general Chambon was appointed to the office for foreign affairs, M. Lajard, miniſter of war, and M. Montciel, preſident of the department of Jura, was appointed miniſter of the interior; the department of finance was ſtill kept vacant. M. Dumourier, in a letter to the Aſſembly, requeſted permiſſion to repair to the army; and concluded by wiſhing that the fate of Gouvion might ſpeedily demonſtrate his attachment to his country.

On the ſame day, the eighteenth of June, the Jacobins declared their ſittings permanent. Nothing could equal their reſentment to M. la Fayette. Some propoſed that he ſhould be ſent to Orleans, to take his trial as a traitor; others that a decree ſhould be paſſed, declaring him to be the enemy of France, and that conſequently every citizen had a right to kill him; and it was finally decreed, that the National Legiſlative Aſſembly ſhould be declared an *Aſſemblée Conſtituente*. While ſuch were the debates within doors at the hall of the Jacobins, their emiſſaries without were buſily employed in exciting the people to inſurrection, and it is to be lamented that their endeavours were but too ſucceſsful. On the twentieth of June, in the morning, M. Rœderer, the procureur general ſyndic, appeared at the bar of the National Aſſembly, and informed them that, contrary to the laws, there exiſted in the city and ſuburbs the moſt formidable aſſociations of armed men; that they threatened to proceed to the Thuilleries, to preſent a petition in arms, both to the king and the Aſſembly. He entreated the legiſlature not to receive them, but to preſerve the laws and the conſtitution inviolate.

While the Aſſembly was debating whether this unconſtitutional deputation ſhould be received or not, an immenſe multitude, with M. M. Saint Huruge and Santerre at their head, preſented themſelves before the hall. They amounted, by their own report to eight thouſand; but in all probability they were ſtill more numerous. They conſiſted of all the refuſe of Paris, the greater part of them women, and carried banners expreſſive of the moſt ſhocking purpoſes, one of which was a heart at the end of a pike, with an inſcription beneath it, "*Cœur d'un Ariſtocrate*[22]." On another, "*Tyrans, tremblez, ou ſoyez juſtes, et reſpectez la liberté du peuple*[23]." On a third, "*Louis, le peuple eſt las de ſouffrir*[24]." On a fourth, "*Tremblez, tyran, ta derniere heure eſt venue*[25]." On a fifth, "*Le rappel des miniſtres, la ſanction, ou la mort*[26]." Other banners were carried, ornamented with vile allegorical figures, and ſuitable inſcriptions.

From the National Aſſembly the armed multitude went to the palace, where there was a conſiderable number of troops on duty; but no orders having been given to reſiſt, and many groups of the multitude who formed the proceſſion being conducted by men dreſſed in municipal ſcarfs, the gardens and courts of the Thuilleries were crowded in an inſtant. One body marched with more regularity than the reſt, dragging ſome pieces of cannon with them, and conducted by Santerre, and Legendre, (formerly a butcher).—The multitude ſoon after ruſhed into every apartment, calling aloud, that they muſt ſee the king; they had a petition to preſent. M. Acloque, commandant of the ſecond legion of national guards, having placed ſome grenadiers at the door of the apartments neareſt the king's, told two municipal officers, that if they would prevent the mob from proceeding, he would inform the king of their requeſt, and that he was perſuaded his majeſty would receive twenty of their number, according to the law—He then went to the door of his majeſty's apartment, which he found ſhut—he knocked, and begged that he might be inſtantly admitted, ſaying, that he came to ſave the king's life—The door of the chamber was opened; where he found his majeſty, the queen, the prince, the princeſs royal, madame Elizabeth the king's ſiſter, and the following gentlemen: the mareſchal de Mounchy; Beaulieu, miniſter of the finances; Lajard, miniſter of war; Terrier de Montciel, miniſter of the home department; the count d'Hervilly, mareſchal de camp, and commander of the horſe guards.

M. Acloque, perceiving that they had their ſwords drawn, and ſeemed determined to ſacrifice their lives in defence of the royal family, entreated them to ſheath their ſwords, as by irritating the people they would only encreaſe his majeſty's danger. In a ſhort time a great noiſe was heard at the door, the rabble were breaking it open, with pikes, axes, and

[22] The heart of an Ariſtocrate. [23] Tyrants, tremble, or be juſt, and reſpect the liberty of the people. [24] Lewis, the people are weary of ſuffering. [25] Tremble, tyrant, thy laſt hour is come. [26] The recall of the miniſters, the ſanction, or death.

the



Jones Fecit

Maria Thersa Charlotte
Daughter of LOUIS the Sixteenth.
Born at Versailles the 19th Dec.r 1778.

Engraved for C. Lowndes and J. Parsons N.o 21 Paternoster Row Aug.t 30th 1794

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the butt-ends of muſkets. The king himſelf ordered the doors to be thrown open:—before this was done, the ends of ſome of the muſkets and pikes had been driven through the door—twenty or thirty of the mob burſt into the room. M. Acloque accoſted them with a firm voice: "Citizens, reſpect your king—the law commands it; and we will all "periſh rather than ſuffer him to be inſulted."—One of the company at the ſame inſtant calling out, "*Vive la nation! Vive le Roi!*" the intruders ſtopped ſhort.

It was then propoſed to the king, that he ſhould ſtand on a ſeat in the room, commonly called L'Oeil de Bœuf, to prevent his being preſſed upon, and that he might be ſeen by the people, who were entering in great numbers; to which he conſented. The queen, at the king's deſire, with the royal children, went into the adjacent room; but madame Elizabeth kept conſtantly by his ſide, rejecting every entreaty that was made by the king himſelf and others to quit him for an inſtant.

Four grenadiers of the national guards appearing at the door, the princeſs, who had betrayed no ſymptom of fear on her own account, burſt into tears at ſight of them, and ſaid, "*Ah! Meſſieurs, defendez le Roi*[27]!" The grenadiers, an officer of chaſſeurs, a cannonier, with the gentlemen above mentioned, placing themſelves around the king and the princeſs Elizabeth, kept off the preſſure of the crowd, and protected the perſon of the king for above three hours. All the adjacent rooms, meanwhile, ſwarmed with a mixed rabble of men and women, armed with pikes, ſabres, ſticks with knives fixed at their ends, fuſils, and piſtols; many of them calling, "*En bas le veto! Au diable le veto*[28]!" and ſome of them ſhewing ſo much fury, that thoſe around the king's perſon had great difficulty in keeping them off. One fellow, mounted on a chair, ſpoke to the king in the moſt audacious manner, requiring the recall of the patriot miniſters, meaning Roland, Claviere, and Servan, whom the king had a little before diſmiſſed; he alſo required, that the two decrees ſhould obtain his approbation.—To which his majeſty anſwered with firmneſs, "*Je ferai ce que je croirai devoir faire; mais ce n'eſt pas ni le lieu, ni le moment,* "*de me faire une pareille demande*[29].

A red cap was preſented to the king at the end of a pike, by a man who cried, "*Vive la* "*nation!*" The king ſaid, "*La nation n'a de meilleur ami qui moi*[30]." On which the other inſolently added, "*Eh bien, donnez nous en la preuve, en mettant le bonnet rouge, et en* "*criant Vive la nation*[31]!" On attempting to put on the red cap, it was found too ſmall for the king's head; but a grenadier having ſtretched it upon his knee, the king put it on, and wore it as long as the mob remained.

[27] Oh! Gentlemen, defend the king! [28] Down with the veto! Send the veto to the devil! [29] I will do what I ought; but this is neither the place nor the time to make ſuch a requeſt. [30] The nation has no better friend than I am, [31] Prove it then, by putting on the red cap, and crying "Vive la Nation!"

Ar-

At one time, when the noiſe and confuſion was greater than uſual, a grenadier, addreſſing the king, ſaid, "Fear not, Sire." "The man"—replied the monarch—"who has "a clear conſcience, fears nothing;" and, taking the grenadier's hand, he applied it to his breaſt, and ſaid, "There, friend, feel my heart, whether it beats quicker than uſual."

A deputation, conſiſting of twelve members of the National Aſſembly, among whom were Iſnard and Vergniaud, at length arrived. Iſnard, addreſſing himſelf to the people who filled the room, endeavoured to prevail on them to withdraw; repeating frequently, that he would be anſwerable on his life that they ſhould be ſatisfied. This had little effect; the noiſe and exclamations of "*Rappellez les miniſtres! ôtez le veto*[32]*!*" recommenced. Vergniaud alſo ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe, and with as little ſucceſs.

The noiſe and confuſion continued till paſt five in the evening, when Petion arrived, accompanied by Sergent, a municipal officer. Petion approaching the king, ſaid, "Sire, "I was only this moment informed of the ſituation in which you are." "That is ex- "traordinary,"—replied the king—"for I have been in this ſituation above three hours." Petion then ſtanding on a chair, adviſed the people to retire, ending his harangue with the following very curious expreſſions: "*Citoyens, vous venez de faire entendre vos vœux* "*au repreſentant héréditaire, avec l'énergie et la dignité d'un peuple libre, qui connoit ſes* "*droits. Le Roi ſait maintenant les intentions du* Souverain, *et ſans doute il y aura égard.* "*Il convient que vous vous retirez avec calme et décence, afin qu'on ne puiſſe pas calomnier* "*vos intentions*[33]."

After this, the people, at the mayor's repeated requeſt, began to withdraw:—when a ſecond deputation from the National Aſſembly arrived, one of the members of which addreſſed the king in a reſpectful manner, aſſuring him that each member was ready to preſent his body as a ſhield to cover his majeſty's.

While theſe things were paſſing in the Oeil de Bœuf, the queen entered the council chamber, attended by the prince and princeſs royal, madame de Lamballe, mademoiſelle Tourzelle, mademoiſelle de Mau, and mademoiſelle de Soucy. Her majeſty ſhewed much uneaſineſs on account of the ſituation in which ſhe had left the king, till the adjutant general of the firſt legion of Pariſian guards, with ſome ſoldiers, came and aſſured her that the king was in ſafety, and ſurrounded by faithful ſervants. M. de Witten-

[32] Recall the miniſters! remove the veto!

[33] Citizens, you have now made your deſires known to the hereditary repreſentative, with that energy and dignity which becomes a free people who underſtand their rights. The king at preſent knows the intentions of the *ſovereign*, and undoubtedly will pay a proper regard to them. You ought now to withdraw with calmneſs and decency, that your intentions may not be calumniated.

goff,

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Jones Sculp.t

Elizabeth. Philipine. Maria. Helena. of France

Sister to **LOUIS XVI.**

Born at Versailles May 3.d 1764.

Engravd for C. Lowndes and I. Parsons N.o 21 Paternoster Row Nov.r 1.st 1794

goff, a general officer, entered the room followed by a number of people of both ſexes, among whom was a woman with a red cap in her hand. She preſented the cap to Wittengoff, deſiring him to give it to the queen to wear, adding, that ſhe had juſt left the king, who at that moment had the cap of liberty on his head. It would appear that the general did not think it expedient to reject the woman's propoſal; which the queen perceiving, and being ſhocked at the idea of wearing the cap, ſaid to Wittengoff, "*Vous* "*voyez, Monſieur, que ce bonnet ne peut aller ſur ma tête*[34]:" ſhe then put it on the head of the prince. This ſatisfied the woman and her followers.

Santerre entered the council-chamber ſoon after, followed by a new crowd, who, having already ſeen the king, now demanded a ſight of the queen, which Santerre had undertaken to procure them. He immediately required that thoſe who ſtood immediately before her majeſty ſhould open to the right and left, that they who followed him might have a full view of her and the reſt of the royal family—which was done; Santerre *graciouſly* aſſuring the queen that ſhe had nothing to apprehend from the people, who were *wonderfully good*, and only wiſhed to be gratified with a ſight of her as they walked out; and perceiving that the prince was heated with the cap, he added, "*Otez le bonnet à cet* "*enfant*[35]." Santerre's aſſurances, however, did not prevent ſome of the people, who were not quite ſo *good* as the reſt, from inſulting the queen as they paſſed with the moſt abominable language.

The crowd having moſtly retired, and the king having left the Oeil de Bœuf to go to what are called the *petits apartemens*, the princeſs Elizabeth was going to wait on the queen in the council-chamber, when a group of the mob which ſtill loitered in the palace, miſtaking her for the queen, began to inſult her; on which one of the princeſs's attendants was going to undeceive them, but ſhe with a nobleneſs of mind prevented this, leſt the people who were inſulting her, being informed of their miſtake, ſhould have transferred their abuſe to the unhappy queen.

It appeared from the witneſſes examined on this buſineſs, that great pains had been taken with the inhabitants of Saint Antoine, for a conſiderable time previous to the twentieth of June, to work them up to this criminal meaſure: for it merits that epithet in a high degree, even although what is by no means clear were entirely admitted, namely, that no more was intended than to prevail on the king to recall the former miniſters, and to remove the negative he had given to the two decrees; becauſe to prevail on the king by ſuch means was open rebellion againſt the government, and ruinous to the conſtitution, and might have been attended with the immediate maſſacre of the royal family,

[34] You ſee, Sir, that this cap cannot go upon my head.

[35] Take the cap from that child's head.

and

and other dreadful conſequences, all of which the promoters of this proceſſion would have been anſwerable for.

The conduct of M. Petion on this occaſion was not viewed without ſuſpicion. One of the firſt ſteps of the department, therefore, was to publiſh a declaration, "That the "events of the twentieth could not have taken place, if the laws in being, and particu- "larly thoſe relating to the public force, had been better known to the citizens, and bet- "ter obſerved by the magiſtrates." To this declaration M. Petion publiſhed a very voluminous anſwer, challenging them to commence a proſecution, and proteſting his innocence in general terms. The department next publiſhed an advertiſement to the people of Paris, exhorting them to peace and ſubordination, and intimating that there exiſted a ſecret connection between the external and the internal foes of the public tranquillity. At the ſame time a petition to the National Aſſembly, complaining in very ſtrong terms of the outrages of the twentieth, was ſigned by the moſt reſpectable of the inhabitants, and ſeveral addreſſes were received from different departments to the ſame effect.

A number of ſuſpicions having been entertained and promulgated of M. la Fayette's honour and integrity, that general conceived it expedient to repair to the capital. On the twenty-eighth he preſented himſelf at the bar of the National Aſſembly, and addreſſed them as follows:

"It becomes me, gentlemen, in the firſt place, to declare to the Aſſembly, that my "preſence in this capital will in no way tend to injure either the welfare of the em- "pire, or the ſafety of the ſtate. The meaſures concerted betwixt mareſchal Luckner "and myſelf will be a ſecurity againſt every ſurprize. My motives for coming hither are "as follow: You have been told, that the letter bearing my ſignature, and dated the ſix- "teenth of June, cannot have come from me. I appear before you to acknowledge the "letter, and to call on your juſtice to avenge the attempt of the twentieth made at the "palace. This attempt againſt liberty, and the ſafety of the king, has excited an indig- "nation in my army, and in the heart of every good citizen. I am charged to commu- "nicate to you the patriotic hatred they have ſworn againſt the factious leaders of this "tumult. My brave companions were deſirous to addreſs the Aſſembly—they have re- "nounced this project by my order, and I have taken upon me to lay before you their "ſentiments. Several of them have already aſked, Whether it is the cauſe of liberty "and the conſtitution which they defend? It is time to defend the conſtitution againſt "the faction which aims to deſtroy it; to defend the National Aſſembly and the king, "and to maintain the independence and authority delegated to them. I demand, there- "fore, that the authors and inſtigators of the troubles of the twentieth ſhall be proſe- "cuted, as having been guilty of *lèze-nation*.

"I beſeech

" I beſeech the National Aſſembly, in the name of myſelf, and of every honeſt man " in the kingdom, to take the moſt effectual meaſures to have due reſpect paid to the " conſtituted authorities, thoſe of the Aſſembly and the king, and to guarantee to the " army that no attempt ſhall be made againſt the conſtitution, at the moment when they " are ſpilling their blood for the country."

The preſident replied, in the name of the Aſſembly, that it had ſworn to maintain the laws, and knew how to defend them.

On the ſame day, the miniſter of juſtice communicated a plan, which the king propoſed as a ſubſtitute for the two decrees which he had refuſed to ſanction—With reſpect to the protection of the capital, it was the propoſal of the king to levy forty-two new battalions, to be ſtationed, not at Paris, but between that city and the enemy, ſo as to form a ſecond line behind the army then on the frontiers; and as to the danger apprehended from the refractory prieſts, the miniſter aſſured the Aſſembly, that it was the ſtrict intention of the king to enforce the execution of the laws againſt all diſturbers of the public peace.

The Jacobins were filled with conſternation on the arrival of La Fayette; but it ſerved only to redouble their activity in rendering him odious to the populace. The name of Cromwell was echoed from every preſs; and their indefatigable emiſſaries ſucceeded ſo far with the mob, that he was burnt in effigy. In the Aſſembly he was violently attacked by Iſnard, Guadet, and ſome others of the anti-conſtitutionaliſts, and was defended in a moſt able and eloquent ſpeech by M. Ramond. Finding, however, that no good was to be effected in Paris, M. la Fayette left that city on the thirtieth, and proceeded immediately to his army.

It is worthy of remark, that at this period the army of La Fayette amounted to only between ſeveenteen and eighteen thouſand effective men, and that of Luckner did not exceed twenty-three thouſand. The augmentation propoſed, therefore, was certainly inadequate to the protection of the capital; and if ſincerely intended for that purpoſe, ſhould have been ſtationed nearer to the frontiers, and in ſuch a ſituation as might have enabled it to co-operate with the army already commiſſioned for the defence of the country. The Aſſembly perſiſted in their decree, and the *federates*, the name beſtowed on theſe new levies, were invited by the Jacobins to repair to Paris without any lawful authority.

On the thirtieth of June, M. Jean de Bric propoſed the following decree: " When the " internal and foreign ſafety of the ſtate ſhall be threatened, and the legiſlative body " ſhall judge it indiſpenſable to employ extraordinary meaſures, they ſhall declare by the " following formula: " *Citizens, the country is in danger.*" Immediately after this de-

" claration, all the adminiſtrative bodies ſhall aſſemble, and all the citizens, qualified to " bear arms, ſhall be in a ſtate of permanent activity." The decree goes on to ſpecify other meaſures that are to be adopted on ſuch an exigence, and concludes, " That when " the danger ſhall have ceaſed, the National Aſſembly ſhall declare it by this formula: " *Citizens, the country is no longer in danger.*" Seventeen other reſolutions were paſſed, ordering that all citizens, having been previouſly national guards, ſhould be on permanent duty, and every officer at his poſt.

While theſe affairs were tranſacting in the metropolis, the armies of France had made ſome progreſs in the Auſtrian Netherlands. On the eighteenth of June, Courtray ſurrendered, after a ſhort reſiſtance, to the arms of mareſchal Luckner; and about the ſame period M. Carl took poſſeſſion of Ypres and the country adjacent. M. la Fayette's army had alſo advanced and gained poſſeſſion of Saint Ghiſlain, the key of Mons. Mareſchal Luckner ſoon afterwards entered Menin. The triumph of the French, however, was of ſhort duration. On the ſixth of July, the king announced to the Aſſembly, that one enemy more was added to the confederation againſt French liberty—that the conduct of the king of Pruſſia had long indicated hoſtile intentions, and that he was now marching fifty-two thouſand men to co-operate with the king of Hungary. About the ſame period the Aſſembly received advices from mareſchal Luckner, ſignifying, that the numbers of the enemy were ſuch, that it was impoſſible for him to proceed farther into the territories of Auſtria, without the riſk of being cut off from a communication with the army of M. la Fayette; that the Pruſſians and Auſtrians were bearing down upon him in two columns; that in conſequence of theſe circumſtances he had ordered his camp to be raiſed, and was himſelf retiring towards Valenciennes, and M. la Fayette towards Givet. A ſubſequent diſpatch announced the actual retreat of the armies, and that in breaking up the camp of Courtray ſome of the enemy had got poſſeſſion of the ſuburbs, and had fired upon field-marſhal Jarry, who, to prevent the repetition of ſimilar outrages, had ſet fire to the ſuburb, and conſumed ſeveral houſes. This conduct of M. Jarry was conſidered as diſgraceful and injurious to the cauſe of France, and he was in conſequence of it afterwards diſmiſſed from his command.

On the ſixth of July the directory of the department of Paris, after a long ſitting, pronounced the ſuſpenſion of M. Petion from the office of mayor, and of M. Manuel, the procureur of the commune. The next day the abbé Lamouretts, biſhop of Lyons, aſcended the tribune, and requeſted a few minutes indulgence. He forcibly ſtated the neceſſity of a frank and cordial re-union of all the members of the legiſlative body, and ſhewed that on ſuch a re-union alone depended the maintenance of the rights of the people, and the preſervation of liberty. " There exiſts"—ſaid he—" two diſtinct parties in " the Aſſembly: theſe parties both accuſe one another; the one wiſhing for a republi" can form of government, the other of meditating the eſtabliſhment of two chambers. " Let us renounce our paſſions, let us be united, we thus ſhall become ſtrong; our

" unio

" union will be more formidable to our enemies than all the cannons which guard our " frontiers. Let us give a great example to all Europe, and inſpire our enemies with " terror: there is nothing incompatible except vice and virtue. I move that the preſi- " dent fix a day to put the following propoſition to the vote: " Let all who hold in " equal deteſtation a republic and two chambers, and who wiſh to maintain the conſtitu- " tion as it is, riſe."

Scarcely had theſe laſt words been pronounced, when the two ſides roſe, threw up their hats, and ſtretched forth their arms. Loud applauſes were heard from every quarter. Each ſide approached its opponents, the two mingled together, and exchanged embraces; ſigns of the utmoſt harmony and concord prevailed; the two parties ſwore an immortal union, and took their ſeats promiſcuouſly.

M. Emmery propoſed immediately to carry the minutes of this ſitting to the king; which was unanimouſly aſſented to. When the deputation returned, the biſhop of Lyons ſaid, " Conformable to the order of the National Aſſembly, we waited on the " king in his apartment. His majeſty, after hearing the extracts from the minutes read, " replied to us, that it was impoſſible for him to receive news more dear to his heart, or " more conformable to his ſentiments; and that he yielded to his urgent deſire of com- " ing to teſtify to the Aſſembly the joy with which this union inſpired him." This intimation was received with univerſal applauſe. The king immediately entered the hall, attended by his miniſters. Acclamations of " *Vive le Roi! Vive la liberté!*" reſounded from every quarter.

His majeſty having ſeated himſelf by the preſident, ſaid—" Gentlemen, The act the " moſt affecting to me is that of the union of all wills for the ſafety of our country. I " have long wiſhed for this fortunate moment; my wiſh is now accompliſhed. I come " to declare to you in perſon, that the nation and the king are but one. If their exer- " tions are directed to the ſame object, their united efforts will ſave France. Attach- " ment to the conſtitution will unite all Frenchmen—of this attachment the king will " always ſet them the example."

The preſident anſwered—" Sire, The memorable epoch that brings you into the midſt " of the delegates of the people, is a ſignal of joy to the friends of liberty, and of ter- " ror to its enemies. The harmony of the conſtituted powers will give to the French " nation the force of which ſhe ſtands in need, to diſſipate the league of tyrants con- " ſpired againſt her independence and her conſtitution; and ſhe already ſees in the can- " dour of your proceedings the omen of her ſucceſſes."

His majeſty replied, that he was ſorry he had been obliged to wait for a deputation, as it occaſioned a conſiderable delay to his coming among them. He then retired, accompanied

by a deputation; and the Aſſembly roſe, amidſt the acclamations of "*Vive la nation! Vive* "*la liberté! Vive le roi!*"

The reconciliation of the ſeventh of July was conſidered by many to be in ſome meaſure intended as a compromiſe of the parties, relative to the affair of Meſſrs. Petion and Manuel; and indeed the king, the very ſame evening, wrote to the Aſſembly, intimating, that though to decide on their fate was a part of his conſtitutional prerogative, yet, as the matter perſonally concerned him, he choſe rather to refer it to the determination of the Aſſembly. The ſame evening he alſo announced that he had appointed M. de Joly to the home department.

In the ſittings of the ninth it was decreed, "That the miniſters ſhould give an ac- "count of the ſtate and condition of the kingdom, with reſpect to its ſafety, as well "exterior as interior." When it was reported, that three foreign armies were upon their march to the frontiers, to which France was immediately able to oppoſe five-and-forty thouſand men in the army of the North; fifty thouſand in that of the Center; fifty-five thouſand in the army of the Rhine; and forty thouſand in that of the South. M. Joly, at the concluſion of this account, announced, that all the miniſters had given in their reſignations. From the report of the miniſter for foreign affairs it appeared, that the empires of Germany and Ruſſia, the courts of Turin, Naples, Rome, Spain, and Portugal, had evidently conſpired againſt France. Switzerland, Holland, and England, had preſerved a neutrality.

The Aſſembly was conſiderably agitated by this intelligence, but no meaſures were adopted upon it.

On the tenth, the military and diplomatic committees, with the extraordinary committee of twelve, were ordered to give in reports upon the queſtion, Whether it was neceſſary or not to declare the country in danger? On the eleventh, M. Herault de Sechelles, ſpeaking in the name of the three committees, recommended the declaration that the country was in danger. After ſome debates upon the manner, the Aſſembly agreed to the declaration; and the preſident riſing, in the midſt of the moſt profound ſilence, pronounced the conciſe and ſolemn formula before determined upon: "CITIZENS, "THE COUNTRY IS IN DANGER."

The following decree was then paſſed:—"Let thoſe who would obtain the honour of "marching firſt to defend what is moſt dear to them, always remember that they are "French, and are free; let their fellow citizens maintain in their homes the ſafety of "perſons and properties; let the magiſtrates of the people watch attentively over both; "let all, with a tranquil courage, the attribute of true ſtrength, wait the ſignal of the "law to act, and the country will be ſaved."

Addreſſes

Addreſſes from the Jacobin party in different parts of the kingdom crowded in to the Aſſembly in favour of the mayor and M. Manuel; and the Aſſembly, with their uſual precipitancy, without examining the proofs, and merely after hearing a few florid ſpeeches, pronounced them guiltleſs. M. Delfau conjured the legiſlative body to act with more dignity and deliberation. He painted in ſtrong colours the diſgraceful outrages which were acted in the Thuilleries on the twentieth of June. He accuſed M. Petion of encouraging ſedition, and of a want of reſpect for the hereditary repreſentative of the nation.

During the firſt weeks of July, the federates arrived in Paris in ſmall companies. They were courted by both parties, but moſt aſſiduouſly by the Jacobins. The number of the federates preſent, however, on the fourteenth, is ſaid not to have exceeded fifteen hundred. The confederation was celebrated with the uſual magnificence. The concourſe of people aſſembled has been ſtated at four hundred thouſand. The National Aſſembly met at nine o'clock, and proceeded to lay the firſt ſtone of the column of liberty, to be erected on the ruins of the Baſtille. Before this ceremony was concluded, the king arrived, preceded by a numerous detachment of horſe, a party of troops of the line, five hundred national volunteers, and the Swiſs guards. He was accompanied by the queen, madame Elizabeth, the prince and princeſs royal, &c. The ſix miniſters walked by the ſide of the king's coach.

A palm tree overſhadowed the altar of liberty, and near it a pyramidal monument was erected to the memory of thoſe who had expired on the frontiers, in the defence of their country. Between the altar and the Seine a poplar was planted, hung with eſcutcheons, and other remnants of heraldic folly, which was ſet on fire by the prieſt who performed maſs at the grand altar, in alluſion to the deſtruction of the feudal ſyſtem.

Though the king was in general well received, the day did not paſs without ſome degree of mortification to him. Several of the populace, armed with pikes, repeatedly ſhouted, "*Vive Petion! Vivent les Jacobins! A bas le department! A bas le veto! &c.*" At about ſix o'clock, the king and the National Aſſembly renewed their oath to be faithful to the conſtitution, and the royal family immediately afterwards returned to the Thuilleries. The federates on this occaſion behaved with much order and loyalty; they appeared to join cordially in the ſhouts of "*Vive le roi!*" and ſome are even ſaid to have teſtified by their exclamations their diſapprobation of the factions.

A few days after the confederation, a new adminiſtration was announced, which conſiſted of M. de Joly as miniſter of juſtice, M. Saint Croix for foreign affairs, M. Dubouchage for the navy, M. d'Abancour miniſter of war, M. Champion for the home department, and M. Leroulx de la Ville for that of finance. It was ſome time before this arrangement could be ſettled, for the office of miniſter was become at this period ſo much the

the poſt of danger, that the king was obliged to ſolicit many who could not be prevailed upon; and thoſe who did, accepted the documents of office only on his moſt preſſing entreaty. On the twenty-ſecond of July, agreeably to a decree of the National Aſſembly, proclamation was made in all the ſections of Paris, that the country was in danger. The buſineſs was conducted in a ſolemn manner by the municipal officers on horſeback; and the whole ceremony had ſuch an effect on the minds of the populace, that in a few days ſeveral hundreds haſted to enroll themſelves.

In the mean time the federates arrived from all parts in conſiderable bodies: thoſe from the ſouthern provinces were the moſt ferocious, both in conduct and appearance; and from the circumſtance of the majority of them coming from the neighbourhood of Marſeilles, the appellation of *Marſeillois* has been almoſt indiſcriminately applied to this deſcription of volunteers. They conſiſted chiefly of the loweſt and moſt diſſolute of the rabble from every part of the kingdom.

On the twenty-ninth, M. Bureau Puzy was heard, touching the charge of having requeſted M. Luckner, in the name of M. la Fayette, to march to Paris. After having formally denied the charge, and laid before the Aſſembly the military correſpondence, which was the object of his interview with M. Luckner, the preſident announced the following letter from M. la Fayette:

" If I had been interrogated as to my principles, I ſhould have replied, that, being " the proclaimer and conſtant defender of the rights of man, I have always and every " where reſiſted thoſe authorities which liberty diſavows, and which the national will " has not delegated; and that always and every where I have obeyed thoſe, of which a " free conſtitution has determined the form and the limits. But I am interrogated as to " a fact. Have I propoſed to mareſchal Luckner to march with our armies to Paris? " To this I reply in four ſhort words, *It is not true.*

(Signed) " FAYETTE."

In the ſame ſitting a letter was read from M. Luckner, denying " that he had made " any charge againſt M. la Fayette." This buſineſs was referred to a committee.

The proclamation on the part of the French was immediately ſucceeded by the following declaration from the duke of Brunſwick-Lunenburg:

" Their majeſties the emperor and the king of Pruſſia having entruſted me with the " command of the combined armies, aſſembled on the frontiers of France, I think it my " duty to inform the inhabitants of that kingdom of the motives which have influenced " the conduct of the two ſovereigns, and of the principles by which they are guided.

" After

" After arbitrarily ſuppreſſing the rights, and invading the poſſeſſions, of the German " princes in Alſace and Lorraine; after having diſturbed and overthrown, in the inte- " rior part of the kingdom, all order and lawful government; after having been guilty " of the moſt daring attacks, and having had recourſe to the moſt violent meaſures, " which are ſtill daily renewed againſt the ſacred perſon of the king, and againſt his fa- " mily—thoſe who have ſeized on the reins of government have, at length, filled the " meaſure of their guilt, by declaring an unjuſt war againſt his majeſty the emperor, " and by invading his provinces in the Low Countries. Some of the poſſeſſions belong- " ing to the German empire have been equally expoſed to the ſame oppreſſion, and " many others have only avoided the danger, by yielding to the imperious threats of the " domineering party, and their emiſſaries.

" His majeſty the king of Pruſſia, united with his Imperial majeſty in the bands of " the ſtricteſt defenſive alliance, and as preponderate member himſelf of the Germanic " body, could not refuſe marching to the aſſiſtance of his ally and his co-eſtates. It is " under this double relation that he undertakes the defence of that monarch and of " Germany.

" To theſe high intereſts is added another important object, and which both ſovereigns " have moſt cordially in view, which is to put an end to that anarchy which prevails in " the interior parts of France; to put a ſtop to the attacks made on the throne and the " altar; to reſtore the king to his legitimate power, to liberty, and to ſafety, of which " he is now deprived, and to place him in ſuch a ſituation that he may exerciſe that le- " gitimate authority to which he is entitled.

" Convinced that the ſober part of the nation deteſt the exceſſes of a faction which " has enſlaved them, and that the majority of the inhabitants wait with impatience the " moment when ſuccours ſhall arrive, to declare themſelves openly againſt the odious " enterpriſes of their oppreſſors; his majeſty the emperor, and his majeſty the king of " Pruſſia, earneſtly invite them to return without delay into the paths of reaſon and " juſtice—of order and peace. It is with this view that I, the underwritten, general " commandant in chief of the armies, do declare—

" 1. That, drawn into the preſent war by irreſiſtible circumſtances, the two allied " courts have no other object in view than the welfare of France, without any pretence " to enrich themſelves by making conqueſts.

" 2. That they do not mean to meddle with the internal government of France, but " that they ſimply intend to deliver the king, the queen, and the royal family from their " captivity, and to enſure to his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty that ſafety which is neceſſary " for his making, without danger and without obſtacles, ſuch convocations as he ſhall

" judge

" judge proper, and for endeavouring to enſure the welfare of his ſubjects, according to " his promiſes, and to the utmoſt of his power.

" 3. That the combined armies ſhall protect the towns, bourgs, and villages, as well " as the perſons and property, of all thoſe who ſhall ſubmit to the king; and that they " will concur in the reſtoration of order and tranquillity throughout all France.

" 4. That the national guards are called upon to preſerve, proviſionally, tranquillity " in the towns and in the country, to provide for the perſonal ſafety and property of all " Frenchmen, until the arrival of the troops belonging to their Imperial and Royal ma- " jeſties, or until orders be given to the contrary, on pain of being perſonally reſponſible: " That, on the contrary, ſuch national guards as ſhall fight againſt the troops of the " two allied courts, and who ſhall be taken with arms in their hands, ſhall be treated as " enemies, and puniſhed as rebels to the king, and as diſturbers of the public peace.

" 5. That the general officers, the ſubalterns and ſoldiers, of the regular troops of " France, are equally called upon to return to their former allegiance, and to ſubmit im- " mediately to the king, their legitimate ſovereign.

" 6. That the members of the departments, diſtricts, and municipalities, ſhall be " equally reſponſible, on pain of loſing their heads and their eſtates, for all the crimes, " all the conflagrations, all the murders, and the pillage which they ſhall ſuffer to take " place, and which they ſhall not have, in a public manner, attempted to prevent within " their reſpective territories; that they ſhall alſo be obliged to continue their functions, " until his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, when ſet at full liberty, ſhall make farther arrange- " ments, or until farther orders be given in his name.

" 7. That the inhabitants of towns, bourgs, and villages, who ſhall dare to defend " themſelves againſt the troops of their Imperial and Royal majeſties, and to fire upon " them, either in open country, or through half-open doors, or windows of their " houſes, ſhall be puniſhed inſtantly, according to the rigorous rules of war, or their " houſes ſhall be demoliſhed or burned. On the contrary, all the inhabitants of the " the ſaid towns, bourgs, and villages, who ſhall readily ſubmit to their king, by open- " ing their gates to the troops belonging to their majeſties, ſhall be immediately under " their ſafeguard and protection; their eſtates, their property, and their perſons ſhall be " ſecured by the laws, and each and all of them ſhall be in full ſafety.

" 8. The city of Paris, and all its inhabitants, without diſtinction, ſhall be called " upon to ſubmit inſtantly, and without delay, to the king; to ſet that prince at full " liberty, and to enſure to him, and to all royal perſons, that inviolability and reſpect " which are due, by the laws of nature and nations, to ſovereigns: Their Imperial and

" Royal

" Royal majeſties making perſonally reſponſible for all events, on pain of loſing their " heads, purſuant to military trials, without hopes of pardon, all the members of the " National Aſſembly, of the department, of the diſtrict, of the municipality, and of the " national guards of Paris, juſtices of the peace, and others whom it may concern; and " their Imperial and Royal majeſties farther declare, on their faith and word of emperor " and king, that if the palace of the Thuilleries be forced or inſulted—if the leaſt vio- " lence be offered, the leaſt outrage done to, their majeſties, the king, the queen, and the " royal family; if they be not immediately placed in ſafety, and ſet at liberty, they will " inflict on thoſe who ſhall deſerve it the moſt exemplary and ever-memorable avenging " puniſhments, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution, and expoſing it to " total deſtruction, and the rebels who ſhall be guilty of illegal reſiſtance, ſhall ſuffer " the puniſhments which they ſhall have deſerved. Their Imperial and Royal majeſ- " ties promiſe, on the contrary, to all the inhabitants of the city of Paris, to employ " their good offices with his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, to obtain for them a pardon for in- " ſults and errors, and to adopt the moſt vigorous meaſures for the ſecurity of their per- " ſons and property, provided they ſpeedily and ſtrictly conform to the above in- " junctions.

" Finally, their majeſties not being at liberty to acknowledge any other laws in " France, except thoſe which ſhall be derived from the king, when at full liberty, pro- " teſt beforehand againſt the authenticity of all kinds of declarations which may be iſ- " ſued in the name of the king, ſo long as his ſacred perſon, and that of the queen, and " the princes of the whole royal family, ſhall not be in full ſafety: and, with this view, " their Imperial and Royal majeſties invite and entreat his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty to " name a town in his kingdom, neareſt to the frontiers, to which he would wiſh to re- " move, together with the queen and the royal family, under a ſtrong and ſafe eſcort, " which ſhall be ſent for that purpoſe; ſo that his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty may, in per- " fect ſafety, ſend for ſuch miniſters and counſellors as he ſhall be pleaſed to name, order " ſuch convocations as he ſhall think proper, and provide for the reſtoration of order, " and the regular adminiſtration of his kingdom.

" In fine, I declare and promiſe, in my own individual name, and in my above quality, " to cauſe to be obſerved every where, by the troops under my command, good and ſtrict " diſcipline; promiſing to treat with mildneſs and moderation thoſe well-diſpoſed ſubjects " who ſhall ſubmit peaceably and quietly, and to employ force againſt thoſe only who " ſhall be guilty of reſiſtance, or of manifeſt evil intentions.

" I therefore call upon and expect all the inhabitants of the kingdom, in the moſt " earneſt and forcible manner, not to make any oppoſition to the troops under my " command, but rather to ſuffer them every where to enter the kingdom freely, and

" to afford them all the aſſiſtance, and ſhew them all the benevolence, which circum-
" ſtances may require.

Given, &c. at Coblentz, July 25th, 1792. (Signed) " CHARLES GUILLAUME FERDINAND,
" DUC DE BRUNSWICK LUNENBOURG."

The following is an additional declaration, dated the twenty-ſeventh of July:

" The declaration which I have addreſſed to the inhabitants of France, dated Quarters
" General at Coblentz, July the twenty-fifth, muſt have ſufficiently made known the
" firm reſolves of their majeſties the emperor and the king of Pruſſia, when they en-
" truſted me with the command of their combined armies.

" The liberty and the ſafety of the ſacred perſons of the king, of the queen, and of
" the royal family, being one of the principal motives which have determined their Im-
" perial and Royal majeſties to act in concert, I have made known, by my ſaid declara-
" tion to the inhabitants of Paris, my reſolve to inflict on them the moſt terrible puniſh-
" ments, if the leaſt inſult ſhould be offered to his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, for whom the
" city of Paris is particularly reſponſible.

" Without making the leaſt alteration to the eighth article of the ſaid declaration of
" the twenty-fifth inſtant, I declare, beſides, that if, contrary to all expectation, by the
" perfidy or baſeneſs of ſome inhabitants of Paris, the king, the queen, or any other per-
" ſon of the royal family, ſhould be carried off from that city, all the places and towns
" whatſoever, which ſhall not have oppoſed their paſſage, and ſhall not have ſtopped
" their proceeding, ſhall incur the ſame puniſhments as thoſe inflicted on the inhabitants
" of Paris; and the route which ſhall be taken by thoſe who carry off the king and the
" royal family ſhall be marked with a ſeries of exemplary puniſhment, juſtly due to the
" authors and abettors of crimes for which there is no remiſſion.

" All the inhabitants of France in general are to take warning of the dangers with
" which they are threatened, and which it will be impoſſible for them to avoid, unleſs
" they, with all their might, and by every means in their power, oppoſe the paſſage of
" the king and the royal family, to whatever place the factious may attempt to carry
" them. Their Imperial and Royal majeſties will not allow any place of retreat to be
" the free choice of his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, (in caſe he ſhould comply with the in-
" vitation which has been made him) unleſs that retreat be effected under the eſcort
" which has been offered. All declarations whatſoever, in the name of his Moſt Chriſ-
" tian majeſty, which ſhall be contrary to the object which their Imperial and Royal
" majeſties have in view, ſhall be conſidered as null, and, conſequently, without effect.

(Signed) " CHARLES GUILLAUME FERDINAND,
" DUC DE BRUNSWICK LUNENBOURG."

In

In conſequence of the foregoing declarations, the king, on the third of Auguſt, tranſmitted the following letter to the Aſſembly:

" MR. PRESIDENT,

" For ſeveral days a paper has been circulated, entitled, " *The declaration of the reigning duke of Brunſwick-Lunenbourg, commander of the combined armies of their majeſties the emperor and the king of Pruſſia, addreſſed to the inhabitants of France.* This paper exhibits nothing that can be conſidered as a proof of its authenticity. It has not been tranſmitted by any of my miniſters at the ſeveral courts of Germany near our frontiers. The publication of it nevertheleſs ſeems to me to require a new declaration of my ſentiments and my principles.

" France is menaced by a great combination of forces. Let us all recollect the neceſſity of union. Calumny will not eaſily believe the ſorrow I feel in conſidering the diſſentions that exiſt among us, and the evils gathering round us; but thoſe who know of what value in my eyes are the blood and the fortune of the people, will give credit to my uneaſineſs and my grief.

" I brought with me pacific ſentiments to the throne, becauſe peace, the firſt bleſſing of nations, is the firſt duty of kings. My former miniſters know what efforts I have made to avoid war. I felt how neceſſary was peace; it alone could enlighten the nation on the new form of her government; it alone, by ſparing the ſufferings of the people, could make me ſupport the character I undertook in this Revolution. But I yielded to the unanimous opinion of my council, to the wiſh manifeſted by a great part of the nation, and ſeveral times expreſſed by the National Aſſembly.

" When war was declared, I neglected none of the means of aſſuring its ſucceſs. My miniſters received orders to concert meaſures with the committees of the National Aſſembly, and with the generals. If the event has not yet anſwered the hopes of the nation, ought we not to lay the blame on our inteſtine diviſions, the progreſs of the ſpirit of party, and above all, on the ſtate of our armies, which wanted to be more practiſed in the uſe of arms before being led to combat? But the nation ſhall ſee my efforts increaſe with thoſe of the hoſtile powers; I ſhall take, in concert with the National Aſſembly, every means to turn the evils inſeparable from war to the advantage of her liberty and her glory.

" I have accepted the conſtitution; the majority of the nation deſired it: I ſaw that the nation conſidered it as the foundation of her happineſs, and her happineſs is the ſole object of my life.

" From

" From that moment I impoſed it as a law upon myſelf to be faithful to the conſtitu-
" tion ; and I gave orders to my miniſters to make it the rule of their conduct. I wiſh-
" ed not to ſubſtitute my knowledge for experience, nor my opinion for my oath. It
" was my duty to labour for the good of the people ; I have diſcharged that duty ; and
" to have done ſo is enough to ſatisfy the conſcience of an honeſt man. Never ſhall I
" be ſeen compounding the glory or the intereſts of the nation ; receiving the law from
" foreigners or from a party : It is to the nation that I owe myſelf ; I am one and the
" ſame with her ; no intereſt ſhall ſeparate me from her ; ſhe alone ſhall be liſtened to ;
" I will maintain the national independence with my laſt breath. Perſonal dangers,
" compared with public dangers, are nothing. Ah ! what are perſonal dangers to a
" king, from whom it is attempted to alienate the love of the people ? There lies the
" real wound of my heart. The people, perhaps, will one day know how dear to me is
" their happineſs ; how much it has always been my ſole intereſt, my firſt wiſh. How
" many griefs might be effaced by the ſlighteſt mark of its return !

(Signed) " LOUIS.
(Counterſigned) " BIGOT ST. CROIX."

On its being moved that this letter ſhould be ordered to be printed, which is the uſual mark of reſpect ſhewn by the Aſſembly to the addreſſes or petitions it approves, the motion was oppoſed. One of the members obſerved, that it was not by *words*, but by *actions*, that the king ſhould prove his love of liberty and the conſtitution.

M. Iſnard offered " to prove that what the king aſſerted was not true." He was interrupted, not ſo much on account of the indecency of this expreſſion, as becauſe he wandered from the queſtion in debate, which was, Whether the king's letter ought to be printed, or not ? It was obſerved, that what he had ſaid was preciſely in point, becauſe, if he proved that the contents of the letter were not true, it followed that it ought not to be printed. Iſnard then ſaid, " That when fanatical prieſts had attempted to kindle a
" civil war, the Aſſembly had propoſed repreſſive decrees, which the king had refuſed to
" ſanction. That he had diſmiſſed the patriotic miniſters who poſſeſſed the confidence
" of the nation ; that he muſt have been acquainted for more than a year with the
" treaty of Pilnitz, yet he had taken no meaſures to defeat it, or to procure allies for
" France ; that the miniſters had promiſed to have one hundred and fifty thouſand men
" ready to act ; and yet, although war was declared, nothing near the number was
" levied, and thoſe who were had not been properly armed ; and, finally, that every
" meaſure had been taken to render the enemy's attack on France ſucceſsful."

M. Thuriot ſaid, " That the only thing which had determined the king to ſend the
" meſſage was, that he knew that the majority of the ſections were about to addreſs the
Aſſembly to diveſt him of the crown." After a warm debate the Aſſembly paſſed to the order of the day.

A depu-

A deputation from the common council of Paris, with M. Petion at their head, appeared at the bar; when Petion demanded, in the name of the forty-eight ſections, that the king ſhould be excluded from the throne, and that the management of affairs, during the interregnum, ſhould be entruſted to reſponſible miniſters, until the election of a new king in a National Convention. His ſpeech was to the following purport:

It began by expreſſions of ſorrow for the neceſſity of accuſing the chief of the executive power; and proceeded to declare, "That although the people have great reaſon "to be enraged againſt Lewis the Sixteenth, yet as the appearance of anger does not become power, they will uſe the language of moderation." In this language of *moderation*, therefore, all that his enemies ever accuſed the king of previous to his accepting of the conſtitution, was minutely ennumerated, accompanied by a declaration that all thoſe crimes were obliterated, and covered by the pardon granted by the people. But the addreſſers declare, that they cannot help mentioning the king's ingratitude to a people who have behaved ſo generouſly to him. "What right had he to expect they "would replace him on the throne, after he had attempted to fly from France, that he "might reign at Coblentz? Could he found his expectation on his deſcent from a race "of kings, among twenty of which there was hardly one tolerable? Yet the nation "had forgiven all, and reſtored the crown to him, ſince which moment he had never "ceaſed to conſpire againſt the freedom of his country; that an army of traitors, led "by his brothers, invaded France; that to avenge the cauſe of Lewis the Sixteenth, the "execrable houſe of Auſtria deſires to add a new page to the hiſtory of its crimes; and, "adopting the horrid idea of Caligula, wiſhes at one blow to ſtrike off the heads of all "the good citizens of France."

The addreſs concludes with requeſting, "That the king be decreed to have forfeited "the crown; that the government be put into the hands of patriotic miniſters named "by the people, until a National Convention be aſſembled." The orator added—

"This great meaſure being once adopted, as it is doubtful whether the nation can "place any confidence in the reigning dynaſty, we deſire that miniſters really reſponſible, appointed by the National Aſſembly, but out of your own body, according to the "law of the conſtitution, and choſen openly, not by ballot, may in the interim exerciſe "the functions of the executive power, until ſuch time as the will of the people, *our "ſovereign* and *yours*, ſhall have been legally declared in a National Convention, to be aſ"ſembled as ſoon as the ſafety of the ſtate will admit. In the mean time let our ene"mies, be they who they may, go beyond our frontiers; let the baſe and perjured quit "the land of liberty; let *three hundred thouſand ſlaves* advance, they will find on their "way *ten millions* of *freemen*, prepared for either *death or victory*, fighting for *equality*, "for their houſes, for their wives, and for their children. Let every one of us be a ſol"dier in his turn; and if we muſt have the honour of dying for our country, *let each*

" *of us, before he breathes his laſt, render his memory illuſtrious, by the death of a* SLAVE " *or a* TYRANT." This ſpeech gained the loudeſt applauſe from the galleries; it was delivered afterwards in writing to the preſident, but the Aſſembly came to no reſolution upon it.

Early in the morning of Sunday, the ſixth of Auguſt, the whole city of Paris was alarmed by a report that an attempt had been made by the king to eſcape. It was ſaid that he had advanced to the great alley of the Thuilleries, where he was recognized by a centinel; and being taken back to the palace, ſent for the mayor, to whom he ſaid, that he had gone out ſolely for a *promenade*. In the mean time the *tocſin* [alarm-bell] was ſounded, and the miniſters were ſummoned to the palace.

It is ſuppoſed that the king meant to have eſcaped from the garden of the Thuilleries by the Pont-Tournant, which leads to the Place of Louis the Fifteenth. He was in the dreſs of a peaſant. An officer upon guard in the palace ſaid, that his majeſty was up and dreſt the whole night, that two of the miniſters were with him, and that a large body of the Swiſs guards were upon duty.

The king's friends aſſerted, that all theſe appearances of an extraordinary movement were occaſioned by an apprehenſion for the ſafety of the royal family, during the removal of the federates of Marſeilles from their barracks in the Fauxbourg Poiſonniere to the convent of the Cordeliers; and that in their route a new quarrel might ariſe between them and the national guard. This, however, was not very ſatisfactory. That ſome ſort of agitation prevailed at the Thuilleries on Saturday night and Sunday morning, the following official publication proves:

" *Auguſt 5th*, 1792. *Fourth Year of Liberty.*

" This night three couriers left the palace of the Thuilleries, bearing letters, one ad-
" dreſſed to the mayor of Paris, another to Mr. Stephen Leroux, merchant and muni-
" cipal officer, and a third to M. Cardot, municipal officer at Chaillot.—Some citizens
" and a patrole arreſted, in the Place of Louis the Fifteenth, the man who had the letter
" for M. Cardot, and accompanied him to the houſe of the latter. The letter being
" opened in the preſence of the commiſſary of the police, was as follows:—

" M. Cardot, haſten; come to the palace—Your friends, your brothers are there.
Half paſt one in the morning."

" This note, without a ſignature, ſurprized Cardot, who went to the mayoralty, and
" required the aſſiſtance of the adminiſtrator of the police. M. Sergeant accompanied
" him; both took information at length in the houſe of the commiſſary for the ſection
" of the Thuilleries; and it appeared, that Meſſrs. De Joly, miniſter of juſtice, and
" Du Bocage, miniſter of the marine, had invited the two municipal officers to come
" that

« that night to the palace, at all events, and that the miniſters had promiſed they « ſhould there find friends.

(Signed) " SERGEANT, Adminiſtrator."

The perſon of the king being ſafe, no farther notice was taken of the affair.

On the ſeventh a tumultuous crowd came from the Champ de Mars, with a roll of parchment, ſigned by a great number of perſons of all the ſections. This parchment had lain for eight days on the altar which was built for the ceremony of the federation, and was brought to the door of the Aſſembly as a petition, by a mob of both ſexes. After ſome oppoſition, it was ordered that twenty of them ſhould be admitted to the bar. One of them carried a pole crowned with a red cap, inſcribed with theſe words, " *De-* "*ſtruction du pouvoir perſécutif*[36];" and the following words beneath, " *Appel au peuple*[37]. Theſe inſcriptions excited the indignation of the Aſſembly; and they were ordered to be torn off before the petition was read. The petition, which was of a moſt incendiary nature, took near an hour in reading. The petitioners were informed that the Aſſembly would take their petition into conſideration.

The next day a debate of great expectation took place in the National Aſſembly. A committee of twelve members were ſome time ſince appointed to deliberate on the conduct of La Fayette. Jean de Brie made the report, in which he greatly blamed the conduct of the general, in having calumniated and menaced the National Aſſembly; in having had the deſign to march his army againſt Paris; and in having aſſumed unconſtitutional power: and the reporter concluded, by propoſing a decree of accuſation.

The diſcourſe of Jean de Brie was greatly applauded by the audience in the tribunes. M. Vaublanc made an able and eloquent defence of the general's conduct; but when he propoſed the previous queſtion on Jean de Brie's motion, the people in the galleries raiſed the moſt violent exclamations and murmurs, which were, however, balanced by the applauſe of the majority of the Aſſembly. Briſſot ſpoke next, and added new force to the reaſoning of Jean de Brie. When the decree of accuſation was put to the vote, it was rejected by a majority of near two hundred, which deciſion gave great offence to the people; in conſequence thereof they were determined to carry the queſtion of the KING'S DEPOSITION.

A number of letters were read from members, complaining that they had been inſulted, menaced, and actually aſſaulted, by the mob, for having ſpoken or voted in fa v

[36] Deſtruction to the perſecuting power. [37] Appeal to the people.

La Fayette. They repreſented that the members of the Aſſembly were no longer at liberty to ſpeak their ſentiments; and that unleſs ſtrong meaſures were taken to ſecure their perſons, they muſt ſeek an aſylum in ſome other place.

Theſe and many other ſimilar complaints occupied the Aſſembly 'till five in the afternoon of the ninth, when M. Condorcet, as reporter of the extraordinary commiſſion, ſtated the various conſiderations connected with the grand queſtion of the KING'S FORFEITURE, and concluded thus: "Whatever plan you may adopt, you will be accuſed "of having violated the conſtitution. You are forced to ſteer between the boundaries "of your own powers and the violation of rights. You ought to confine yourſelves "within the limits of the law. Your committee will not preſent a complete plan of the "meaſures to be purſued in ſuch circumſtances. We are fully ſenſible how preſſing the "dangers of the country are; but too much precipitation might ruin it, and meaſures "badly combined might not be ſufficient. *You ought to run every riſk to ſave your coun-*"*try, but remove from danger every thing you can.* Your committee will at preſent re-"commend to you only one meaſure, which is to publiſh an inſtruction to the people on "the mode of exerciſing their right of ſovereignty, in order to put them on their guard "againſt the errors into which they may be precipitated."

The proceedings of the Aſſembly were interrupted by the ſudden appearance of Petion. He ſaid that a rumour having been ſpread that a plot was formed for carrying off the king, the people, as if actuated by one ſpirit, had all bent their way towards the Thuilleries, to prevent his being carried away; and, for that purpoſe, a certain number of citizens from each battalion of the national guard were ordered to do duty at the palace. The Aſſembly, conſidering the preſent dangerous ſituation of the capital, decreed, That till order be reſtored the ſitting ſhall be permanent.

Beſides the Swiſs, the number of gentlemen and others who repaired to the palace on this alarming occaſion, is ſaid to have amounted to from twelve to thirteen hundred men. As theſe were, however, not conſidered ſufficient to repel the threatened attack, M. Mandat, commander of the national guards, a man ſtrongly attached to the conſtitution, having repreſented to the mayor the apprehenſions he entertained for the ſafety of the royal family, obtained from that magiſtrate a written order to defend the palace with all his force, and to repel the attack of any invader. The detachments of the national guards, which Mandat had ordered to the palace upon this occaſion, are ſtated at about two thouſand four hundred men, with twelve pieces of cannon; and to theſe may be added the *gendarmerie à cheval*, a body of cavalry amounting to about one thouſand.

With this force, well-ordered and well-arranged, it is the prevalent opinion, that had there exiſted a ſufficient portion of ſpirit, firmneſs, and unanimity in the council within the caſtle of the Thuilleries, it might ſucceſsfully have reſiſted the deſigns of the republicans. Some dependence was alſo to be placed upon the temper and moderation

tion which the majority of the Aſſembly had lately exhibited, and upon the indignation which the more reſpectable inhabitants of Paris had expreſſed with reſpect to the outrages of the twentieth of June.

Within the Thuilleries all was conſternation and diſmay. Some ſhew of order was however preſerved. At about eleven o'clock at night the mayor repaired to the palace, where he remained till between two and three in the morning. There is no proof that he was detained by force; but the diſaffected made uſe of the circumſtance of his remaining there to circulate a report to the injury of the royal party, that he was either murdered or kept as a hoſtage. This report reaching the Aſſembly, the preſident thought proper to order him before them, and he immediately appeared at their bar; when he was, probably by his own deſire, put under an arreſt by his own party, as he was aſhamed or afraid to appear more openly in ſo diſgraceful a tranſaction.

At midnight the alarm-bell was ſounded, and the drums beat to arms through the city. In this moment of confuſion a moſt unjuſtifiable and illegal ſtep was taken. As it was pretended that the preſent council of the commune did not poſſeſs the confidence of the people, a few perſons from each of the ſections immediately aſſembled to elect a new one, and the meaſure was carried into effect upon the ſpot, to the excluſion of the whole municipality, Petion, Manuel, and Danton, only excepted. This ſelf-elected commune took immediate poſſeſſion of the common-hall, and proceeded to ſuch meaſures as might moſt effectually promote the deſigns of the inſurgents.

One of their firſt reſolves proved fatal to the royal party. As Mandat was known to be a determined ſupporter of the conſtitution, it was evident that his preſence would afford the ſtrongeſt encouragement to the national guards, and would greatly contribute to the retaining them in their duty; and the order which he had received from the mayor was an additional authority in the eyes of the ſoldiery and people: it was therefore determined to deprive the king of this eſſential ſupport. The creation of a new municipality was not known at the palace; and under the cover of this deluſion a meſſage was diſpatched to Mandat, requiring his attendance at the common-hall, under the pretence that they had ſomething of the utmoſt importance to communicate to him. Mandat was then occupied in aſſigning to the national guards their different poſts; and, as if ſuſpicious of a conſpiracy againſt his life, heſitated to obey the order. A new meſſage, more preſſing than the former, was therefore ſent; and the procureur-ſyndic joined with two other municipal officers who were preſent, in perſuading him to obey the commands of the conſtituted authorities. He left the palace about four o'clock in the morning, and proceeded to the town-houſe, accompanied by a ſingle aid-du-camp.

The ſurprize of this unfortunate officer may eaſily be imagined at meeting an aſſembly ſo different from what he had expected; and his ſurprize muſt have been augmented

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at finding himſelf abruptly charged with a plot to maſſacre the people. After a ſhort interrogation he was ordered to the abbey priſon; but as he deſcended the ſtairs he was ſhot through the head with a piſtol. M. Santerre was appointed, by the ſame authority, to the command of the national guard, which however he did not immediately aſſume.

The king had not cloſed his eyes during the whole of this eventful night; indeed the only part of the family who retired to reſt were the royal infants. At ſix o'clock it was thought expedient that the king ſhould review the troops. He accordingly proceeded to the court yards, where he was ſaluted with the acclamations of "*Vive le Roi!*" from the Swiſs, and it was echoed by the national guards. The artillery, however, and the battalion of Croix Rouge, ſhouted "*Vive la Nation!*" and ſome of the more inſolent and diſaffected, "*Vive Petion!*" The national guards being deprived of their commander, and, conſequently at that moment, governed by no effective authority, the example of the artillery ſoon became contagious, and their unruly and indecent conduct evinced how little confidence was to be placed upon their fidelity.

As ſoon as the king returned from reviewing the troops, the gentlemen who were in the palace formed themſelves into regular companies; and, animated by enthuſiaſm and deſpair, would undoubtedly have made a moſt gallant defence, had the king remained at their head.

At eight o'clock M. Rœderer entered the council chamber where their majeſties were, at the head of the department; his firſt words were, "No perſon ſhall interpoſe between "the king and the department." He requeſted to ſpeak with the king and queen in private; and proceeded to repreſent the imminent danger which at this moment impended over their majeſties, and all that were attached to them; he aſſured them that very few of the national guard were to be depended upon, and that the majority were totally corrupted. That inſtead of defending the palace they would inſtantly join the aſſailants; that the number of the inſurgents was ſuch that it was inſanity to oppoſe, and entreated that they would repair to the only aſylum which was open to them—the National Aſſembly. The queen, whoſe penetration led her to ſuſpect a conſpiracy, and whoſe force of mind was generally more diſpoſed to reſiſtance than ſubmiſſion, oppoſed with vehemence M. Rœderer's propoſal, and exclaimed—"That ſooner than remove ſhe "would be nailed to the walls of the palace." But the habitual gentleneſs of the king's character induced him to comply. They met with no interruption in croſſing the Thuilleries to the ſtaircaſe leading to the terrace of the Feuillans; but there his majeſty was detained near a quarter of an hour by the populace, who mingled with the groſſeſt abuſe the moſt alarming threats againſt his perſon. The directory of the department at length prevailed on the multitude to give way, and one of the moſt forward of the inſurgents ſnatched the prince royal out of the queen's arms, and carried him to the Aſſembly.

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The legiſlative body, at the moment their majeſties entered, were engaged in a tumultuous debate, on the motion for ſending a deputation to conduct the king and the royal family to the hall. As ſoon as he entered, the king ſeated himſelf by the ſide of the preſident, and addreſſed the Aſſembly in theſe words: "I am come hither to prevent a "great crime—Among you, gentlemen, I believe myſelf in ſafety." The king and queen were accompanied by their ſon and daughter, and the princeſs Elizabeth—A voluntary deputation of the members had proceeded to the door of the hall to introduce them.

It was obſerved by one of the members, that the king's preſence put a reſtraint on the debates; on which he deſcended to the bar where his family was, and with them was conducted into a box on the right hand of the preſident, called *La Loge du Logographe*, where ſeven or eight perſons uſed to ſit around a table to take down in writing the debates, and every thing remarkable which paſſed in the Aſſembly.

They had not been ſituated long there when the action began. The National Aſſembly being near the ſpot on which the engagement took place, ſeveral cannon-ball ſtruck the roof, and ſome muſket-ſhot entered the windows. What intereſt all within muſt have taken in this action, will be eaſily imagined. Some members roſe and changed their ſeats, when the cannon were firſt heard; but the preſident, calling to order, ſaid it was the duty of every member to remain with ſteadineſs at his poſt, and ſerve his country to the beſt of his abilities. After this every member kept his place, except ſuch as were deputed on ſome particular buſineſs by the preſident [38].

It is much to be lamented, that the king, on his departure from the palace, did not leave diſtinct and poſitive orders to thoſe who remained, to capitulate. Much bloodſhed would probably have been avoided by this means; and there is even ſome reaſon to think that the event might have proved more favourable to the king himſelf than it did. The democratic party charge this neglect to the duplicity of the king; who, they alledge, wiſhed to ſecure two chances to himſelf;—the reſtoration to his former dignity, ſhould his party prove victorious; and at the worſt he expected to eſcape with his life, by taking ſhelter in the National Aſſembly. This account of his motives is, however, probably no more than one of thoſe uncharitable inſinuations which at ſuch a criſis the malignity of party uſually invents; and the conduct of the king is more naturally to be attributed to that confuſion and anxiety which, at ſuch a criſis, deprives the moſt collected mind of

[38] At one time there was ſuch a noiſe and buſtle in the paſſage immediately behind the two ſmall rooms in which the royal family were, that their attendants became apprehenſive that ſome ruffians were about to break in and offer them violence; and therefore they endeavoured to wrench out the iron bars which ſeparated the box from the hall of the Aſſembly, that the royal family might throw themſelves into the hall, if neceſſary: the bars were not removed till the king himſelf aſſiſted, and by repeated efforts at laſt forced them out.—*Moore's Journal.*

half

half its functions. At this diſtance of time we can reaſon with temperance and judgment; but how ſhould we have acted, if placed in circumſtances ſo extremely difficult, and ſo trying to human infirmity?

The reports which had been induſtriouſly circulated of a plot formed within the palace for the maſſacre of the citizens, had already cauſed the ſavage multitude to thirſt for blood. In the courſe of the night two-and-twenty perſons had been arreſted, under various pretences, in the ſection of the Feuillans, and impriſoned in the guard-houſe. Eleven of them, who were confined in a ſeparate apartment, had however the good fortune to ſave themſelves by leaping out of a window into an adjoining garden. For ſome time the inſurgents had been extremely clamorous in the court of the Feuillans, demanding the ſacrifice of the priſoners: and about half paſt eight a municipal officer aſcended a bench, and exhorted them, with great humanity, to abſtain from violence and cruelty. This reſpectable magiſtrate was ſoon ſilenced by clamour; and a horrid banditti, headed by a wretch who diſgraced the name and form of woman, a proſtitute of the name of Theroigne, proceeded to the committee, to demand their immediate ſlaughter. Nine innocent perſons were inhumanly murdered, ſome of them by the hands of the infamous Theroigne. Among theſe was a M. Sulea, a man of letters, of great merit, whoſe only crime was being attached to his king; and the abbé Bouyou, a dramatic writer Their heads were immediately fixed on pikes, and carried as trophies round the city, to encreaſe, had it been neceſſary, the ſavage ferocity of the populace, and the fears and horror of all honeſt men.

The number of the inſurgents has been ſtated at about twenty thouſand effective men. The crowd of idle ſpectators who followed them, partly from curioſity and partly in hopes of plunder, was innumerable. The active rebels conſiſted chiefly of the lower claſs of the inhabitants of the ſuburbs, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Sans-culottes*, with ſome hundreds of the Marſeillois, and other federates, who were certainly the moſt daring, and contributed moſt to the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe.

The moſt loyal among the national guards were diſpirited by the loſs of their commander, and diſguſted by the flight of the king. Murmurs circulated among them; the purport of which was, that "they were inevitably betrayed, and that with the ariſtocrates "on the one hand, and the Swiſs on the other, they were between two fires." Even the Swiſs themſelves were completely diſcouraged. Their commander in chief, M. Affry, was abſent; M. Bachmann, ſecond in command, and his adjutant had accompanied the king to the National Aſſembly; the captains of the companies were either not at their poſts, or thoſe who remained were utterly at a loſs what courſe to purſue.

At about a quarter paſt nine the gates of the *cour royale* were forced open, and the mob ruſhed furiouſly in, headed by a party of the Marſeillois, whoſe leader drew them up in two

two ſquare diviſions facing the palace. They brandiſhed their ſpears, and levelled their pieces with menacing geſtures; while the Swiſs and national guards from the windows entreated them by ſigns to keep the peace and withdraw.

A number of the *ſans-culottes* at length proceeded to the foot of the firſt ſtair-caſe, and having ſeized the Swiſs centinel, and five other of his countrymen, diſarmed them; the main body then ruſhing in, cruelly beat out the brains of the defenceleſs victims. On obſerving this outrage, the Swiſs drew up in order of battle, ſome on the ſtair-caſe, others on the ſteps facing the chapel-door, and ſeeing no alternative but to ſtand on the defenſive, fired upon the murderers. At the ſame moment an officer in a national uniform, who headed a party of the rebels, having fired his piſtol into the palace, provoked thoſe who were at the windows to return the fire. Thus the action commenced, and a briſk cannonading took place.

The conteſt chiefly lay between the Marſeillois and the Swiſs. After a moſt gallant reſiſtance of more than an hour, in which the Swiſs were frequently victorious in different parts, theſe brave men, from the want of ammunition, and overpowered by numbers, were obliged to give way. The banditti, enraged inſtead of being intereſted by their gallantry and fidelity, purſued the fugitives with the rancour of ſavages, and the victory was converted into a maſſacre. The national guards, horrid to relate, united with the populace in the extermination of thoſe whom but juſt before they had conſidered as their fellow-ſoldiers. All the Swiſs who were in the palace were murdered, many of them on their knees imploring quarter. A ſmall party of ſeventeen had taken refuge in the veſtry-room of the chapel; and as they had not been engaged from the the firſt, they imagined that they might enſure the clemency of their victors by ſurrendering at diſcretion, and ſhouting "*Vive la Nation!*" but they no ſooner laid down their arms, than they were put to death. Another party attempted to eſcape through Marſan Court; about eighty were killed, the remainder ſecreted themſelves in hay-lofts, and other lurking-places; ſome perſons lent them clothes to diſguiſe themſelves, and a few of them conſequently eſcaped, but ſeveral afterwards died with hunger and fatigue [39].

[39] One of the moſt remarkable occurrences of that memorable day, and which forms the ſtrongeſt contraſt with moſt of the others, happened in the National Aſſembly itſelf.

After the Swiſs began to give way, and when thoſe ill-fated ſoldiers, aſſailed on all ſides, were ſlaughtered without remorſe, a citizen of Paris had the humanity and the courage to protect one of them, whom he ſaw overpowered by numbers, and ready to be ſacrificed. Having torn this poor Swiſs from the hands of his aſſailants, he conducted him over the bodies of his countrymen to the bar of the National Aſſembly. "Here"—cried the generous Frenchman—"let this brave ſoldier find protection—I have ſaved him from the fury of my fellow-citizens, whoſe enemy he never was, and only appeared to be through the error of others; that is now expiated, and, Oh! let him in this hall find mercy!" Having expreſſed himſelf in ſuch terms, he threw his arms around the neck of the ſoldier; and, overcome by fatigue of body and agitation of mind, he actually fainted in the arms of him whoſe life he had ſaved.

The gentlemen who remained in the palace ſaw no alternative, at this formidable criſis, but to proceed as well as they could to the National Aſſembly. The only poſſible road was through the queen's gate: they rallied all the Swiſs whom they found diſperſed in their way, and as many of the national guard as ſtill retained their fidelity. The number of the fugitives might amount to five hundred; but as only one perſon could paſs through the gate at a time, they were expoſed to a continual fire from ſeveral battalions ſtationed at about thirty yards diſtance; and as the red uniform of the Swiſs attracted particular notice, theſe devoted ſtrangers were ſtill the greateſt ſufferers.

Of the remainder, ſome eſcaped by the gardens, and others, in ſmall parties, made good their progreſs to different parts of the city, where, upon diſperſing, they were ſecreted and ſaved by the humanity of individuals. It is however with pain that we find ourſelves obliged to add, that of this fine and gallant regiment of Swiſs, the whole number that ſurvived the maſſacre did not amount to two hundred. Theſe, by a decree of the Aſſembly, were put under the protection of the ſtate.

The defenceleſs victims who were found in the palace were all involved in one promiſcuous maſſacre. The gentlemen uſhers, the pages, thoſe who were in the loweſt and moſt ſervile offices, were ſlaughtered without diſcrimination. Streams of blood defiled the edifice of the Thuilleries, from the roof to the foundations. The ſhocking barbarities which were practiſed on the dead bodies of the Swiſs it would be offenſive to decency to relate. The maſſacre was followed by a general pillage of the palace. Some cheſts indeed, containing papers and aſſignats, and even ſome of the royal plate, were taken from the plunderers, and brought into the hall of the National Aſſembly.

The maſſacre within the palace was the ſignal for aſſaſſination without. The reſentment which the reſiſtance of the Swiſs had excited was directed even to the porters at the coffee-houſes and hotels, who go under the general appellation of Swiſs, and ſeveral of them were murdered. M. Carl, lieutenant-colonel of the foot gendarmerie, was killed in the afternoon on coming out of the Logographic lodge where the royal family

The ſpectators could not but be affected by this ſcene. When the man had by their care recovered his recollection, he begged that he might be permitted to carry the Swiſs to his houſe; for he ſaid it would be a happineſs to him to lodge and maintain, during life, the perſon whom he had had the good fortune to ſnatch from death.

Notwithſtanding the indignation which the king and queen muſt have felt at many things they had heard, they were the firſt who began the applauſe on this occaſion, which inſtantly became univerſal.

The preſident addreſſed the citizen in theſe words: "The National Aſſembly has heard you with pleaſure, and "applauds your courage and your generoſity." Several of the national guards came and congratulated both the Swiſs ſoldier and the citizen who had ſaved him.

A member of the Aſſembly propoſed, that the name of the citizen ſhould be inſerted in the *proces-verbal*, which was inſtantly agreed to; and one of the ſecretaries announced, that the generous citizen's name was Clemence, and that he was by profeſſion a wine-merchant.—*Moore's Journal.*

were;

were; and M. d'Hermigny, a colonel of the gendarmerie, met his fate in the ſquare before the Hotel de Ville. In this maſſacre fifteen hundred people are ſuppoſed to have loſt their lives. Of all the victims of popular phrenſy on this memorable day, none is more to be deplored than M. Clermont Tonnerre. No man had rendered more eminent ſervices to the cauſe of liberty in the commencement of the Revolution than this unfortunate gentleman, and even when he ceaſed to act with the popular party, his oppoſition was always reſpectable and temperate.

While theſe diſgraceful ſcenes were acting, the National Aſſembly ſtill proceeded to deliberate with great firmneſs; and the following decree was propoſed by M. Vergniaud, in the name of the extraordinary commiſſion, and adopted by the Aſſembly:

"The National Aſſembly, conſidering that the want of confidence in the executive "power is the cauſe of all our evils, and that this want of confidence has called forth, "from all parts of the kingdom, a wiſh *that the authority entruſted by the conſtitution to "Lewis the Sixteenth ſhould be revoked*, and that the only means of reconciling what they "owe to the ſafety of the people, with their own oath, of not encreaſing their own "power, are to ſubmit to the ſovereign will of the nation—decree as follows:

"1. The French people are invited to form a National Convention. The committee will propoſe to-morrow a plan for pointing out the time and mode of this con- "vention.—2. The executive power is proviſionally ſuſpended from this moment, until "the National Convention ſhall have decreed the meaſures neceſſary to be purſued for "preſerving national independence. The civil liſt is ſuſpended; and the committee will "point out the ſum which the legiſlative body ought to allow for the ſubſiſtence of the "royal family.—3. The ſix miniſters now in office ſhall exerciſe the executive power. "The extraordinary commiſſion ſhall preſent, in the courſe of this day, a plan for the "organization of the miniſtry.—4. The extraordinary commiſſion ſhall preſent a plan "for appointing a governor to the prince royal.—5. The king and the royal family ſhall "remain under the protection of the legiſlative body, till the department ſhall prepare "apartments for them at the Luxembourg.—6. The king and royal family are under "the ſafeguard of the law, and their defence entruſted to the national guard of Paris.— "7. All magiſtrates, officers, and ſoldiers, who ſhall quit their poſt, ſhall be declared "infamous, and traitors to their country.—8. The department of Paris ſhall this day "cauſe the preſent decree to be proclaimed.—9. It ſhall at the ſame time be tranſmitted, by extraordinary couriers, to the eighty-three departments."

It was near one o'clock in the morning of the eleventh, when, on the motion of M. Briſſot, the Aſſembly declared, that the ſix miniſters had loſt the confidence of the nation; upon which they decreed, that ſix others ſhould be choſen from among themſelves; and, alſo, that three commiſſioners ſhould be choſen for each of the armies.

On Sunday the following decree was paſſed by the National Aſſembly:—" Firſt, The " hotel of the miniſter of juſtice ſhall be inhabited by the king.—Secondly, He ſhall " be furniſhed with a guard, ſubordinate to the mayor of Paris, and to the commandant " of the national guard, who ſhall be anſwerable for his ſafety, and that of his family. " —Thirdly, There ſhall be a ſum of five hundred thouſand livres to pay his expences, " until the moment of the National Convention meeting.

" The National Aſſembly alſo declares, That the king is ſuſpended; and that both " himſelf and family remain as hoſtages; that the preſent miniſtry have not the confi- " dence of the nation, and that the Aſſembly proceed to replace them. That the civil " liſt ceaſe to take place."

It having been decreed, that no perſon ſhould be admitted to ſee the king, without an order from the municipality, ſome municipal officers preſented themſelves at the bar; and the preſident informed one of them, M. Manuel, the common ſerjeant of Paris, that the Aſſembly had paſſed a decree, by which the hotel of the miniſter of juſtice was fixed on as a place proper for the reſidence of the king and the royal family.

Manuel replied—" The municipality, who propoſe to be anſwerable for the perſon of " the king, cannot be ſo after the decree which you have paſſed. The hotel of the mi- " niſter of juſtice is ſurrounded by a great number of houſes, which may afford the " ready means of an eſcape; whereas the Temple ſtands by itſelf, and is incloſed with " high walls." The Aſſembly then left to the community of Paris to determine on a place proper for the reſidence of the king, and entruſted to them the *care* of *detaining* him in *cuſtody*.

Conformable to this reſolution, the council general of the commons choſe the Temple for the place of the reſidence of the king and his family, and charged the proviſional commandant general to take all the meaſures he ſhall judge proper to aſſure the execution of the decree.

During the proceſſion of the king and royal family to the Temple, M. Petion warned the queen not to look at the people with too confident an air (*de regarder le peuple* " *avec moins d'aſſurance*). " You ſee"—ſaid her majeſty—" that the people are calm." " I know, on the contrary, madam,"—ſaid Petion—" that they are very much irritated, " and may, at this inſtant be provoked by a glance."

On a motion made by Thuriot, the Aſſembly decreed, " That the decree by which the " ſoldiers of the national gendarmerie of Paris were authoriſed to name their own offi- " cers, ſhould be extended to thoſe of all the departments."

M. Gaudet

M. Gaudet propoſed the following plan of a decree for ſummoning a National Convention:

"The National Aſſembly, after having invited the citizens, in the name of liberty "and equality, to aſſemble without the leaſt poſſible delay, and in the greateſt poſſible "number, decrees—

"1. The primary aſſemblies ſhall nominate the ſame number of electors as in the pre- "ceding elections. The voters ſhall firſt take the oath to maintain liberty and equali- "ty, and to die in their defence.—2. The diſtinctions of citizens, active and not active, "are aboliſhed. To be admiſſible to the primary aſſemblies, it ſhall be ſufficient to be "a French citizen, to be twenty-one years of age, to have been reſident for a year in "the place, and not to be a menial ſervant. They who have not taken the civic oath "ſhall be bound to take it.—3. Every citizen ſhall be eligible, without any other condi- "tion than thoſe required in the preceding article.—4. The electoral aſſemblies ſhall "nominate for the National Convention the ſame number of deputies as for the preſent "legiſlature.—5. The primary aſſemblies ſhall obſerve the ſame formalities in their "operations as at the laſt election.—6. The primary aſſemblies are convoked for Sun- "day, the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt.—7. The electoral aſſemblies ſhall meet in the chief "town of each department on the ſecond of September.—8. The members of the Na- "tional Convention ſhall repair to Paris, on or before the twentieth of September. "They ſhall cauſe their names to be entered in the archives; and as ſoon as they ſhall "amount to two hundred, the preſent legiſlature ſhall give place to them.—9. Three "livres a day ſhall be paid to the electors as long as the electoral aſſemblies ſhall con- "tinue to ſit, and twenty ſous a mile for travelling expences.—10. No perſon now ex- "erciſing, or having formerly exerciſed, any function whatever, ſhall be ineligible to "the National Convention."

The phrenzy of the populace did not ſubſide for ſome days after the ſtorming of the palace. It aſſumed indeed not the formidable aſpect of a general inſurrection, but it was no leſs ſavage and dreadful in its effects. Several atrocious aſſaſſinations were committed, and, among others, the reſpectable Rochefoucault fell a ſacrifice to his attachment to the king and conſtitution. After having, with the reſt of the department, been concerned in the ſuſpenſion of Petion and Manuel, he found it no longer ſafe to remain in Paris. He retired to his own eſtate; but the ſavages carefully tracked his ſteps, and he was ſcarcely arrived before he was aſſaſſinated; his own tenants either aiding in the murder, or at leaſt looking on with criminal ſtupefaction.

On the night of the twelfth, the Aſſembly, apprehenſive of a formidable oppoſition from the army of La Fayette, diſpatched three commiſſioners of their own body to counteract

teract the movements of that general. M. la Fayette, however, by a ſingular accident, was previouſly apprized of the events of the tenth. He had ſent M. Darblais, one of his ſtaff officers, with diſpatches to the war miniſter. M. Darblais, on the morning of the eleventh, had advanced almoſt within ſight of Paris, when he was met by a grenadier of the national guards, who appriſed him of his danger, and adviſed him to change horſes, and return with all poſſible ſpeed. At Sedan, on his way back, he found M. la Fayette, who, after ſtating the facts to the magiſtrates of that town, adviſed them, in duty to the king and conſtitution, to arreſt the commiſſioners, who, accordingly, on their arrival there, were ſeized, and detained in priſon, from the fourteenth of Auguſt to the twentieth.

In the mean time M. la Fayette returned to the camp; and immediately diſtributed among the battalions the following letter:

"CITIZEN SOLDIERS,

"It is no longer time to conceal from you what is going forward: the conſtitution "you ſwore to maintain is no more; a banditti from Marſeilles, and a troop of fac- "tious men, beſieged the palace of the Thuilleries; the national and Swiſs guards made "a vigorous reſiſtance, but for want of ammunition they were obliged to ſurrender.

"General d'Affry, his aids-du-camp, and his whole family, were murdered.

"The king, queen, and all the royal family eſcaped to the National Aſſembly; the "factious ran thither, holding a ſword in one hand, and fire in the other, and forced the "legiſlative body to ſuperſede the king, which was done for the ſake of ſaving his life.

"Citizens, you are no longer repreſented; the National Aſſembly are in a ſtate of ſla- "very; your armies are without leaders; Petion reigns; the ſavage Danton and his "ſatellites are maſters. Thus, ſoldiers, it is your province to examine whether you will "reſtore the hereditary repreſentative to the throne, or ſubmit to the diſgrace of having "a Petion for your king."

The general, at the firſt moments when this communication to the ſoldiery was made, found their diſpoſitions not unfavourable to the cauſe of the conſtitution; but he ſoon diſcovered that fidelity was only to be expected from a ſmall circle of friends. Apprehenſive, therefore, that in the ſpirit of revolt which his army manifeſted, his life would be attempted by ſome aſſaſſin, or that he would certainly be delivered up into the hands of his adverſaries, on the nineteenth of Auguſt he left the camp in the night, accompanied only by his ſtaff and a few ſervants. They took the route of Rochefort in Liege, which, being a neutral country, they hoped to paſs unmoleſted; but an Auſtrian general, of

of the name of Harancourt, being ſtationed there with an advanced party, arreſted the fugitives, and ſent them priſoners to Namur.

General Arthur Dillon ſeemed at firſt inclined to imitate the example of La Fayette; and by the orders which he publiſhed to his army on the thirteenth, he excited ſo ſtrong a ſuſpicion againſt him, that a decree was actually paſſed for his ſuſpenſion. He however was ſo fortunate as to retract in time; and upon the arrival of the commiſſioners of the Aſſembly at Valenciennes, he found means ſo completely to conciliate their eſteem, that the decree was repealed, and he was again reinſtated in his full authority. Dumourier, who had aſſumed the command at Maulde, ſaw the party which it was neceſſary to embrace, and anticipated the wiſhes of the Aſſembly, by applauding the new Revolution, even before the arrival of their commiſſioners: by this fortunate ſtep he regained the entire confidence of the republicans, which he had loſt by his continuance in the miniſtry, and in conſequence was afterwards appointed to ſucceed La Fayette in his command.

Marſhal Luckner took the ſame decided part. In his letter to the Aſſembly, he even inſinuated that it was the treachery of the court which compelled him to retreat in the midſt of victory from the Netherlands; and added,—That now the king was depoſed, he hoped he ſhould not be ordered to retire when he next entered the Auſtrian territories. Generals Biron, Monteſquieu, Kellerman, and Cuſtine, all ſubmitted to the authority of the Aſſembly, and of the proviſional council of ſtate, and took the republican oaths, as well as the ſoldiers of their reſpective armies.

Though the force of La Fayette had been trifling in compariſon with that of his adverſaries, as it did not exceed twenty thouſand men, ſtill he had contrived to keep the Auſtrians and Pruſſians in check, and they had made but little progreſs towards the ſubjugation of France. The confuſion, however, which the late tranſactions had produced, encouraged the combined armies to advance, and the firſt conqueſt atchieved was that of Longwy. On the twenty-firſt of Auguſt, general Clairfait preſented himſelf, with an army of ſixty thouſand men, before that fortreſs. The ſiege laſted about fifteen hours, during which time the enemy kept up a continual and heavy fire of bombs and artillery. The commandant reported, that the magiſtrates and citizens, terrified by the bombardment, had inſiſted upon a ſurrender, and that he had only complied with their requiſition; on the other hand it was ſuſpected, and not without ſome ground, that nothing leſs than treachery in a commander could compel a garriſon of two thouſand five hundred men, well appointed, in a place ſtrongly fortified, and defended with a numerous train of artillery, and excellent caſements, to ſurrender upon ſo ſhort a ſiege. Upon further enquiry, theſe ſuſpicions were confirmed. M. Lavergne, the governor, was ordered to be tried by a court-martial; and a decree of the Aſſembly was paſſed, that whenever

whenever it ſhould be retaken, the houſes of the citizens ſhould be razed to the ground, and the magiſtrates proſecuted for high-treaſon.

The capture of Verdun ſucceeded that of Longwy. It was ſummoned by the duke of Brunſwick on the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, nor did the example of Longwy deter the inhabitants from becoming the dupes of their apprehenſions. As that town was loſt by the treachery of the commander, Verdun was reduced by the cowardice of the citizens. Diſtruſtful of the inciviſm of the officers after the affair of Longwy, the Aſſembly, by their decree, veſted power in the municipality to controul the deliberation of the council of war. M. Beaurepaire, the governor, was deſirous of defending the town to the laſt moment; but the municipal officers were determined in favour of a capitulation, and there was great reaſon to believe that the ſoldiers would be attacked by an enemy within as well as without. The governor, therefore, after much oppoſition, finding his remonſtrances unavailing, drew a piſtol, and ſhot himſelf dead upon the ſpot. The conſequence was, that the garriſon capitulated, and the Pruſſian troops entered on the ſecond of September.

Immediately on the depoſition of the king, the following letter was ſent to earl Gower, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris, by Mr. Dundas, and delivered to the miniſter for foreign affairs.

"My Lord,

"In lord Grenville's abſence I have received and laid before the king your laſt diſ-
"patches. His majeſty has been very deeply afflicted in receiving the information of
"the extent and the deplorable conſequences of the troubles which have happened in
"Paris; as well on account of his *perſonal attachment to their Moſt Chriſtian majeſties,*
"*and the intereſt that he has always taken in their welfare,* as for the earneſt deſire he has for
"the tranquillity and proſperity of a kingdom with which he is on terms of friendſhip.

"As it appears, that in the preſent ſtate of affairs, the exerciſe of the executive power
"has been withdrawn from his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, the credentials which have
"hitherto been made uſe of by your excellency *can no longer be valid.* His majeſty is
"therefore of opinion, that you ought not to remain any longer in Paris, as well on
"this account, as becauſe this ſtep appears to him the moſt conformable to the
"principles of neutrality which he has hitherto obſerved. His majeſty's pleaſure,
"therefore, is, that you ſhould quit that city, and return to England, as ſoon as you
"ſhall have been able to procure the neceſſary paſſports for that purpoſe.

"In all the converſations that you may have occaſion to hold before your departure,
"you will take care to expreſs yourſelf in a manner conformable to the ſentiments herein
communicated

" communicated to you; and you will take eſpecial care not to neglect any opportunity " of declaring, that at the ſame time that his majeſty means to obſerve the principles of " neutrality in every thing which regards the arrangement of the internal government of " France, he does not conceive that he *departs from theſe principles, in manifeſting, by " every poſſible means in his power, his ſolicitude for the perſonal ſafety of their Moſt " Chriſtian majeſties, and the royal family.* He moſt earneſtly hopes that his wiſhes in " that reſpect will not be deceived; that the royal family will be preſerved from every " act of violence, *the commiſſion of which would not fail to excite ſentiments of univerſal " indignation throughout all Europe.*

" I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

" HENRY DUNDAS."

The French miniſter returned the following anſwer:

" The underſigned, miniſter for foreign affairs, has loſt no time in communicating to " the proviſional executive council the letter communicated to him by his excellency " earl Gower, ambaſſador extraordinary from his Britannic majeſty.

" The council has ſeen with regret, that the Britiſh cabinet has reſolved to recal an " ambaſſador whoſe preſence atteſted the favourable diſpoſition of a free and generous " nation, and who has never been the organ but of friendly expreſſions and of benevo- " lent ſentiments. If any thing can abate this regret, it is in the renewed aſſurance of " neutrality made on the part of England to the French nation.

" This aſſurance ſeems to be the reſult of an intention, wiſely conſidered and formally " expreſſed by his Britannic majeſty, *not to meddle with the interior arrangements of the af- " fairs of France.* We are not ſurpriſed at ſuch a declaration made by an enlightened " and high-ſpirited nation, who have been the firſt to acknowledge and eſtabliſh the " principle of national ſovereignty; who, by ſubſtituting the empire of the laws, the " expreſſed will of all, to the arbitrary caprices of a few individuals, have been the firſt " to furniſh the example of ſubjecting kings themſelves to this ſalutary yoke; and who, " finally, have not thought too dearly purchaſed, by long convulſions and violent ſtorms, " that liberty which has been productive of ſo much glory and proſperity.

" This principle of the unalienable ſovereignty of the people is going to be diſplayed " in a ſtriking manner in the National Convention, the convocation of which has been " decreed by the legiſlative body, and which will, no doubt, fix all parties, and all inte- " reſts. The French nation has good grounds to hope, that the Britiſh cabinet will " not, *at this deciſive moment*, depart from that juſtice, moderation, and impartiality, " which it has hitherto manifeſted.

" Full of this confidence, which reſts on facts, the underſigned renews to his excellen-
" cy, earl Gower, in the name of the proviſional executive council, the aſſurance which
" he has had the honour to give him, *vivâ voce*, that whatever relates to the commerce
" between the two nations, and all affairs in general, ſhall be carried on, on the part of
" the French government, with the ſame juſtice and fidelity. The council flatter
" themſelves that there will be a full reciprocity on the part of the Britiſh government,
" and that nothing will interrupt the good underſtanding which ſubſiſts between the
" two nations.

" LE BRUN, Miniſter for foreign affairs."

Earl Gower, on the reception of this letter, quitted Paris, and arrived in London on the firſt of September.

Nearly about the ſame period a decree was paſſed againſt M. la Fayette, declaring him guilty of high-treaſon. Barnave, Alexander Lameth, and ſome others of the conſtituent aſſembly, were committed to priſon, on the charge of a counter-revolution; which however appeared to be founded merely on a vague mention of their names as friends to the king, in ſome papers which were ſaid to have been found in ranſacking the Thuilleries.

A court being appointed for the purpoſe of trying the criminals of the tenth of Auguſt, one d'Aigremont was the firſt priſoner brought before this tribunal. He had formerly been ſecretary to the adminiſtration of the national guards, at the office of the Maiſon de Ville, where he was placed by the late miniſters; and was now accuſed of being the chief of a band of men, raiſed and employed for the purpoſe of making anti-revolutionary motions in clubs; holding diſcourſes of the ſame nature on the terrace of the Feuillans, the gardens of the Palais Royal, and other places of public reſort, with an intention to excite ſedition, and provoke the people to inſurrections againſt the National Aſſembly, and the public magiſtrates, particularly the mayor and other patriots.

This band was divided into detachments of ten men each, every detachment having a captain and lieutenant. The pay of the captains was ten livres; that of the lieutenants five; and that of each private man two livres ten ſols daily. They had particular ſigns and watch-words, by which they knew each other, at the public walks, at the tribunes, and wherever the citizens aſſemble. They alſo carried a ſtick of a particular kind, which they called the *Conſtitution*. The number was ſaid to amount in all to about fifteen hundred men. D'Aigremont paid and directed the whole. The captains gave an account daily to him of what had paſſed, and he made a kind of return of this in three notes; one to the king himſelf, and the others to two perſons in public office.

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The advocate for the priſoner, beſides various other defences, pleaded, that as his client had been arreſted on the eighth or ninth of Auguſt, he could not be judged by a tribunal conſtituted for the trial of crimes committed on the tenth. But as the accuſation of the priſoner referred to what happened on the tenth, this plea was over-ruled.

After a trial of thirty hours, three propoſitions were given to the jury to deliberate upon. They remained three hours ſhut up. On their return into court, the firſt article was ſtated to them by the judge: " Do you find it proved, that there was, on the " tenth of Auguſt, a conſpiracy within the Thuilleries, to excite a civil war in the " country?" The foreman of the jury anſwered in the negative. On this there was a general murmur among the audience.—The judge next demanded, " Do you find that " there was a deſign in the Thuilleries of ſeizing unconſtitutional power?" To this queſtion the jury anſwered in the affirmative.—" Do you find it proved that the priſoner " was engaged in this deſign?" The jury found this proved alſo. After they had given their verdict, the judge pronounced ſentence on the priſoner, and he was condemned to be beheaded. It having been perceived, as he retired from the court, that he wore the uniform of the national guards, two perſons went into the priſon of the Conciergerie, whither this poor man was conducted after having received his ſentence, and informed him, that the people required that he ſhould not appear on the ſcaffold in that dreſs. With this requeſt the priſoner inſtantly complied.

Five hours after his condemnation, he was brought to the place of the Carouſel, and executed by torch-light. When he mounted the ſcaffold, the ſpectators teſtified their joy by acclamation and clapping their hands; which ſavage token of ſatisfaction they redoubled when his head, after being ſevered from his body, was held up to public view by the executioner.

M. La Porte, intendant of the civil liſt, was next brought before the ſame tribunal. He was accuſed of having employed the money of the civil liſt in printing and publiſhing an immenſe number of pamphlets, libels, and placards, the tendency of which was to ſpirit up the people againſt the patriots, and bring about a counter-revolution; employing and paying a number of agents for the ſame purpoſe; remitting money to the emigrants at Coblentz, particularly to the king's body guards, who were in that city.

In general he denied theſe charges. The evidence adduced againſt him conſiſted chiefly of papers and letters found in the king's cabinet on the tenth of Auguſt. A great many letters were found alſo among his own papers, from perſons who profeſſed great loyalty, and willingneſs to riſk their lives in defence of the king; and requeſting tickets to be admitted into the gardens of the Thuilleries, and alſo into the palace itſelf, during the time that the former were kept ſhut from the public.

La Porte

La Porte was aſked, How many of thoſe tickets *he* had diſtributed? he anſwered, "None; that being the buſineſs of the governor of the Thuilleries." He was next interrogated, How many had been diſtributed? he anſwered, "About two thouſand." He was then ſhewn an order, ſigned by him, addreſſed to the Marechaux de Logis, ordering them to prepare accommodations for ſome officers of the Swiſs guards, on the ninth of Auguſt, in the Château; and another order, likewiſe ſigned by him, to the commiſſary of the magazine, for four hundred bed-covers for Swiſs guards on the ninth: which ſignatures he acknowledged.

Being aſked, How many the Swiſs guard conſiſted of that night? he anſwered, That he did not exactly know; but that it was double the uſual number. Being aſked, If he had not paid the gardes-du-corps at Coblentz, and if he had not tranſmitted money to the king's brothers and other emigrants? to theſe, and all queſtions tending to criminate himſelf eſſentially, he anſwered in the negative.

He was aſked, If he did not keep up a correſpondence with the priſoners at Orleans? he anſwered, That, of all the ſtate priſoners there, he only knew de Briſſac and Deleſſart; the firſt he had been acquainted with at ſchool, the other he knew only after he became miniſter; but that he had maintained no correſpondence with either.

Being told by the court, That, if he had been a good citizen, he would have informed the National Aſſembly of the great expence which Lewis the Sixteenth was at to maintain counter-revolutionary agents, and a counter-revolutionary ſpirit in Paris, he replied, That by his office he was to pay thoſe who brought orders from the king.

M. Gohier, one of the commiſſioners, read ſeveral important documents found at La Porte's to the Aſſembly. The firſt was a printing-houſe account, of work done and paid for out of the civil liſt, viz.

"An advertiſement for ſinking the credit of aſſignats.—Ditto againſt the Jacobins. "Ditto againſt the ſoldiers of Château-vieux.—Advice to the Pariſians.—Proclamation "to the emigrants, printed in yellow.—A piſtole given to the bill-ſticker, for the blows "he ſaid he had received from the Jacobins.—A Letter from a Grenadier.—The order of "the emigrants march.—Queſtions put to the emigrants—Their anſwer.—Another adver-"tiſement againſt the Jacobins.—Hue and Cry againſt the Jacobins.—The ſhorter the "madneſs is the better, in yellow, &c. &c."

Gohier proved that ſuch libels were attended with great pecuniary advantages to the authors of them. He read a letter, addreſſed by one of the grand conſpirators to the ſecretary of the civil liſt, in which he informed him of a project he had conceived of murdering the Jacobins, diſſolving the National Aſſembly, taking the duke of Orleans into

into cuſtody, bringing about a counter-revolution, &c. &c. Gohier concluded with informing the houſe, that proper perſons were employed in examining the remainder of the papers found in the palace, and that they ſhould in due time be communicated to the public.

Meſſrs. Goupilleau and La Loy, two other commiſſioners of the Aſſembly, appointed to verify the papers found in the palace, came to communicate the reſult of their reſearches. One of the moſt eſſential pieces was a letter, written in the form of a note, by the king's brother, and found in a ſmall morocco leather pocket-book in the king's deſk. The contents were as follows:

"We wrote to you by poſt, and could ſay nothing:—We are two of us, but we are "ſtill only one: we have the ſame ſentiments, the ſame projects, the ſame zeal to ſerve "you: we obſerve the ſtricteſt ſilence, becauſe if we broke it, we might expoſe you; "but we ſhall ſpeak out as ſoon as we ſhall be ſure of general ſupport; and that mo-"ment is not far diſtant.

"If you ſpeak to us in the name of thoſe fellows (meaning the Jacobins), we ſhall "not attend to you—if in your own name we ſhall be attentive, but we ſhall go on "our own way; thus if they want to make you ſay any thing to us, do ſo—fear no-"thing, for we only exiſt to ſerve you: we are labouring for you with zeal, and "every thing is going on well; your enemies are too much concerned in your exiſ-"tence, to be led to commit an uſeleſs crime, which would prove their total ruin—"Adieu.

"L. S.—Ch. P."

The public accuſer recapitulated the charges and evidence; and the jury, having withdrawn for two hours, declared that the priſoner was convicted of having expended immenſe ſums of money to foment a civil war, and by that means reſtore the ancient deſpotiſm; when he was condemned to loſe his head.

La Porte heard the ſentence pronounced apparently without emotion; and with equal calmneſs liſtened to a kind of exhortation addreſſed to him by the preſident; he then, without taking notice of the preſident or his exhortation, turned to the audience, and ſaid: "Citizens, I proteſt that I die innocent; may the effuſion of my blood reſtore tranquil-"lity to the kingdom!—but I doubt it." M. La Porte retained the ſame manly behaviour to his laſt moment; his appearance on the ſcaffold was ſo modeſt and dignified, as to move the compaſſion of many, and command the reſpect of all, the ſpectators.

Du Roſoy, a man of letters, formerly editor of the Gazette de Paris, and of another public paper, entitled, "*Le Royaliſme*," was next brought to the bar. He was accuſed of

a criminal correſpondence with the enemies of the Revolution, both within and without the kingdom; with being the author of anti-revolutionary writings; with being involved in the guilt of the tenth of Auguſt; and with having inſerted in the Gazette de Paris, of the ninth of Auguſt, a plan of defence, in caſe the château of the Thuilleries ſhould be attacked. He denied having any connection with the tenth of Auguſt; that he was then at Auteuil; and ſaid that the article complained of was inſerted in the Gazette without his knowledge. Notwithſtanding a very eloquent defence, he was found guilty by the jury, and condemned like the reſt. Du Roſoy heard his ſentence with great firmneſs, ſaying, "It becomes a royaliſt, ſuch as I am, to die on Saint Louis's day." Even on the ſcaffold he preſerved his courage, and expired amidſt the cries of "*Vive la* "*Nation!*"

The court next proceeded to try M. d'Oſſonville, juſtice of peace. He was accuſed of having protected d'Aigremont and his accomplices as often as they were brought before him; and of being an accomplice of his in his anti-revolutionary proceedings, and involved in the conſpiracy of the tenth of Auguſt. The chief foundation of the accuſation againſt this man was, that his name was inſcribed in a regiſter, found in d'Aigremont's poſſeſſion, as the judge before whom he and all his partiſans were to carry every appeal or diſpute they ſhould have; and it was proved that there was a conſiderable connection between them. The jury, having been ſhut up two hours, returned a ſpecial verdict, That d'Oſſonville had co-operated in the plan of d'Aigremont, to excite a civil war, and to reſtore a deſpotic government; but that it was not proved that he had aſſiſted in this knowingly, and of deſign. This priſoner had ſo little expectation of a favourable verdict, that, while the jury was incloſed, he ſaid to a perſon, who poured out a glaſs of wine to him—"The wine you have poured out, my dear Sir, is the laſt I ſhall ever taſte."—This verdict was received with public approbation.

M. Montmorin, mayor of Fontainebleau, and formerly colonel of the regiment of Flanders, was brought before this tribunal. He had already undergone an examination before the National Aſſembly, in conſequence of which he was now brought to his trial. He was accuſed of having been engaged in ſchemes which brought on the action of the tenth. He made a very able defence, and ſhewed great preſence of mind during his trial. The jury was ſhut up three hours, and then returned a ſimilar verdict to that given on the trial of M. d'Oſſonville—"That it was proved that there had been plots and machina-"tions, the tendency of which was to kindle a civil war; that it was alſo proved that "M. Montmorin had aſſiſted in ſome of theſe; but it was *not proved* that he had aſſiſted "*wickedly*, or with an *intention to do miſchief*."—This verdict was no ſooner pronounced, than loud murmurs of diſapprobation were heard among the audience: "You diſcharge "him to-day,"—cried one of them—"and within a fortnight he will order our throats "to be cut."

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This created ſuch confuſion, that fatal conſequences were feared. The preſident expoſtulated with the people, and pointed out the fatal tendency of their interfering in an affair of this kind; but he was not able entirely to calm them, till he obſerved, that perhaps there were among the jury ſome perſons, whoſe connections with the priſoner's family had influenced their judgment; in which caſe it would be proper to have the verdict reviſed by a new jury.

The populace were ſo incenſed that the preſident thought it neceſſary to conduct M. Montmorin to priſon himſelf, to protect him from the violence of the people, who hiſſed and hooted him as he paſſed. In an outer court, one of the national guards aimed a ſtroke with his ſword at the preſident, which was parried by a by-ſtander, ſo that the judge received no wound.

An attempt was made in the next place to intimidate the National Aſſembly. The day after the trial, ſome perſons, who called themſelves deputies from the people, came to the bar of the Aſſembly, to ſignify their diſapprobation at the judgment pronounced by the jury in favour of Montmorin; and required, in the name of the *Sovereign People*, a ſpeedy anſwer on the ſubject. To this very extraordinary petition the preſident replied—That the Aſſembly would enquire into the object of their requeſt; that undoubtedly the people of France was ſovereign; but this ſovereignty lay in the *whole* people, and not in any ſeparate part, and never could be exerciſed but by the repreſentatives of the whole nation.

M. Montmorin, formerly miniſter for foreign affairs, was likewiſe brought before the National Aſſembly for examination. The following articles were exhibited againſt him—That he had ſacrificed the intereſt of France to that of Auſtria, in oppoſing an alliance between France and Pruſſia—That he had concealed the league of the foreign powers againſt France, and did not employ all the means in his power to prevent it—That he pretended ignorance of the deſigns of the emigrant princes, and, by his ſilence, aided their ſchemes againſt France. When interrogated on theſe three heads, M. Montmorin anſwered, That he was ignorant of the treaty of Pilnitz; that he knew nothing of the deſigns of the emigrant princes, and therefore could not inform the Aſſembly of either in time; and, in general, that he was innocent of the whole charge. The Aſſembly, however, adopted the decree of accuſation, and M. Montmorin was accordingly ordered into cuſtody.

The decree for tranſporting from the kingdom ſuch of the prieſts as had not taken the civic oath was revived in the Aſſembly, and paſſed by acclamation. The diſtreſs and miſery which many worthy individuals ſuffered n conſequence of this decree, cannot be ſufficiently deplored. Many of theſe victims of conſcience were hurried from their connections and their friends, and landed, almoſt naked and pennyleſs, on a foreign ſhore; ſome

ſome were committed to priſon, there to remain till a mode of conveyance out of the kingdom ſhould be found; ſome were maſſacred by the populace ſoon after they were arreſted; and no inconſiderable number were reſerved for the melancholy cataſtrophe, to which we ſhall have ſpeedily to advert.

Several thouſands of theſe unhappy fugitives were received in England, and ſupported for upwards of twelve months, by *voluntary ſubſcription*; all parties joined in the promotion of this truly Chriſtian undertaking; no prejudices, religious or political, could ſtifle the voice of humanity, or eradicate from the hearts of Britons that generous philanthropy, which has always been characteriſtic of the nation.

The capture of Longwy, and the approach of the Pruſſian army, ſpread an inſtantaneous alarm through the metropolis, and the Aſſembly itſelf partook of the contagion. The firſt rumour intimated, that the enemy intended to leave behind them the fortified places, and proceed immediately to Paris; and this was followed by continued reports that the duke of Brunſwick was then within a few hours march of the capital. At this diſaſtrous moment, ſuſpicion lodged in every breaſt, and terror was depicted upon every countenance. Danton, a man, who from a low origin (with only the advantage of a tolerable education) had raiſed himſelf, by his addreſs and abilities, to the ſituation of miniſter of juſtice, and who projected the plan of diſmiſſing the old municipality on the night of the ninth of Auguſt, ſtood forth in the Aſſembly on this memorable emergency. "Longwy"—ſaid he—"is taken; but the ſafety of France depends not on a ſingle "frontier town. Our armies are ſtill entire. Hitherto we have carried on a pretended "war, under the direction of La Fayette. The nation muſt now make war in perſon, "the whole maſs of the people muſt now march againſt the enemy." He repreſented the neceſſity of ſuffering all meaſures of defence to originate with the executive power, and of converting all private arms to the public uſe. "There were"—he ſaid—"more "than eighty thouſand muſkets in Paris, in the poſſeſſion of private perſons, which "might be put into the hands of ſoldiers." He propoſed to ſend ſix commiſſioners from the Aſſembly to the ſections to accelerate the enrolments; and a body of cavalry, he added, might be equipped from thoſe horſes which were kept for pleaſure. The plan was inſtantly adopted, ordering all citizens, who were not prevented by age and infirmities, to hold themſelves in readineſs to march at a moment's warning; and this was followed by a ſecond for diſarming all ſuſpected perſons.

We have had but little occaſion, ſince the termination of the conſtituent aſſembly, to mention M. Robeſpierre [42]. He had, ſince that period, occupied the ſtation of public

[42] In perſon Robeſpierre is certainly not an Ajax, although he is thought to agree with that hero in one ſentiment;—*Tutius eſt fictis igitur contendere verbis, quam pugnare manu.* Few men, however, can *look* fiercer than Robeſpierre: in countenance he has a ſtriking reſemblance to a cat-tiger.—*Moore's Journal.*

accuſer,

accuſer, and was now at the head of the Jacobin ſociety; and had been choſen, as well as Marat [43], a member of the new commune, on the night of the ninth of Auguſt. Theſe men were intimately connected with Danton, the miniſter of juſtice; and to this triumvirate the horrors of that dreadful maſſacre, which we are now about to relate, have been aſcribed. Since the ſhocking tranſactions which took place on the tenth of Auguſt, Petion's influence had been on the decline with the populace, and Robeſpierre had proportionably riſen in their eſteem. His unfeeling and ſanguinary temper was better ſuited to their habitual and ſavage cruelty; and, as he was illiterate himſelf, his eloquence was of that ſpecies which is beſt ſuited to vulgar comprehenſion. In the Jacobin club, this man had been unceaſingly clamourous for the trial of the ſtate priſoners: and by his endeavours to ſatiate the barbarous revenge of the populace, he gained upon their affections.

Intelligence of the ſiege of Verdun was received in Paris on Sunday morning, the ſecond of September. The miniſters, anticipating the alarm which the diſcloſure of ſuch intelligence would produce, procured the decree which authorized them to cloſe all the barriers of Paris. The decree of the community of Paris was in theſe words:

" To arms, citizens! to arms! The enemy is at our gates!

" The procureur of the community having announced the preſſing dangers of the " country, the treaſons with which we are menaced, and the deſtitute ſtate of the town " of Verdun, now beſieged by the enemy, who will, probably, in eight days be maſters " of it: The council-general decrees,

" 1. The barriers ſhall be immediately cloſed.

" 2. All horſes fit to ſerve thoſe who repair to the frontiers, ſhall be immediately ſeized.

" 3. All the citizens ſhall hold themſelves ready to march upon the firſt ſignal.

" 4. All citizens, who, on account of their age and their infirmities, cannot march, " ſhall depoſit their arms with their ſections, for the uſe of thoſe who fly to the frontiers.

" 5. All ſuſpected perſons, or thoſe who, from cowardice, ſhall refuſe to march, ſhall " be inſtantly diſarmed.

[43] Marat (a Pruſſian) is likewiſe a very active member of the general council of the commune.—This Marat is ſaid to love carnage like a vulture, and to delight in human ſacrifices, like Moloch, god of the Ammonites.

Marat is a little man, of a cadaverous complexion, and a countenance exceedingly expreſſive of his diſpoſition; to a painter of maſſacres, Marat's head would be ineſtimable. Such heads are rare in England, yet they are ſometimes to be met with at the Old Bailey. The only artifice he uſes in favour of his looks, is that of wearing a round hat, ſo far pulled down before as to hide a great part of his countenance.—*Moore's Journal.*

" 6. Twenty

" 6. Twenty-four commiſſioners ſhall go immediately to the armies, to announce to " them this reſolution, and ſhall traverſe the neighbouring departments, inviting the " citizens to unite themſelves with their brothers of Paris, and march together to meet " the enemy.

" 7. The military committee ſhall be permanent; it ſhall meet at the common's-houſe, " in the hall formerly that of the queen.

" 8. The alarm-guns ſhall be inſtantly fired, and the *generale* ſhall be beat in all the " ſections, to announce to the citizens the dangers of the country.

" 9. The National Aſſembly, and the proviſional executive power, ſhall be informed " of this decree.

" 10. The members of the council-general ſhall repair immediately to their reſpective " citizens; ſhall announce the purpoſes of the preſent decree; ſhall paint with energy " to their fellow-citizens, the ardent dangers of the country; the treaſons with which " we are environed, or menaced; they ſhall repreſent with force, that liberty is threat- " ened, and the French territory invaded; and, ſhewing that our return to the moſt ig- " nominious ſlavery is the object of all our enemies, they ſhall urge our duty of bury- " ing ourſelves in the ruins of our country, and of delivering up our cities only when " they ſhall be heaps of cinders.

(Signed) " HUGUENIN, Preſident.
" TALLIEN, Secretary Regiſtrar."

The above decree was immediately ſucceeded by the following proclamation by the community of Paris.

" Citizens, the enemy is at the gates of Paris. Verdun, which detains them, can " only hold out eight days. The citizens who defend it have ſworn to die rather than " ſurrender; they will make a rampart of their bodies for you. It is your duty to fly to " their aſſiſtance. Citizens, march inſtantly beneath your colours; go to meet us at " the Champ de Mars, that an army of ſixty thouſand men may be immediately form- " ed.—Let us go and expire under the blows of our enemies, or exterminate them " by our own."—Immediately after this alarming proclamation, the tocſin [44] was or- dered to be ſounded, and the alarm-guns to be fired, the populace flocking in vaſt crowds to the Champ de Mars; from whence it was ſuppoſed they were to march in a body to meet the invaders of their country.

[44] This is a very large bell, which is ſtruck with a hammer. There is one of them in each of the forty-eight ſections of Paris.

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Although the alarm-guns were fired, and the tocſin was ſounded, yet it was not the knell of the Pruſſians, but of the wretched priſoners in the different gaols of Paris. The people did aſſemble, not for the defence but extermination of their countrymen. It is a tribute due to juſtice, however, to exculpate the citizens in general from the crimes and horrors of that day. The majority of the people, though greatly agitated by the repeated alarms which had been given, repaired not to the Champ de Mars, as theſe projectors of murder and inſurrection had wiſhed, but, as though impelled by inſtinct, to their reſpective ſections, and there enrolled their names as the ſoldiers of liberty.

An immenſe concourſe of people was, however, ſoon aſſembled. It was compoſed (as aſſerted by the Girondiſts[45]) partly of hired aſſaſſins, and men ſelected for the purpoſe of producing tumult and maſſacre, partly of the Marſeillois and the remnant of the other federates, and partly of a great multitude, who were led to the ſcene of riot by their fears or their curioſity. However it is uncertain, after all that has been ſaid by both parties, whether the maſſacre was preconcerted, or the ſpontaneous impulſe of the violent part of the populace. It is not very improbable, that many of thoſe who had been deprived of their friends and relations in the unfortunate affair of the tenth of Auguſt, might be ſufficiently exaſperated againſt the ſtate priſoners (whom they had been led to conſider as the authors of their misfortunes) to make the horrid propoſal. Be this as it may, we can only report, that the reſolutions of the Aſſembly were ſcarcely announced, when a number of voices exclaimed, "That they were ready to devote themſelves to the ſervice of their country, "and to march againſt her foreign enemies; but they muſt firſt purge the nation of its "domeſtic foes." Without further deliberation, a party proceeded to the Carmes[46], where a number of non-juring prieſts were detained, till an opportunity ſhould occur of putting in force their ſentence of baniſhment; and there, in cool blood, the inhuman aſſaſſins ſacrificed every one of theſe defenceleſs and probably innocent men. From the Carmes they proceeded to the Abbey priſon, wherein were confined the Swiſs officers, and thoſe arreſted for treaſonable offences againſt the nation, on the tenth of Auguſt. The murderers proceeded as it were methodically in their crimes. They impanelled a fictious jury, nine of whom were ſaid to be Italians, or aſſaſſins from Avignon, the other three were French. Before theſe ſelf-conſtituted judges the wretched priſoners underwent a ſummary examination. The watch-word that pronounced the culprit guilty was, "*He muſt be liberated*," when the victim was precipitated from the door, to paſs through a defile of armed miſcreants, and was either cut to pieces with ſabres, or pierced

[45] The more moderate party, including Petion, Briſſot, Vergniaud, Genſonne; they derived their appellation from the department of Gironde, the deputies of which were among the leaders of the party. The oppoſite faction was called the Mountain, from its occupying the high ſeats in the hall of the convention; Robeſpierre, Danton, Marat, &c. may be conſidered as the then leaders.

[46] The convent of the Carmelites.

through.

through with innumerable pikes. Some indeed, they acquitted; and theſe were declared under the protection of the nation, and accompanied to their reſpective homes by ſome of the banditti.

The whole of the ſtaff-officers of the Swiſs guards were maſſacred, except M. d'Affry, their commander. He had been deemed a democrat from the commencement of the Revolution; and, when urged by the queen to aſſume the command in the Thuilleries, on the tenth of Auguſt, voluntarily abſented himſelf[47]. The aſſaſſins continued the whole night of the ſecond at the Abbey, and the priſon of the Chatelet, from whence they proceeded to the priſon of La Force, where the ladies of the court, who were arreſted on the tenth of Auguſt, were in confinement. In this priſon was the beautiful and accompliſhed princeſs de Lamballe, the friend and confidante of the queen. When ſummoned to appear before this bloody tribunal, ſhe was in bed, and was informed by the perſon who delivered the meſſage, that it was only intended to remove her to the Abbey. She entreated, in return, to remain undiſturbed, ſince to her one priſon was equally acceptable as another. Being informed that ſhe *muſt* immediately appear before the tribunal, ſhe dreſſed in haſte, and obeyed the ſummons. In the courſe of her examination nothing could be extorted from her to criminate either the queen or royal family; and it is ſaid that the judges had it in contemplation to acquit her. As ſhe was conducted, however, out of the priſon, ſtupified with horror at the mangled bodies that lay around her, ſhe received from behind a blow on the head with a ſabre, which inſtantly produced a violent effuſion of blood. In this terrible ſituation ſhe was ſupported

47 This officer, who was afterwards tried for having ordered his men to fire upon the people, proved the following facts, and to them was indebted for his acquittal.

That on the ninth of Auguſt, at night, he received the queen's commands to attend her at the palace; that he immediately waited upon her majeſty, who told him, that as ſhe apprehended an attack from the people, ſhe depended upon him for a manly reſiſtance, and truſted that he would order the guards to fire. That to this he replied —It was impoſſible for him to fulfil her majeſty's expectations, as his hands were tied up by the terms of the treaty under which the Swiſs ſerved in France, and which reſtrained him from giving the orders that her majeſty required from him.

That upon this, the queen, in a rage, ſnatched up a piſtol, and threatened to ſhoot him, if he perſiſted in his refuſal to order his men to fire; obſerving, at the ſame time—That he diſgraced the name of an officer of *guards*, if he thought he ought to ſtand by and ſee inſulted or maſſacred thoſe whom it was his duty to defend, and for whoſe defence he and his troops were ſtationed in the palace.

That his reply was, "Madam, my life is in your hands, and you may take it, but you cannot touch my honour!" That after this he took an opportunity to get out of the palace, and appeared there no more.

Unfortunately, his ſon, having more veneration for royalty, was found more tractable; he promiſed the queen her wiſhes ſhould be fulfilled. He kept his word; a dreadful ſlaughter enſued, and he himſelf fell a victim to popular indignation; for having been made a priſoner with many of his ſoldiers, after their ammunition had been exhauſted, he was carried to the town-houſe; but the people, unwilling to bear the delay which a formal trial would occaſion, broke into the houſe, dragged the priſoners into the ſtreet, and ſacrificed them to their fury.

Priſon-Plan

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by two men, who forced her to continue her progreſs over the dead bodies. As ſhe frequently fainted from loſs of blood, ſhe yet ſeemed ſolicitous to fall in a decent attitude; and when at laſt ſhe became ſo feeble as to be unable to proceed farther, her head was ſevered from her body. The mangled corpſe was then expoſed to every indignity, and the head, exalted upon a pike, was carried to the Temple, and ſhewn to the unfortunate queen, who fainted at the horrid ſight. Thoſe who had the guard of the royal family were at firſt apprehenſive that violence was intended them: the commiſſaries from the municipality met the multitude and harangued them to prevent their entering the court of the Temple, and a tri-coloured ribband being drawn acroſs the gate, they were invoked to pay reſpect to this *national* barrier; which, ſurprizing as it may ſeem, was almoſt inſtantly complied with. The head was afterwards carried in triumph through the ſtreets of Paris, and particularly to the Palais Royal, where it was recognized, though perhaps without much feeling, by her brutal relations: madame de Tourzelle and her daughter, and a few other ladies, who were confined in the ſame priſon, were ſpared.

Theſe dreadful maſſacres continued during the whole of the ſecond and third of September [48]. At the Abbaye one hundred and fifty-nine were maſſacred, excluſive of Meſſrs. d'Aigremont, Roſoy, and de la Porte, who had been previouſly beheaded; at the ſeminary of Saint Firmin, ninety-two unfortunate victims ſuffered; at the Carmes, one hundred and forty-one; at the Chatelet, two hundred and fourteen; at the Hotel de la Force, one hundred and ſixty-eight; at the Conciergerie, eighty-five; at the Bicêtre, one hundred and fifty-three; and at the Cloiſter of the Bernardins, ſeventy-three, amounting in all to the ſhocking number of one thouſand and eighty-five [49], in which

[48] On the ſecond of September an incident of a ſingular nature took place.

Jean Julian, a poor waggoner of Vaugirard, was condemned to ten years hard labour, for what crime I know not. This man was placed on a ſcaffold in the Place de Grêve, with his hands tied behind him, there to remain an hour, as the beginning of his puniſhment. Whether he was previouſly mad, or made deſperate by ſo ſevere a ſentence, I am not informed; but while he remained in this ſituation, the populace crying "*Vive la Nation!*" the man exclaimed, "*Vive le Roi! Vive la Reine!*" adding ſome indecent expreſſions regarding *la Nation*, prompted, in all probability, by rage and deſpair.

One could hardly imagine, that a poor helpleſs wretch, in this deplorable ſtate, could have provoked the reſentment of any individual; and if it did, the puniſhment to which he was condemned might have been thought ſufficient. It did not however ſatisfy *Le Peuple Souverain*; the man was on the point of being torn to pieces; but Manuel prevented this, and promiſed that the offended majeſty of the people ſhould be avenged.

The offender was carried from the ſcaffold to priſon, and ſoon after accuſed, before the tribunal which had tried the others, of this new crime. The ſentence no doubt is in due form of law; it declares however what nobody of common ſenſe can believe:

"That a popular commotion or ſedition exiſted on the firſt of September, tending to raiſe a civil war, by the "cries of "Long live the King, the Queen, M. la Fayette!" which commotion or ſedition is a natural conſequence "of the conſpiracy which appeared on the tenth of Auguſt. That Jean Julian is guilty of the above, &c."

He was then carried from the priſon to the Carouſel, and there beheaded.—*Moore's Journal.*

[49] There were ſome murders alſo committed at the Salpetriere, and on the Pont-au-Change.

are to be included, however, a conſiderable number of felons, who were impriſoned for forging aſſignats, and various other crimes. The number of the aſſaſſins was at firſt ſuppoſed to amount to many thouſands, but the general opinion is, that they did not exceed three hundred. It is evident that the National Aſſembly conſidered them in a formidable point of view, or they would have taken more effective meaſures than that of ſending commiſſioners, from time to time, to diſſuade them from their violence.

The friends of Petion aſſert, that he took every method to prevent the perpetration of theſe atrocities, but that he harangued in vain, while the miniſter of juſtice remained ſilent. M. Roland repeatedly wrote to M. Santerre, and the national guards were all ready in their ſections, waiting the orders of the commander in chief to diſperſe the mob; but there is too much reaſon to ſuppoſe Santerre an accomplice in the plot, if there was one, ſince he made no attempt to prevent theſe enormities. In vain did the deputies, diſpatched by the Aſſembly, exhort the populace. M. Montmorin, late mayor of Fontainebleau, although he had been acquitted by a jury, was murdered in ſight of the deputies. During this period of general confuſion and horror, ſeveral miſcreants availed themſelves of the circumſtance to gratify private animoſity, and many individuals were aſſaſſinated in different parts of the city.

Among the ſmall number of priſoners who were ſaved from the ſwords of the aſſaſſins was M. Cazotte, a man of ſeventy-four years of age, formerly commiſſioner of the marine, but who had for ſeveral years lived in retirement, at his villa, near Epernay.

This old gentleman had been arreſted at his houſe in the country, and brought to the priſon of the Abbey, in conſequence of letters written by him, and found among the papers of a M. Pouteau, ſecretary to M. de la Porte; from which it appeared, that he was in correſpondence with the emigrants; that he adviſed the king to eſcape from Paris, and had tranſmitted a plan for that purpoſe; that he had alſo adviſed the diſſolution of the National Aſſembly: for theſe, and other parts of his conduct to the ſame tendency, he was detained in the Abbey in expectation of a legal trial.

But, on the ſecond of September, when determined murderers made a mockery of the forms of law, and choſen aſſaſſins ſeized the ſword of juſtice; when the priſoner was ſurrounded at his trial by pikes reeking with recent ſlaughter, and within hearing of the ſcreams of thoſe who had been juſt dragged from the bar where he ſtood; on that dreadful day, M. Cazotte was brought before the horrid tribunal within the priſon. Several priſoners had already been carried there—none had ſurvived their ſhort examination above two minutes!—A ſign from the pretended judge, or an equivocal word, was the fatal ſentence, and the blow of death followed directly on the priſoner's removal from the bar.

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When M. Cazotte appeared, the liſt of names was examined by the inquiſitors,—no mark of favour was ſeen at his—the ſignal of death was given, and he was led out to ſlaughter!—But, before the ſtroke of death could be given, his daughter, a beautiful young lady of ſeventeen, ſprung upon her father's neck, exclaiming, in a tranſport of terror and filial affection, "Mercy! mercy! O, mercy!—My father! my father!"

The grey hairs of the old man, the affecting appearance and exclamations of the young lady, arreſted the arms of the aſſaſſins, and melted the hearts of the people!—The cries of "*Grace, grace!*" and "*Vive la Nation!*" were heard. The old gentleman and his daughter were conducted in ſafety to the houſe of a friend, amidſt the applauſe of the multitude.

This amiable young woman had never ſeparated from her father, overcoming her horror for a priſon crowded with men; ſurmounting her terror, her delicacy, and every conſideration which could render the ſituation repugnant to her mind: filial love, and a ſtrong ſenſe of duty, enabled her to attend him during his confinement in the Abbaye, and to adminiſter every comfort and conſolation in her power.

This unfortunate old man was again arreſted, again impriſoned, and, in virtue of a decree of the 11th of September, brought before the tribunal which had been appointed on the 17th of Auguſt for the trial of conſpirators, and whoſe functions had been interrupted by the maſſacres.

The firſt defence he offered was in form of a proteſt againſt a ſecond trial, having been already tried by judges conſtituted by the Sovereign People to examine the guilt or innocence of the priſoners: that he had been acquitted, ſet at liberty by the voice of the people, and could not be made to undergo a new trial, without inſulting the ſovereignty of the people, which they all profeſſed to acknowledge.

This plea was diſregarded, the trial went on; the accuſation was thought to be proved, and M. Cazotte was condemned to loſe his head.

The old gentleman heard the ſentence with a ſerene countenance, took a tender leave of his inimitable daughter, and went to the place of execution with unſhaken courage! He made his grey locks be cut from his head, folded them carefully, and deſired that they might be delivered to her: a recollection of her ſorrow alone could diſturb him. It is ſaid that he gave this meſſage with a faultering voice; then, turning to the executioner, aſſumed an undaunted air, and bade him do his duty [50].

[50] Moore's Journal.

The following almoſt ſimilar fact is alſo one of thoſe actions which will ſwell the page of fame, and move the ſympathetic heart to admiration: M. Sombreuil, *ci-devant* governor of the invalids, being ſuſpected of ſecreting arms, was conducted to priſon. His daughter reſolved to ſhare his misfortune: ſhe accordingly applied to the gaoler for permiſſion to enter that cell which contained her father. The gaoler replied, that he dared not allow any perſon whatever to enter the priſon, without orders from a ſuperior power. Reſolute, and perſevering in her virtuous purpoſe, ſhe waved all difficulties, and applied to M. Santerre, who granted her requeſt. On the wings of filial love ſhe now flew to the priſon, and bore to the heart of her aged parent the balm of pious affection and duteous conſolation; and thus beguiled the tedious hours of confinement. On the third of September, when the people had taken the reins of juſtice into their own hands, the priſon where M. Sombreuil was confined was viſited. The twelve judges were ſat, and the priſoners were tried. His turn was now come, and the gaoler appeared at the door. "I "am ready,"—exclaimed Mademoiſelle Sombreuil, with a tone of fortitude—"I am "ready to die; but, Oh! ſpare my father!" The gaoler was moved to compaſſion: thrice he approached the door, and thrice withdrew. At length the moment came, and M. Sombreuil was demanded. He appeared, ſupported by his daughter; her hair diſhevelled, and her countenance expreſſive of anguiſh, perturbation, and diſmay. Diſengaging herſelf from her father, ſhe fell upon her knees, and, with upliſted hands, pleaded for him in an unconnected but affecting addreſs to the judges, in which ſhe offered her own life to ranſom his. It was the note of pious ſorrow, affecting and perſuaſive. The judges ſurveyed the old man and his daughter alternately; their ſouls were filled with admiration and pity. "Whatever M. Sombreuil may have been guilty "of,"—ſaid they—"he is an old man, and let him know that we are merciful! "let him cry, *Vive la Nation!* and retire." The virtuous Mademoiſelle Sombreuil, with a piercing accent, repeated "*Vive la Nation!*" fell at her father's feet, and embraced his knees. The people were ſo much affected with this moving ſcene, that they brought an old door, on which they placed M. Sombreuil and his daughter, and bore them through the crowd, amidſt the acclamations of the multitude [51].

It may not be improper to obſerve, that M. Sombreuil was governor of the Hotel des Invalids, when that place was forced and taken by the inhabitants of Paris, prior to the deſtruction of the Baſtille: they went to the Hotel to get arms, in which they ſucceeded, and made the governor priſoner.

The example of Paris was fatally imitated at other places, particularly at Verſailles. The priſoners who had been confined at Orleans for ſtate offences, were ordered thither

[51] Vide the Paris Magazine of the twenty-ſecond of October, 1792.

by

by the National Aſſembly on the eighth of September. The preceding evening a party of aſſaſſins marched from Paris, and, as ſoon as the priſoners arrived, maſſacred them on the ſpot. The inhabitants of Verſailles were ſtruck with horror, and even the detachment which had guarded the captives from Orleans ſtood paſſive ſpectators of the maſſacre. Thus periſhed the duke of Briſſac, the biſhop of Maudes, and about thirty others. At Lyons alſo ſeveral priſoners were maſſacred on the ninth. On the ſeventeenth of September a band of ruffians broke into the *Garde Meuble*, and robbed it of an immenſe quantity of jewels, and other valuable effects, the greater part of which have never been recovered.

Before we cloſe our account of the proceedings of the National Aſſembly, it may not be improper to mention a decree which was propoſed by a diſtinguiſhed member, M. Jean de Brie. The ſubſtance of this ſingular and *humane* propoſal was, "To levy immediately a corps of twelve hundred volunteers, whoſe particular object ſhould be to attack the *commanders* of the hoſtile armies, and the *kings* who were the authors of the war; that theſe volunteers ſhould be equipped in a manner the beſt adapted to the purpoſe, and that on each a penſion of two thouſand livres (100 l.) per annum ſhould be ſettled, with the reverſion to their deſcendants to the third generation." The motion was oppoſed by M. Vergniaud and others, and a previous queſtion moved upon the occaſion, viz. to refer the matter to a committee of ſafety. The diſcuſſion was curious and important—It was obſerved by the opponents of Jean de Brie, That the propoſal was unworthy a free and enlightened nation; that aſſaſſination was an expedient againſt which humanity revolted; that it might be practiſed as well in a bad as in a virtuous cauſe, as well by the tyrant as by the patriot; that in the preſent inſtance it would infallibly produce repriſals; that if a band of tyrannicides ſhould be formed by France, whole brigades would be formed by the enemy, for the purpoſe of exterminating her commanders.

In reply to theſe obſervations it was urged, That of all the calamities with which human nature is afflicted, war is moſt to be deprecated and deplored; that any expedient which could be deviſed for preventing ſo great a crime, and ſo dreadful an evil, muſt be laudable. "Kings," it was ſaid, "were the ſole authors of wars; to gratify their ca-"price, their avarice, or their ambition, they in cold blood devote millions to miſery and "death; unfeeling cowards, they repoſe at home, in luxury and ſecurity, remote from "danger, and feaſt upon the miſeries they have occaſioned. Which, then, is the leſſer "evil? to devote *one* man to death, or expoſe whole nations to ruin, to devaſtation, to "wretchedneſs, to ſlaughter? The guilt of war lies wholly with kings; the puniſhment "falls entirely upon their innocent ſubjects: but let kings once fear for their own per-"ſonal ſafety, and wars will ever be at an end."

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With reſpect to retaliation, it was allowed, that ſuch a decree would certainly provoke it; but it was urged, on the other hand, that the combined kings could not be more exaſperated againſt France than they were already; that whether the decree paſſed or not, every means would be employed for the deſtruction of thoſe who were inveſted with any authority or command; and that even the duke of Brunſwick's manifeſto was in ſubſtance a decree to that very effect, and breathes exactly a ſimilar ſpirit of ſanguinary vengeance.—The propoſal was virtually rejected, by agreeing to refer it to the committee: thus the infernal motion of De Brie, to the honour of humanity, fell to the ground.

The advances of the combined armies ſince the tenth of Auguſt had been rapid and formidable. On the thirtieth of that month, Dumourier called a council, at Sedan, of all the general officers who were then in that diſtrict. M. Dillon having been ſummoned from Valenciennes to aſſiſt at it, deſcribed the diſtreſſed ſtate of the French army; and obſerved, that after taking poſſeſſion of Longwy, the enemy had proceeded to Verdun, and it was yet uncertain whether they would not undertake the ſiege of Montmidi. The Pruſſian army amounted to near fifty-five thouſand choſen men; Clairfait, with ſixteen thouſand, had taken poſt at Chiers, to the right of the Pruſſians; and a ſecond column of Auſtrians, commanded by prince Hohenloe, advanced to their ſupport, and were followed by the Heſſians and emigrants, whoſe numbers were reputed to be extremely formidable. In this council it was determined, that the French were conſiderably too weak to attempt to cope with ſo immenſe a force, or to prevent its paſſing the Meuſe, which was fordable in ſixty-nine places between Verdun and Stenay. In the mean time Dumourier had diſpatched general Galbaud, with two battalions of infantry, to ſupport Verdun; but from what has been already related, the event may be anticipated, which was, that the attempt proved entirely fruitleſs.

On the thirty-firſt the Auſtrians took poſſeſſion of Stenay, after a ſlight ſkirmiſh with the van-guard, commanded by general Dillon, which conſiſted only of five battalions of infantry, and fourteen ſquadrons of light-horſe; the national guard of Stenay retreated, and joined general Dillon, who took poſt at Mouzon, cloſe by the army of the commander in chief. The whole of Dumourier's force at this time was ſcarcely equal to the ſingle diviſion commanded by Clairfait, who muſt have been ignorant of his opponent's weakneſs, or he would ſcarcely have let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity to attack him. With this ſmall army, the only reſource which remained to the French generals appeared to be that of concealing themſelves in the foreſt of Argonne. On the third of September, Dumourier fell back to Grand Pré; and general Galbaud, not being able to throw himſelf into Verdun, had taken poſt on the ſide of Bieſme, in a ſtrong poſition. In this critical ſituation, the genius of the French commander roſe ſuperior to circumſtances; and, ſo far from being diſcouraged by the inferior force of his army, he determined to weaken it ſtill further. He ſaw the infinite importance of the paſs in the foreſt of Argonne, on the ſide of Bieſme, where general Galbaud was ſtationed; and, on the

the fourth, diſpatched general Dillon, with a ſtrong detachment, to take poſſeſſion of it. Galbaud, previous to Dillon's approach, had abandoned the paſs in utter deſpair; but on his arrival immediately reſumed it. On this circumſtance the whole fate of the campaign afterwards depended; and France was in a great meaſure indebted to this judicious movement, by which the paſs of Bieſme was preſerved, for her internal ſecurity.

The ſpace which was occupied, with a force ſo inconſiderable, by the French generals, Dumourier and Dillon, is ſuppoſed to have extended thirty miles; their chief hope reſted on the reinforcements which they expected to receive, and their object was to maintain their poſts till ſuccours ſhould arrive. On the fourteenth of September the paſs at Grand Pré was attacked—a panic ſeized Dumourier's army, and he was compelled to retreat towards Saint Menehoud: in this action, however, the Auſtrians loſt prince Charles de Ligne, who was killed, with a number of men. On the ſeventeenth of September general Dillon was attacked in his poſt at Bieſme, but repulſed the enemy, with very inconſiderable loſs on the part of the French. The Pruſſians next advanced towards Chalons, and encamped on the heights of La Lune; but Dumourier, in the mean time, had received a reinforcement from Pont-ſur-Sambre; general Bournonville had alſo raiſed the camp at Maulde, and joined the army with thirteen thouſand men; and Kellermann, with the ſouthern army, arrived ſoon after.

On the twentieth of September the French were firſt enabled to arreſt the progreſs of their victorious adverſaries. On that day, Kellermann, whoſe diviſion conſiſted of not more than ſixteen thouſand men, was attacked by a body greatly ſuperior both in number and in diſcipline. The determined bravery of the French baffled all the ſkill of their adverſaries. The duke of Brunſwick, who commanded the Pruſſians, attempted repeatedly to ſurround Kellermann, but Dumourier conſtantly preſented himſelf, and fruſtrated his manœuvres. Kellermann ſuſtained the attack fourteen hours, and retained his poſt till ten o'clock at night, and then took another more advantageous poſition to the right of the enemy, who ſuffered him quietly to make this movement, though it was not completed till the next morning. All parties are agreed in commending the firmneſs and order which was diſplayed on this occaſion by Kellermann's line. The enemy's artillery made not the ſmalleſt impreſſion, while the German ſoldiers were ſaid to be with difficulty kept to their guns by the diſcipline of the cane.

On the ſame day general Dillon was again attacked at Bieſme; but having poſted a file of muſketeers, under cover of the wood, to gall their flanks on their approach, the enemy, after a briſk diſchage of their howitzers, which, however, did little or no execution, made a precipitate retreat. Incredible were the advantages reſulting to the French from the events of this day. It diminiſhed their apprehenſions of the enemy, and inſpired them with a degree of confidence, bordering on enthuſiaſm. It alſo proved to them the advantages of order and military obedience, and taught them to place a reliance upon their

their generals, and to reſiſt thoſe diſgraceful panics, with which the armies in the commencement of the campaign had been infected. Nevertheleſs the French army were ſtill in a moſt critical ſituation. The Pruſſians and Auſtrians were nearly thrice their number; Clermont and Varennes were in the hands of the enemy; at Grand Pré the Pruſſians had eſtabliſhed their hoſpital; and their camp on the heights of La Lune was impregnable. The French were thus encloſed on the eaſt, north and weſt; and on the ſouth the roads were nearly impaſſable. In this critical juncture the inclemency of the ſeaſon and the barrenneſs of the country contributed greatly to the ſafety and preſervation of the French army.

The paſs which general Dillon had ſo fortunately ſeized, and which he continued to occupy, proved an inſurmountable obſtacle to the duke of Brunſwick's penetrating by the neareſt route to Paris; and, finding it impoſſible to diſlodge the French, he determined to proceed by Varennes and Grand Pré, being a circuit of near fifty miles. The length of this march, during which the troops were expoſed to inceſſant rain, laid the foundation of that fatal diſorder, which proved more deſtructive than the ſwords of their enemies. To add to their misfortunes, the rivers were ſo ſwollen that their ſupplies were almoſt entirely ſtopped, and the combined army was actually without bread for four days, the want of which the ſoldiers very imprudently endeavoured to ſupply by greedily devouring the unripe grapes of Champagne. Thus ſituated, the Duke of Brunſwick was induced to propoſe an armiſtice, and held a conference with the French general on the 24th of September. Various conjectures have been entertained concerning the object and motives of this convention; but we ſhall not waſte much of our reader's time in minutely inveſtigating theſe ſpeculations; ſuffice it to ſay, that there is no evidence to induce us to concur in a variety of incongruous reports, which were then in circulation; but that a conviction, which aroſe in his own mind, of the impracticability, if not impoſſibility, of conquering France, was the ſole motive which produced this extraordinary conceſſion.

A few days after a negociation took place, in order to prevent the out-poſts of the two armies from firing upon each other, in the courſe of which the Pruſſian general found it neceſſary to requeſt the interference of the duke of Brunſwick, between whom and the French commanders the following conference took place.

Duke of Brunſwick. "What are your names, gentlemen?"—*La Baroliere.* "My "name is Baroliere; that of my colleague, Galbaud."—*The Duke to Galbaud.* "It is "you who have placed theſe cannon. They have done us ſome harm; and I confeſs, "that I am ſurprized at your temerity, in bringing them ſo near our redoubt."—*Galbaud,* "What you ſay proves the goodneſs of our operation. In truth, we are very near you. "But our ſoldiers know no danger, when they labour for their country."—*Brunſwick.* "General Kalkreuth has informed me of your propoſal, as to our giving up the wood; "you muſt agree that there would be many more difficulties, if I were leſs ſparing of "human

" human blood. But, before this arrangement is concluded, let us converſe a little of " your nation: I love it, and that I have proved more than once. I am ſorry that " Dumourier, upon the ſubject of my laſt manifeſto, has been ſo angry with ſome in- " ſignificant words that are found in it. Such expreſſions are for the people; informed " perſons know how to eſtimate them; and I am aſtoniſhed that Dumourier ſhould " treat them ſo ſeriouſly.——*Galbaud.* " Permit me to aſk you, if the French people, " become free, are not as capable of underſtanding the language of truth, as General " Dumourier? Judge whether they could ſuffer that one of their generals, forgetting " the reſpect owed to his ſovereign, ſhould hear any thing againſt the national ſove- " reignty!——*Brunſwick.* " I do not diſpute the right of your nation to regulate its " government; but, has it choſen the form which beſt ſuits its character? This is " what is generally doubted in Europe; and certainly, when I came into France, I had " no other intention than to reſtore order."——*Baroliere.* " Permit me to aſk you, what " power has conſtituted you an intermediate between the French people and its in- " tereſts?"

At this inſtant, Galbaud perceived near him the *ci-devant* camp-mareſchal Klinglin, on horſeback, in uniform, and with a white cockade. In his ſurpriſe, he cried out, " Ah! this " is M. Klinglin!" The latter made no anſwer. Kalkreuth whiſpered in the duke's ear, who contemptuouſly made a ſign for Klinglin to retire.

Brunſwick. " You perceive how I treat the Emigrants. I never loved traitors. " Do with them as you will; they are of little conſequence to us. But, I inſiſt upon it, " that the French nation, when they know their intereſts better, will return to mode- " rate principles."——*Baroliere.* " I aſk the duke of Brunſwick, if it is the author of " the manifeſto, who ſpeaks; to him I can only anſwer with cannon-ſhot. If, on the " contrary, it is a friend of humanity who holds this language, to him I ſhall ſay, " that the beſt proof he can give of his happy diſpoſitions, is to evacuate the French " territory, before our armies, who daily accumulate round him, ſhall force him to do " ſo. We know that the Pruſſians are overcome by diſorders; that they daily loſe men " and horſes: in this ſtate of things they cannot long reſiſt, and I think it would be for " their intereſt to ſpare an uſeleſs effuſion of blood. If you will treat for the ceſſion of " Verdun, I doubt not that the nation will grant whatever can be reconciled with " their intereſts, and with the vengeance due for the violation of their territory."—— *Brunſwick.* " The French are an aſtoniſhing nation. Scarcely have they declared the " Republic, but they take the language of Republicans. As to the reſt, I can, at pre- " ſent, ſay nothing to you upon this ſubject, or upon that which has brought me to " you; I muſt ſpeak to the king. Let us agree to ſuſpend hoſtilities between our ad- " vanced poſts for twenty-four hours; let every thing remain in *ſtatu quo*. General " Kalkreuth ſhall come to you to-morrow; he is in the king's confidence, and will con- " fer either with general Dumourier, or with whomſoever he may appoint. I am happy

" in having become acquainted with you: as to general Galbaud, I ſee, with pleaſure, " an old officer of artillery; you have given, by your battery, a ſpecimen of the talents " of the ancient royal corps: continue both to ſerve your country well, and believe, " that notwithſtanding the tone of the manifeſtoes, one cannot help eſteeming thoſe " who loyally endeavour to enſure the independence of their country."——*Kalkreuth.* " Permit, gentlemen, that, requiring your friendſhip, I may accompany you a " few paces."

The French party, upon quitting the Pruſſians, cried "*Vive la Nation!*" Kalkreuth, aſtoniſhed, enquired if he was ſafe. Galbaud anſwered, That the French faith would guarantee him. At a few ſteps farther the generals parted [52].

The conference between the generals, from which ſo much had been expected, only ended in the retreat of the Pruſſians, who were followed ſoon after by the armies of Auſtria and Heſſe Caſſel. The firſt poſt abandoned was the paſs of Grand Pré, which was on the 30th of September. Clermont was evacuated on the 1ſt of October; and the Pruſſians decamped from their advantageous and ſtrongly fortified poſition of La Lune, where the French found part of more than 300 horſes, the half of which had been eaten for want of other proviſions. The retreat of the enemy was very ſlow, encumbered as they were with ſick, and worn out with hunger and fatigue. Their route lay towards Verdun—It has been inſinuated, that, more than once, Dumourier might have intercepted their progreſs, and, poſſibly, have captured both the king and the general; from this circumſtance it has been ſurmiſed, but with what truth it is impoſſible for us to determine, that a ſecret treaty exiſted between the generals. However, it muſt be remembered, that the French army was ſtill inferior in number to the enemy; and Dumourier was deeply impreſſed with the alarming conſequences of a defeat at this important criſis.

The Pruſſians in their retreat made no conſiderable halt at Verdun; and the garriſon which they had ſtationed there ſurrendered on capitulation to general Dillon, on the twelfth of October, when the following conference took place between the French and Pruſſian generals, at Glorieux.

Dillon, " You know, general, the tenor of the ſummons which I have given, as one " of the generals of the Republic, to the Pruſſian commandant at Verdun. I ſhould have " a ſpeedy anſwer. It is more than time that foreign armies ſhould evacuate our territory. " This meaſure is a neceſſary preamble to every accommodation; it is thereſult of a delibe- " ration of the executive council of the republic, ſanctioned by the National Council."—*Kalkreuth.* " I have no particular miſſion, but having profeſſed at all times a high " eſteem for the French nation, I ſhall find myſelf very happy in concurring in an accom-

[52] This account is certified by the formal teſtimony and ſignature of general Galbaud.

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" modation equally advantageous to the two nations. I know that the king is very much " diſpoſed to hear all honourable propoſitions."——*Dillon.* "You are not ignorant that the " French nation has always eſteemed the Pruſſians, that they have always blamed the mon- " ſtrous treaty of 1756; but then the people were ſlaves, and the arbitrary will of kings, " often guided by the particular intereſts of the courtiers, regulated the deſtiny of nations. " Let us paſs over theſe politics; and may the two nations, better knowing their own " intereſts, unite againſt their common enemy. The French nation has not commenced " the war with the view of conqueſt!"——*Kalkreuth.* "Doubtleſs there is nothing more " noble than this declaration; but what ſecurity can France give for her perſeverance in " this ſyſtem?"—*Dilion.* " Her intereſt, and the frankneſs which ſhould ſerve as the " baſe of every republican government. Let the king of Pruſſia reflect upon this, and " he will regret having ſhed the blood, and diſſipated the treaſures, of his people, eſpe- " cially ſince his true intereſt was to unite with us, and humble the houſe of Auſtria; " but, ſince I alſo have no particular miſſion, I repeat to you, that, before we treat of " ſuch great intereſts, the Pruſſian armies muſt evacuate the French territory."——*Kal- kreuth.* " The ſummons you have given is liable to much obſervation. You dictate " laws, and yet you have not gained a battle. Our combined armies are as ſtrong as " yours; you have Verdun, but if we had perſevered in guarding it, you would not have " had it without a victory. I hope that our conduct in giving up that place will prove " to you the deſire of the king to arrange affairs with France."——*Dillon.* " This affair " being terminated, there remains another, not leſs important, the ſurrender of Longwy. " The king of Pruſſia, by giving up that place immediately, may prove his deſire of an " accommodation with the Republic; and I will not conceal from you, that we can " march two hundred thouſand men there, if it is neceſſary."——*Kalkreuth.* " Longwy " is not occupied by the king's troops, ſo that the affair does not directly concern him. " What he can do, is to promiſe that he will not aſſiſt in its defence; I even think my- " ſelf able to aſſure you, that his troops will take no part in it."——*Dillon.* " This aſ- " ſurance is not ſufficient. It is neceſſary that the king ſhould uſe his influence for the " evacuation of the fortreſs, without the effuſion of blood."——*Kalkreuth.* " I have no " power to treat. This conference can only be confidential; but I am perſuaded, that " it would not be difficult to induce the ſurrender of Longwy as eaſily as Verdun."— —*Dillon.* " The king of Pruſſia may give a convincing proof of his diſpoſition towards " us, by ſeparating his armies entirely from thoſe of his allies, and ceaſing to protect " their retreat."——*Kalkreuth.* " You know, that when travellers have promiſed to make " a journey together, honour obliges them to go through it. It is not, however, ne- " ceſſary that they ſhould commence another. I take my leave, full of eſteem for the " French nation, and for you. I ſhall report our converſation to the king, and I doubt " not of happy meaſures."——*Dillon.* " Adieu, general. I hope that there will be no " campaign next ſeaſon, unleſs France and Pruſſia are united, and that you will aſſiſt in " liberating the Low Countries. Remind the king of Pruſſia, that he cannot have a " more glorious alliance than with a free people."——*Kalkreuth.* " Rely upon me; and

" believe

" believe that no perſon eſtimates higher the immenſe advantages of ſuch an alliance. I " ſhould rejoice to go to Paris myſelf to negociate it [53]."

The re-capture of Longwy followed that of Verdun on the 22d of October, on which day it was taken poſſeſſion of by general Valence, though the capitulation had been ſigned on the 18th. The Pruſſian army immediately evacuated the territories of France; and it was ſolemnly proclaimed *that the country was no longer in danger*. Dumourier had for ſome time been abſent from the army; his active mind was occupied with ſtill bolder projects, in the execution of which we ſhall have occaſion to develope the motives by which he was actuated.

Although the contributions levied by the duke of Brunſwick on the credit of notes payable by the king of France, on his re-inſtatement, fell particularly heavy on the inhabitants of ſeveral towns, yet the unfortunate villagers of Voges were treated with a ſeverity totally inconſiſtent with the practice of a civilized war. Though ſituated on a mountain, and well calculated to form a poſt of ſome ſtrength, its fortifications were in ſuch a neglected ſtate, that it would have been folly in the inhabitants to have attempted reſiſtance; yet having been greatly haraſſed by detached marauding parties of the enemy, the villagers reſolved to attempt the defence of their property againſt ſimilar depredations in future, though not to reſiſt a regular ſummons. Conſequently the next detachment which came in this irregular manner, was bravely repulſed; but immediately returning with a ſtrong reinforcement, the peaſants, after a gallant effort, were finally compelled to ſubmit. They were dragged to the head-quarters, tied to the tails of horſes; and are ſaid to have been treated with the utmoſt cruelty.

The French ſoldiery in general abſtained from plunder; and, as they endured the want of every neceſſary with fortitude, were cautious of injuring the rights of others. Their political fanaticiſm, however, ſometimes betrayed them into ſhocking exceſſes, the moſt flagrant inſtance of which occurred at Rhetel in the beginning of October. Two battalions of volunteers being ſtationed at that place, four deſerters from the Pruſſian army came to offer their ſervices, and were received by the officers. [illegible] of the day, however, ſome diſpute aroſe between theſe men and ſome of the [illegible] an alarm was inſtantly ſpread among the volunteers, that they were not [illegible] emigrants and ſpies. With that fatal precipitation which in ſo many re[illegible] has characteriſed the French nation, the reſt of the ſoldiers immediately [illegible] unhappy men, and, in defiance of their officers, in defiance of juſtice and [illegible] them to pieces.

53 Meſſrs. Dillon and Galbaud have certified this conference with their names.

Dumou[illegible]

Dumourier on this occaſion give a ſalutary example of proper ſeverity. He degraded the two battalions, ſtripped them of their military accoutrements and uniforms, and obliged them to deliver up the immediate delinquents. The battalions, with a returning ſenſe of honour, acknowledged the juſtice of the ſentence; but entreated that, inſtead of being broken, they might be ſent upon ſome ſervice of more than ordinary danger, to expiate their crime; and of their own accord delivered up to the ſentence of the law ten of their comrades, who were at once the cauſes and the agents in this horrid tranſaction.

The ſieges of Thionville and Liſle are conſpicuous circumſtances in the hiſtory of this campaign. The former is a ſmall but ſtrong fortreſs, and was entruſted to the command of general Felix Wimpſen, whoſe reply to the ſummons of the Auſtrian general was, "Though you may deſtroy the fortreſs, and not leave one ſtone upon another, yet "you cannot burn the ramparts." It held out during the whole campaign, and kept in check a force computed at eight-and-twenty thouſand men; and which, in ſeveral ſucceſsful ſallies, the beſieged frequently haraſſed and diſtreſſed. The town was at length relieved by the general retreat of the enemy; and the victorious garriſon and commander received all the honours and applauſe which a grateful country could confer.

The city of Liſle was threatened early in September; and on the twenty-third the electors of the department of the North, who were aſſembled there, tranſmitted a public act to the legiſlative body, in which they ſwore, that "they would be buried under "the ruins of the town, rather than abandon their poſt." As the poſſeſſion of this city was conſidered by the Auſtrians to be of the utmoſt importance to their views, no expence was ſpared to effect its reduction. On the twenty-ninth the duke of Saxe Teſchen, who was appointed by the court of Vienna to this important command, ſummoned the town to ſurrender, on pain of being delivered up to the horrors of war. The anſwer of the council general of the commons was at once modeſt and ſpirited. "We "have juſt renewed our oath to be faithful to the nation, and to maintain liberty and "equality, or to die at our poſt. We will not perjure ourſelves."—On that day the batteries began to play upon the town, and were directed for upwards of a week to that quarter which was inhabited by the lower claſs of citizens. The principal motive for this proceeding was that, by diſtreſſing them in particular, they might be rendered mutinous, and induced to riſe upon the magiſtrates and commanders, in order to force them into a capitulation. This mode of attack had, however, a direct contrary effect on the inhabitants: inſpired with a degree of enthuſiaſm proportioned to their danger, and of hatred for their foe, theſe very citizens cauſed the keys of the city to be carried into the great ſquare, and hung up on the tree of liberty; and inſtantly paſſed a reſolution, that whoever preſumed to remove them, for the purpoſe of delivering up the city, ſhould be puniſhed with inſtant death. This ſpirited reſolution was ſupported with firmneſs and diſcipline. They immediately formed themſelves into ſeveral companies, to each of

which were aſſigned its proper functions and ſtation. Every precaution was taken to avert the miſchievous conſequences of the bombardment; and it is an undoubted fact, that numbers of women and children were conſtantly employed in extinguiſhing the fuſes, to prevent the murderous effects from the burſting of the ſhells. The city, as might be apprehended, was ſoon reduced to a heap of ruins; and the inhabitants were compelled to take up their reſidence in temporary huts, or in vaults and cellars, which were formed into a kind of caſemates by the immenſe quantity of rubbiſh heaped upon them. The churches and public buildings were almoſt all deſtroyed; yet the valour of the inhabitants increaſed with their diſtreſs; and as ſoon as a family was driven from its habitation by the devaſtations of the artillery, it was hoſpitably incorporated with another. To the ſixth of October at noon the firing was inceſſant: ſhells, red-hot balls, and every inſtrument of deſtruction, were ſhowered upon the devoted city [55]. As the garriſon was too ſmall to waſte its force in ſallies, nothing of that kind was attempted; but its courage and indefatigable aſſiduity are beyond encomiums; and marſhal Rualt, the commander, deſerves to be recorded with every mark of reſpect. It is computed that the Auſtrian batteries fired upwards of thirty thouſand red-hot balls and ſix thouſand bombs upon the city, excluſive of the fire of one of the fineſt battering trains that ever appeared in the field. Notwithſtanding this, the whole loſs of both garriſon and people did not exceed five hundred, three-fourths of whom were women and children. The Auſtrians had flattered themſelves with being able to maintain this poſt, ſhould they have ſucceeded in their plan for its reduction, notwithſtanding the retreat of the combined armies: but finding themſelves utterly deceived in their expectations, on the the ſeventh and eighth of October they began to break up their camp, and the ſiege was raiſed.

The arms of France were at this period victorious in every quarter. The king of Sardinia having been conſidered as an enemy to the Revolution, the miniſter for foreign affairs, on the ſixteenth of September, made the following report to the National Aſſembly.

"I come, in the name of the proviſional executive council, to give an account to the "National Aſſembly of the meaſures which the honour and ſafety of the ſtate have "obliged us to purſue againſt the king of Sardinia. This prince, gentlemen, has for a "long time been provoking us to employ theſe meaſures; for a long time he has, like "other kings, paid a tribute of hatred and malevolence to the French Revolution. The "court of Turin was the firſt aſylum of thoſe great criminals whom the vengeance of

55 The princeſs Chriſtina, ſiſter to the duke of Saxe Teſchen, with her whole court, is ſaid to have attended to view the brilliant ſpectacle, in the hope of enjoying the triumph of conqueſt. It is even aſſerted that the princeſs herſelf applied the match to ſome of the engines of deſtruction.

"the

" the people ſo juſtly followed; there was the firſt focus of their baſe conſpiracies form-
" ed; and thence iſſued the firſt hordes of armed rebels, who have ſince encreaſed, and
" infeſted the ſhores of the Rhine, the Moſelle, and the Scheldt. It would be only
" amuſing the Aſſembly with needleſs details, were I to trace out the multiplied inju-
" ries which the French have ſuſtained for the three laſt years from the Sardinian go-
" vernment; we have not even thought it neceſſary, gentlemen, to ſubmit to your exa-
" mination the formal propoſal for making war on a prince, who, in reſpect to us, has
" violated all rights, treaties, and agreements. We will carry on war againſt him in an
" open and manly manner, but the guilt of that war will fall upon him alone.—He
" himſelf, indeed, declared war againſt us the day when he dared to inſult the majeſty of
" the French nation, in the perſon of our ambaſſador, arreſted, on the moſt frivolous and
" odious pretences, on the frontiers of the kingdom, open on all ſides to our enemies.
" He declared war againſt us when, notwithſtanding the expreſs tenor of ancient trea-
" ties, he filled with troops the fortreſs of Montmelian, and encreaſed his hoſtile prepa-
" rations in Savoy. He declared war againſt us when he acceded to the impious league
" of tyrants, when he invited the Auſtrian cohorts into his territories, and ordered an
" encampment to be traced out for them near his capital.

" It is worthy of remark, gentlemen, that when the court of Turin was proceeding
" to ſuch exceſſes againſt us, it had not even the events of the tenth of Auguſt (a day
" which, by baniſhing the remains of that charm which is ſtill attached to the name of
" king, laid among us the ſolid baſis of empire, liberty, and equality) to ſerve as a pre-
" tence for its conduct. If that day did not give us a new enemy in the king of Sar-
" dinia, it at leaſt ſupplied freſh fuel to his hatred. When an account of the events of
" that day reached Turin, a council, or ſort of congreſs, was held, for the purpoſe of
" deliberating on the meaſures neceſſary to be adopted in regard to France. The queſ-
" tion, whether or not it would be proper to attack us, was long debated in that coun-
" cil; and though the reſult of the deliberation was to ſuſpend that extremity, and to
" be contented with acting a paſſive part; we ought not to ſuffer ourſelves to be the
" victims of illuſion. It was not inclination, but ſtrength, that was wanting to our ene-
" my; his rage is not allayed, it is only feeble, and we have reaſon to be apprehenſive,
" that if we allow him time to augment his reſources, he will ſome day carry fire and the
" ſword into the ſouthern departments.

" Gentlemen, a nation may be placed in ſuch circumſtances, that the only method of
" defending itſelf with advantage, is to act on the offenſive. Such are thoſe, under
" which we are at preſent, in regard to the king of Sardinia. By paying reſpect to his
" apparent and perfidious neutrality, we ſhould only loſe the ſervice of a fine army,
" which may by uſefully employed, while that prince, in concert with our enemies,
" might every moment unite his force to theirs by his Italian ſtates; put them in poſ-
" ſeſſion of the important paſſages of the Alps; and over-awe us until a favourable op-

" portunity might occur of falling upon us with more hopes of ſucceſs. Under theſe " circumſtances, gentlemen, you will doubtleſs agree that we have only one courſe to " take—that of forcing to combat that enemy who wiſhes to lull us aſleep by a pretend- " ed appearance of inactivity. This is the determination of the proviſional executive " council. In virtue of your decree of the ſixteenth of July laſt, which authorizes to " repel, by the force of arms, every declared enemy who may be in a ſtate of actual hoſ- " tility againſt the French nation, the commander of the armies of the South had al- " ready made diſpoſitions for entering Savoy, and only waited for a formal order, which " we tranſmitted to him on the eighth of this month. All thoſe ſubſidiary means which " are likely to enſure the ſucceſs of this meaſure, have been purſued by the executive " power. Formidable diverſions will ſecond the effort of our arms, and before winter " we ſhall probably make the Alps a barrier between Frenchmen, the ſons of liberty, " and the tyrants of Italy."

Immediately on reading this report war was declared againſt the king of Sardinia; and, about the twentieth, general Monteſquiou entered the territories of Savoy. He deſcribes his march as " a triumph." He was received every where with joy, and troops flocked to his ſtandard from every part. He was waited upon by a deputation from Chamberry almoſt as ſoon as he paſſed the boundary, and on the twenty-firſt he proceeded to take poſſeſſion of that city. The municipality appeared at the gate, in their dreſs of ceremony, and delivered up the keys; teſtifying, in warm terms, the eſteem in which the people of Savoy held the French nation. At the Hotel de Ville he received the homage of all the citizens, and invited them to an entertainment which he had prepared for the purpoſe. As a mark of confidence, he left the Hotel de Ville in the cuſtody of their own town guard, a circumſtance which was received with great ſatisfaction by the citizens: after this the whole country of Savoy ſubmitted without reſiſtance.

The conqueſt of Savoy by the French ſpread an inſtant alarm over the adjoining ſtates, and the ariſtocratic faction in Geneva in particular felt no inconſiderable portion of uneaſineſs. From the other Swiſs cantons this party demanded a garriſon of one thouſand ſix hundred men, while a French party in the city were clamorous for placing the republic under the protection of France. There appears to have been reaſon to ſuſpect that the executive council of France were diſpoſed to take poſſeſſion of this flouriſhing republic, and, with or without reaſon, pretended to be offended by the admiſſion of the Swiſs garriſon. Monteſquiou, by their orders, preſented himſelf before the city. The ariſtocracy became immediately alarmed; they propoſed terms of conciliation to the French general, and the diſpute was terminated with apparent equity, on the one ſide, by the diſmiſſion of the Swiſs garriſon, and on the other, by the withdrawing of the French troops from the vicinity of the republic.

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The democratic party in Paris, however, could not eaſily forgive this conceſſion in their general. Monteſquiou was ſuſpected, and even charged with having received a bribe; and on the twenty-third of the ſame month he was accuſed in the Aſſembly of having tranſmitted to the court of Turin a plan of the defiles through which an invaſion of France might be attempted. They ſaid, "He had lied impudently in the face of the na-"tion, when he aſſerted that the king of Sardinia had ſixty thouſand men on the fron-"tiers, as it was well known that he had only thirty thouſand." Many of the depu-ties having ſupported this accuſation, it was unanimouſly decreed, that that general ſhould be deprived of his command, and that three commiſſioners ſhould be ſent to Ba-yonne and Perpignan to examine the ſtate of the frontiers in that part of the republic.

On the ſucceeding day three commiſſioners were diſpatched to calm the minds of the ſoldiers, who had been long irritated at the general and his ſtaff officers. The Conven-tion decreed, that the commiſſioners ſhould have power to ſuſpend both the general and his ſtaff officers, and to arreſt all who were ſuſpected.

The commiſſioners had ſcarcely left Paris, when the miniſter at war received a very ſpirited letter from the general, which he laid before the Convention; in which, after relating the particulars of his late operations, he enters at large on the ſub-ject of the various calumnies raiſed againſt him, and attempts their refutation; after reading and conſidering this letter, the Convention thought proper to paſs the following decree: "That the execution of their decree of the twenty-third of September was "ſuſpended, and that this ſuſpenſion ſhould continue in force until their commiſſioners "ſhould have enquired into the conduct of general Monteſquiou." This decree was ordered to be diſpatched by an extraordinary courier.

A few days ſubſequent to paſſing this decree, the general addreſſed the following epiſtle to the miniſter at war:

"CITIZEN PRESIDENT,

"I have as yet no information, but by the public papers, of the decree which an-"nounces my removal. I have received that which ſuſpends me officially. I reſpect, "as I ought, the decrees of the repreſentatives of the French people. It was their "duty to reject ſervices which they thought ſuſpicious, the moment they gave ſuch con-"fidence to my accuſers, as to take their aſſertions for proofs. If the truth could have "been heard, the National Convention would have known that all that was ſaid againſt "me was a collection of impoſtures; it would have known that I never preſented nor "ſubſcribed any petition; that the account preſented by me to the legiſlative aſſembly "of the forces of the king of Sardinia is perfectly exact; and that it was the exe-"cutive council that forbade the attack of Savoy; and that my very urgent repreſen-"tations, the repeated explanation of my plan, and my promiſe of ſucceſs, determined

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" the council to give me leave to act; it would have known that the fables repeated " by ſeveral journaliſts, of the unhealthineſs of the camps I had choſen, were ſo many " lies; it would have known that the moſt honourable confidence of my army is the " compenſation for all my labours.

" I have had the honour of rendering a ſervice to my country and to humanity, by " introducing the colours of liberty among a good people, who ſeem worthy of this " great benefit. No ſacrifice has poiſoned this bleſſing. The ſatellites of deſpotiſm have " fled from all parts before an army of citizens. Savoy is as much French as our eighty- " three departments, and its attachment to the nation has already diſplayed itſelf to the " general, who was the firſt of the French to plant the tree of liberty on a foreign " Baſtille. My courſe is run, and I can no longer hope to be uſeful. A general, whom " ſuſpicion has once ſurrounded, on whom the National Convention has once ſet the " mark of public diſtruſt, will no longer act with the neceſſary freedom of ſpirit, with " the heart-felt ſentiment of intention, always pure and honeſt. The intriguers who " have once perſecuted me, will never pardon my having conquered Savoy, the very " day on which they denounced me as a traitor. Every one of my operations will be " croſſed; every ſnare laid for the enemy will be denounced as an act of treaſon; ſecre- " cy, the ſoul of ſucceſs, will always conceal ſome ſuſpected intentions. I requeſt, Ci- " tizen Preſident, and I requeſt with earneſtneſs, by the love I bear my country, by at- " tachment and gratitude to an army to which I owe much, that another general may be " nominated in my room. Nothing can efface the decree of the twenty-third of Sep- " tember; and it is neceſſary that the citizen who commands a French army ſhould not " only be pure, but exempt from ſuſpicion. I ſolicit only one favour; permiſſion to re- " turn to my home, there to enjoy my rights of a citizen, and to prove, by the obſcurity " of my life, that if I ever entertained any ambition, it was that of ſerving my " country,

(Signed) " MONTESQUIOU."

On the ſeventh of October the Convention thought proper to annul their decree for removing him from the command; but as ſome difficulty aroſe as to the manner of doing this, it was reſolved, after much diſcuſſion, " That the ſimple repeal of the decree was " the beſt proof of their confidence in the general." Notwithſtanding the repeal of the decrees for the ſuſpenſion and removal of Monteſquiou, that general does not appear henceforward to have poſſeſſed the confidence of the Convention; and all his ſubſequent tranſactions in Geneva ſeem to have been viewed through a falſe or at leaſt a prejudiced medium. A letter was ſoon after written from the commiſſioners with his army, indi- rectly reflecting upon his conduct in unneceſſarily weakening his force, by diſbanding ſome volunteer grenadiers, at a time when he was ſuppoſed to be exerting himſelf to ef- fect the evacuation of Geneva, by the Swiſs, who had taken poſt in that city. It was in vain that the general had accompliſhed his end, by the convention with the Geneveſe.

Strongly

Strong ſymptoms of diſapprobation on the whole of his conduct were expreſſed in the Convention, which ended in a committee being appointed to enquire into the behaviour of the general; and a decree of accuſation was paſſed againſt him. But Monteſquiou having received private information of this event, and not being willing to encounter the humiliation and perſonal riſk of a public trial, found means to elude the ſearch made by the commiſſioners who were ſent to arreſt him, and is ſuppoſed to have fled for refuge into Switzerland.

General Anſelme, who had been bred an eccleſiaſtic, but had quitted the path of peace for the more noble but more hazardous profeſſion of arms, with another body of troops croſſed the Var, and, on the twenty-ninth of September, being gallantly ſupported by admiral Truguet, with nine ſail of the line, took poſſeſſion of Nice, which the Piedmonteſe garriſon evacuated immediately on the appearance of the French army. With the city of Nice, the fortreſs of Montalban, Villa Franca, and in ſhort the whole country of Nice, ſubmitted to the conquerors. Anſelme, on his firſt arrival, was extremely popular with the Piedmonteſe, who appeared well diſpoſed to unite with the French nation. But, whether from the imprudence of the general, or from want of diſcipline in the ſoldiery, it is not eaſy to determine, yet certain it is that the groſſeſt exceſſes were ſoon after committed, the French name was diſgraced, and the nation rendered odious in that quarter. On receiving information of theſe exceſſes, the Convention paſſed the following decree:

"The National Convention, after hearing the report of the diplomatic committee, "and the committee of war united, decree, That three commiſſioners, choſen from "among their own body, ſhall repair to the army of the Var, in the country of Nice, "and neighbouring places, to procure every neceſſary information reſpecting the facts "denounced by the deputies extraordinary of the city of Nice; to examine the conduct "of the officers and generals who may have authorized or tolerated the exceſſes commit-"ted; to learn the means they have employed to prevent and ſuppreſs them; to hear the "complaints of the inhabitants who have become victims to theſe diſorders; to trace "out and reſtore the effects which may have been taken from them; to ſuſpend provi-"ſionally, or arreſt, thoſe military agents who may have concurred in or ſuffered theſe "acts of licentiouſneſs; to iſſue ſuch proclamations, in caſe of neceſſity, as may tend to "reſtore diſcipline in the army; and, laſtly, to employ every method in their power to "ſecure the tranquillity of the inhabitants of Nice, and to bring back thoſe who, "through fear, may have abandoned their habitations."—Soon after general Anſelme was removed from the command, and committed to priſon.

One inſtance of ſeverity in admiral Truguet, which was indeed, in ſome degree, juſtified by the laws of war, and by groſs provocation, contributed likewiſe to injure the popularity of the French in the Sardinian territory. On the twenty-third of October the admiral

admiral arrived in the harbour of Onaglia, and having prepared a proclamation, inviting the inhabitants to a union with the French nation, he ſent it by captain Duchayla, under a flag of truce, to be preſented to the magiſtrates. The admiral followed the boat which proceeded with the flag of truce alone, and ordered the other veſſels to keep without gun-ſhot from the ſhore. The people, at firſt, appeared to receive the boat with demonſtrations of friendſhip; but at the moment when captain Duchayla was preparing to addreſs them at a ſmall diſtance, they aſſailed it with a volley of muſket-ſhot, by which the aid-de-camp of marſhal Lahouliere, who accompanied captain Duchayla, two midſhipmen, and four ſeamen were killed, and the captain himſelf, and adjutant general La Couverſiene, wounded. The magiſtrates affected to excuſe themſelves; but their apology not proving ſatisfactory to the admiral, he prepared to take an ample and indeed a cruel revenge. As ſoon as the boat was out of danger, he ordered his ſquadron to come to an anchor, and cannonade the town—At the ſame time it was attacked by land by marſhal Lahouliere, and, being taken by ſtorm, was ſurrendered to a general plunder, and afterwards ſet on fire in different places.

The conqueſts of Cuſtine in the circle of the Upper Rhine were no leſs brilliant than thoſe of his colleagues. It was with conſiderable difficulty, from the quantity of rain, and the badneſs of the roads, that he could collect his army at Landau by the twenty-ninth of September. On that morning, however, he proceeded towards Spires, where he arrived on the following day. He found the Auſtrians drawn up in order of battle before the town, having on their right an eminence, which is above the gate that looks towards Worms; before them a ravine, and their left extended among ſome gardens ſurrounded with thick hedges. In this poſition the general did not heſitate to attack them, and ſoon forced them to retreat within the walls of the city. Having made an effort to force the gates with cannon, and perceiving the ardour of his troops, he propoſed to cut them down with axes, and the propoſal was eagerly received by the ſoldiers. This they ſpeedily accompliſhed, and the French ruſhed into the town with their uſual impetuoſity; but the enemy, who had taken poſſeſſion of all the adjacent houſes, commenced a heavy and deſtructive fire immediately on their entering the place. Fortunately Cuſtine had taken the precaution to place at the head of the columns ſome howitzers and field-pieces, which enabled him to rally his troops, who were in ſome degree diſordered at firſt by the violence of the diſcharge of muſketry. The Auſtrians had, however, apparently no intention of maintaining their ground; they immediately retreated, and left Cuſtine maſter of the city. The French, on this occaſion, took upwards of three thouſand priſoners, beſides a great quantity of cannon, howitzers, &c.

The capture of Worms, by M. Neuvigner, with a detachment from Cuſtine's army, immediately ſucceeded that of Spires; and the movements of the French were ſo rapid that the enemy found it impoſſible to remove their ſtores; an immenſe quantity, therefore,

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M: CUSTINE.

Engravd for C. Lowndes and J. Parsons N.o 21 Paternoster Row July 10.th 179[illegible]

fore, of every kind were found in this place. Cuſtine laid the biſhop, the chapter, and the magiſtrates, under a heavy contribution: the loſs of the Auſtrians in this engagement was alſo conſiderable.

On the nineteenth of October, although impeded by a very heavy rain, general Cuſtine, by forced marches, arrived before Mentz. He had previouſly been informed of the ſtate of the fortreſs, and the ſtrength of the garriſon, which amounted to about ſix thouſand men. On the twentieth he ſummoned the governor to ſurrender, who returned for anſwer, that he meant to defend the town, but requeſted till the twenty-firſt to deliberate. Mean time the garriſon continued their fire; to ſilence which Cuſtine wrote a ſecond time in a very threatening ſtyle to the governor; on the receipt of which a capitulation was agreed upon, the chief article of which was, that the garriſon ſhould not ſerve againſt France for the ſpace of one year; and on the twenty-firſt the garriſon marched out with the honours of war.

On the twenty-third of October Franckfort ſhared the fate of Spires, Worms, and Mentz, and ſubmitted to this victorious commander. In conſequence of the protection and aſſiſtance which this city had afforded to the emigrants, Cuſtine thought proper to impoſe on the magiſtrates a fine of one million five hundred thouſand florins; but on their repreſentation he was afterwards induced to mitigate it to one million.

The ſucceſſive capture of three places, of ſuch conſiderable ſtrength and importance, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, is almoſt unparalleled in the annals of military affairs. The eager boldneſs and the fluſh of victory would have induced the general to penetrate to Coblentz, the general rendezvous of the emigrants: in this daring project he complained that he had been diſappointed by the inactivity and tardineſs of Kellermann. He had ordered that general to paſs the Sarre and the Moſelle, directly to Treves and Coblentz, and to leave a ſmall detachment to watch the motions of the Pruſſians in their retreat. Kellermann vindicated himſelf, however, by ſtating, that after Dumourier left him, he had only fifteen thouſand men under his command, and Valence not more than fourteen thouſand; while the Pruſſian force was upwards of five-and-fifty thouſand; conſequently, it would have been the height of imprudence to riſk a battle with ſuch a ſuperior force, neither was it ſafe to abandon the French territory again to their incurſions. Diſappointed in this favourite meaſure, Cuſtine proceeded to extend his conqueſts, and penetrated into the dominions of the prince of Heſſe. By the union of the Pruſſians with the Auſtrians and Heſſians, a check was, however, given to his career before the termination of the campaign. On the ſecond of December the Pruſſians appeared before Frankfort, the gates of which were, by the treachery of ſome of the populace, opened to them. The greateſt part of the French garriſon, amounting to one thouſand three hundred, were maſſacred; and many, who had been taken priſoners, were ſent the next

day to Mentz with their hands cut off: this diabolical action is aſſerted to have been committed by Heſſians in the diſguiſe of peaſants. After the city had ſurrendered, a ſevere engagement took place between the two armies, in which that of the Pruſſians are ſtated to amount to near fifty thouſand, more than double the force oppoſed to them by Cuſtine. The French, however, maintained their ground for above two hours, and then retired to the ſhelter of a wood, whence they were able to annoy their adverſaries, and keep them in check.

The enthuſiaſm of the French people at this time, in defence of their liberty, is perhaps unequalled in the hiſtory of mankind. Impelled by this idea, haſty levies of undiſciplined peaſants were ſpeedily converted into regular armies. Battalions, chiefly compoſed of boys, engaged with, and actually chaſed from the field, the diſciplined legions of Germany and Pruſſia; and though ignorant of military tactics, and having no regularly appointed authority, this principle alone was ſufficient to preſerve order and ſubordination. Even the ſofter ſex partook in the general ardour, and many of them proved themſelves to be little inferior, either in courage or conduct, to the braveſt of ours. The ſiſter of general Anſelme, the two miſs Fernigs, who ſerved as aids-de-camp to general Dumourier, together with many other females, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the moſt heroic exertions; and the French artillery was frequently ſerved by female warriors, who, regardleſs of the weakneſs and imbecility natural to their ſex, compenſated, by their ſpirit and activity, for the want of that force and vigour which has hitherto been excluſively attributed to the male.

Although the French, conſidered as a people long oppreſſed, and now ſtruggling for liberty, muſt attract the admiration of the hiſtorian, and their courage as ſoldiers gain his applauſe, yet their inability and weakneſs as legiſlators cannot fail equally to excite his contempt and ſurprize. On one of the laſt acts of the legiſlative aſſembly too much cenſure cannot be beſtowed, by every man who regards either good morals or ſocial order. This was no other, than to legalize adultery, and to authorize a community of women: a law was paſſed, which enabled the ordinary tribunals to pronounce a ſentence of divorce between any married couple, not only on mutual agreement, but on the application of either party, ſimply alledging as a cauſe, incompatibility of humour or character. The female children were directed, by this decree, to be entirely confided to the care of the mother, as were the males till they reached the age of ſeven years, when they were to be committed to the ſuperintendance of their father: provided only, that by mutual agreement any other arrangement might take place with reſpect to the diſpoſal of the children; or arbitrators might by choſen from the neareſt of kin to determine on the ſubject. The parents were to contribute equally to the maintenance of the offſpring, in proportion to their property, whether under the care of the father or mother. Family arbitrators were to be choſen to award the partition of property, or the alimentary

alimentary penſion to be allowed to the party divorced. Both parties were prohibited from forming a freſh connection for the ſpace of one year. The confuſion, litigation, domeſtic conteſts, and fatal jealouſies, that ſuch an arrangement muſt produce in families, might have been ſufficient to deter men of any information or judgment from ſo pernicious a meaſure; but theſe evils are trivial, when compared with the perverſion of the moral principle, which muſt neceſſarily enſue, the effeminate, luxurious, and profligate habits, that muſt follow this unreſtrained gratification of the animal propenſities. Men converſant in hiſtory might have known that the law of polygamy has been the moſt operative cauſe of enervating the Muſſulman empire; has rendered its ſubjects incapable of liberty or virtue; and that this very law of divorces was the immediate cauſe which overthrew the Roman republic.

The characteriſtic of the preſent Aſſembly was rather that of weakneſs than of diſhoneſty. The majority was compoſed of men who profeſſed to mean well to their country; but unfortunately, by the influence of the Paris mob, the intrigues of the Jacobins, and the activity of the republicans, a ſmall faction of anarchiſts and levellers gained the aſcendancy, and in the end became the ruling party. Had the Aſſembly in time taken the deciſive ſtep to decree the removal of the king and the legiſlature from the factious metropolis, they might ſtill have continued their labours with profit to their country, and ſome ſhare of honour to themſelves. But, after the fatal tenth of Auguſt, the legiſlature ſeemed to act entirely under the controul of the mob. The populace in the galleries, not the members on the benches, decided every queſtion. Dumas, Vaublanc, and all thoſe who united integrity with reſpectability of character and coolneſs of underſtanding, were ſilenced or expelled, and the ſuſpenſion of the king was ſpeedily followed by a ſuſpenſion of the whole collective wiſdom of the nation.

"Thus ended,"—ſays M. Briſſot—"after a year's exiſtence, that ſtormy legiſlature, "under which the public ſpirit made ſuch a rapid progreſs, and the French nation "marched with giant ſtrides towards a republic. It will be judged differently according "to the diverſity of paſſions, intereſts, and opinions. Royalty will conſider it as an aſ"ſembly of men, conſtant enemies to its idol, and who, from their ſitting to the mo"ment of their ſeparation, have ſecretly undermined the throne which they ſeemed to "reſpect with conſtitutional attention. Anarchy will repreſent it as a collection of "timid or corrupted deputies, who ſacrificed the people to the court, and liberty to the "conſtitution. Pure, but enlightened patriotiſm, which weighs neither circumſtances, "nor characters, will conſider it as a wavering aſſembly, deſtitute of principles;—an "aſſembly which has in turns attacked the court, and ſervilely ſubmitted to it; ſhaken the "conſtitution, and endeavoured to maintain it; and ſometimes favoured, and ſometimes "checked, the progreſs of the public ſpirit. But the patriot philoſopher, the true repub"lican, who appreciates efforts according to circumſtances, and judges effects according

"to the means employed to produce them, will compare what the National Aſſembly "has done, with what it might have done; and, without palliating its faults, or veiling "its errors, will declare that it has deſerved well of its country, becauſe if it had need of "a ſecond revolution to overthrow a treacherous court, it was it that excited, fomented, "and brought to maturity that revolution.

"In ſhort, when poſterity ſhall review the proceedings of this Aſſembly, it will "behold, not that it has overturned a conſtitutional church, built on the ruins of "national worſhip; that it has eſtabliſhed divorce; that it has deſtroyed the odious "diſtinction which prevailed between the white man and his brown, or black fel-"low-citizens; that it ordered the property of the emigrants to be ſold in ſmall lots, "and commons to be divided; that it pulled down the ariſtocratic barrier between "Frenchman and Frenchman, by the title of active citizen; that it has ſworn to hate "and combat kings and royalty; that it declared with courage, and ſupported with "firmneſs, war againſt the houſe of Auſtria, the cruel enemy of the liberty of Europe, "and the ſcourge of mankind; and, laſtly, that, hard preſſed between deſpotiſm attempt-"ing to recover its ſtrength, and anarchy which wiſhed to ſucceed, it has reſtored entire, "and even conſiderably augmented, the depoſit of national liberty."

On the twenty-third of September at noon, the hall in which the National Aſſembly had held their deliberations was left empty. The perſons who had but a few minutes before formed the legiſlative power, but who were then only citizens, entered, in a body, the hall of the palace of the Thuilleries, occupied by the National Convention. After the applauſe, with which they were received, had ceaſed, M. François de Neuſchateau ſpoke thus:

"Repreſentatives of the nation, the legiſlative aſſembly has ceaſed from its functions: "the late members of it haſten to be the firſt in giving to all the empire an example of "ſubmiſſion to the laws which you may decree. They congratulate themſelves upon "depoſiting in your hands the reins of government. They have reſolved, that their "firſt act, as ſimple citizens, ſhall be that of ſerving as a guard to the National Con-"vention, and of offering them the homage of their reſpect, in order to give to all the "French an example of bowing before the majeſty of the people whom you repreſent.

"We congratulate ourſelves, that, upon our voice, all the primary aſſemblies adhered "to the invitation which we gave them. By electing you, they have conſecrated the "extraordinary meaſures, which the ſafety of four-and-twenty millions may require "againſt the perfidy of one man, the motives of diviſion ought to ceaſe. The en-"tire nation is repreſented, and you are about to eſtabliſh a conſtitution upon the baſis "of liberty and equality. The end of your efforts will be, to give to the French, li-"berty, laws, and peace: liberty, without which the French can no longer live; laws, "the firmeſt foundation of liberty; peace, the only end of war.

"Liberty,

"Liberty, laws, and peace; theſe three words were written by the Greeks upon the "gate of the temple of Delphos: you will impreſs them upon the entire ſoil of "France. You will maintain, eſpecially between all the parts of the empire, the unity "of the government, of which you are the centre and the preſervative bond, and thus "will you accumulate the benedictions of your fellow-citizens."

On the meeting of the National Convention, though there was reaſon to complain that the legiſlative aſſembly was inferior in reſpectability to their predeceſſors, it was with grief and apprehenſion that men of ſenſe and reflection obſerved it compoſed of the refuſe of both. Petion, Robeſpierre, and a few of the moſt violent and leaſt reſpectable of the conſtituent aſſembly, were re-choſen on this occaſion; and Danton [56], Merlin, Chabot, and others, equally without property or rank, and totally devoid of any reſpectability of character, were ſelected from the preſent legiſlature. Foreigners were invited to become repreſentatives of France, and, unfortunately, this invitation was offered not for the extent of their abilities, nor for the reputation of integrity, but becauſe they had been the moſt active in the career of republicaniſm, and becauſe they had diſclaimed every title to moderation or judgment in their opinions on the ſcience of government. The celebrated Thomas Paine was invited to become a repreſentative of a department; and a Pruſſian of the name of Anacharſis Cloots, whom we have before had occaſion to notice (ſee p. 480,) as being the ſelf-appointed orator of the human race, and who played off the ludicrous farce of the dumb ambaſſadors, at the bar of the former Aſſembly, a wretched maniac, whom the humanity of this country would have charitably provided with medical aid in the ſolitude of Bedlam, was choſen to repreſent another. The department of Paris was, however, upon this as upon every other occaſion, firſt in infamy. There the proſtituted miſcreant, the infamous duke of Orleans (now diſtinguiſhed by the ludicrous name of Egalité, which he had aſſumed on the abolition of titles) was united with the equally infamous incendiary and aſſaſſin Marat; with the painter David; with Legendre, by profeſſion a butcher; and with ſeveral other equally *pure* and *reſpectable* characters. Buffoons, news-writers, and men from the loweſt ranks and ſtations, might be ſeen mingled with the degraded remnants of the *ci-devant* nobleſſe, and with ſuch of the clergy as had ſufficient laxity of principle to diſavow their engagements with the head of their church. Juſtice, however, obliges us to acknowledge that this heterogenous maſs included ſome men reſpectable for their talents, and ſome unim-

[56] Danton is a man of too much importance to be left out of the Convention on any account: in conformity with the principle that no one citizen ſhould poſſeſs two offices under the government, he ſent in his reſignation of the office of miniſter of juſtice, and retained that of member of the Convention. He was the firſt who propoſed that the conſtitution which they were about to form ſhould be preſented to the nation, and ſhould not have force till it was accepted by the majority of the people of France, united in primary aſſemblies. This and another propoſal of his were decreed, namely, that property and perſons were under the ſafeguard of the nation.

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peached as to their integrity. The ſhining abilities of Condorcet, as a writer, does not compenſate for his evident inexperience and imbecility as a ſtateſman; nor do the metaphyſical talents of the abbé Sieyes appear the beſt adapted to the practical purpoſes of political life.

From a body of men thus collected in a moment of political ferment, but little of wiſdom, little of unanimity, little of moderation, was to be expected. Their firſt movements were raſh, haſty, and without deliberation; they ſoon divided into factions, diſgracing the name of a legiſlature by altercation, abuſe, and even by that laſt reſort in vulgar diſputes—pugiliſtic conteſts. At the firſt meeting Petion was elected preſident; Condorcet, vice-preſident; and Camus, Vergniaud, Laſource, Briſſot, and Rabaud, ſecretaries.

As ſoon as the new Convention had gone through the ordinary buſineſs of chooſing its officers, &c. the following diſcuſſion took place, which, as being productive of the moſt arbitrary and unjuſt meaſure that had yet been purſued, and which was no leſs than the total deprivation of the lawful authority of the ſovereign, deſerves to be recorded.

M. Tallien moved, "That the National Convention ſhould enter into a ſolemn engagement not to ſeparate until they have eſtabliſhed a government upon the firm baſis of liberty and equality."——*M. Merlin the younger.* "Let us not ſwear but promiſe to ſave the people.——*M. Couthon.* "We ought to do every thing to ſhew ourſelves worthy of that confidence with which the people have honoured us. Fatal reports are now circulating among the people. Some have dared to ſpeak of royalty. I have heard others, and I ſhudder at it, mention a dictator and a triumvirate—Theſe, however, I believe to be the calumnies of our enemies. It is the duty of the Convention, therefore, to explain clearly thoſe principles upon which they mean to found their proceedings. Let us all ſwear to maintain *the ſovereignty of the people—the whole of that ſovereignty—and nothing but that ſovereignty.* Let us decree the puniſhment of death to thoſe who ſhall dare to make any attempt upon the ſovereignty of the people, liberty, and equality."——*M. Danton.* Tranquillity muſt be reſtored; the tyrants are overthrown; the law then muſt reſume its empire; and it muſt be as terrible in adminiſtering juſtice as the fury of the people has been in exerciſing vengeance. Let us declare, that territorial property, and the fruits of induſtry, are ſacred. Let us place the ſafety of perſons under the protection of the nation. Let us eſtabliſh theſe grand baſes of public felicity, and thus end our labours—we ſhall then have done enough."

After various propoſitions, which occaſioned ſome debate, the following decree was paſſed by the Convention:

"The



M: Tallien.

Engravd for C. Lowndes and I. Parsons N.o 21 Paternoster Row. Novem.r 22.d 1794

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M. DANTON.

Engraved for C. Lowndes & J. Parsons N.o 21 Paternoster Row. Aug.t 16 1794.

"The National Convention declare, that there can be no conſtitution but that which "is accepted by the people. They alſo declare, that perſons and property are under the "protection of the laws; that they will afterwards concert the mode which the French "people at large ſhall purſue to manifeſt their opinion reſpecting that conſtitution "which ſhall be preſented to them."—It was then moved, "That the National Con-"vention ſhould expreſsly declare, that all the authorities at preſent in the exerciſe of "their functions, ſhall be proviſionally maintained until further orders."—This occaſioned ſome debate, and at laſt the principle of the motion was decreed in the following words: "1. Thoſe laws which have not been abrogated, and thoſe powers which have not "been ſuſpended, ſhall be proviſionally preſerved and ſupported.—2. The taxes actually "exiſting ſhall be collected as formerly."

M. Collot-d'Herbois. "You have juſt now formed a wiſe reſolution; but there is one "which you cannot defer till to-morrow, nor yet till the evening—no, not even a ſingle "moment, without being unfaithful to the wiſhes of the nation: that reſolution is—*The "abolition of royalty.*"——*M. Gregoire.* "No one certainly will ever propoſe to us to "preſerve in France the fatal race of kings. We muſt give perfect ſecurity to all "the friends of liberty. We muſt deſtroy that taliſman, the magic force of which "might ſtill have power to ſtupify mankind. I move, therefore, that you ſanction, by a "ſolemn law, *the abolition of royalty.*"

The Aſſembly here roſe unanimouſly, and decreed, by a loud acclamation, the motion made by M. Gregoire.

M. Bazire. "The Aſſembly has manifeſted, by the unanimity of its acclamations, "its profound hatred for kings. This ſentiment, ſo conſonant to the wiſhes of the "whole French nation, cannot but be applauded. But it would be alarming to ſee an "Aſſembly take into conſideration, in the moment of enthuſiaſm, an object of ſo much "magnitude. I move that the queſtion be deferred."——*M. Gregoire.* "What need is "there to diſcuſs it, when every one is agreed? Kings are in the moral order what "monſters are in the phyſical.—Courts are receptacles of crimes, and the dens of ty-"rants. The hiſtory of kings is the martyrology of nations. When we are all per-"fectly ſenſible of this truth, what need is there for deliberating on it? I move that the "Aſſembly ſhall divide on my motion."—M. Gregoire's motion was then put, and una-nimouſly carried, in the following form:

"THE NATIONAL CONVENTION DECREES, THAT
"ROYALTY IS ABOLISHED IN FRANCE."

This decree was followed by loud and long continued applauſes, and the exclamation of *Vive la Nation!* The *Proces-Verbal* of this ſitting was ordered to be ſent by expreſſes to all the departments and the armies, and to be proclaimed in the city of Paris.

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Thus, after a ſhort diſcuſſion, which did not even merit the name of a debate, was that throne overturned, which had ſubſiſted for ſo many centuries; which had been for ages the glory and adoration of the French nation; the envy of ſurrounding ſtates, and whoſe ſplendor, like the meridian ſun, dazzled the eyes of the admiring ſtranger!

FIRST YEAR
OF
THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

September, 1792.] ON the day ſucceeding the memorable decree for the abolition the royal authority, of the following decrees were paſſed, confirming that reſolution:

"1. That all the public acts ſhall be dated, "*The firſt year of the French Republic.*"—"2. That the ſtate ſeal ſhall be changed, and have for legend "*French Republic.*"—"3. That the national ſeal ſhall repreſent a woman ſitting on a bundle of arms, and having in her hand a pike with the cap of liberty upon it; and on the exergue, "*Archives of the French Republic.*"—"4. And that petitioners ſhall not be admitted to the bar but "during the evening ſittings."

Every citizen was now declared eligible to all vacant places; and even the judges might be elected from among ordinary tradeſmen. The diſtinction eſtabliſhed by the conſtituent aſſembly, between *active* and *paſſive* citizens, was aboliſhed. In the courſe of the ſucceeding ſittings, the Convention reſolved, "That the French republic no longer ac-"knowledges princes; that, therefore, their appanages ſhould be alſo ſuppreſſed." The word "REPUBLIC" was alſo ordered to be ſubſtituted in the oaths and other public acts, inſtead of the word "NATION." On the twenty-ſeventh of September, the penſions granted by the conſtituent aſſembly to the ejected clergy were ordered to ceaſe; with an exception in favour of thoſe above fifty years of age, whoſe penſions, however, were not to exceed one thouſand livres (50 l.) per annum. On this occaſion, Manuel roſe to propoſe, "*That as royalty was aboliſhed, the order of prieſts, and all religious eſtabliſh-*"*ments, ſhould be aboliſhed along with it!*" The impartiality of hiſtory compels us to record, that, to the honour of the Convention, his propoſal was heard with murmurs, and rejected with the utmoſt diſdain.

The

MAP of FRANCE,

Divided into Departments:

as decreed by the National Assembly.

Jan.ʳʸ 15. 1790.

ENGLAND

THE ENGLISH CHANNEL

BAY OF BISCAY

NETHERLANDS

PART OF GERMANY

SWITZERLAND

PART OF ITALY

PART OF SPAIN

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

Pyrenee Mountains

The Alps

Straits of Dover

Dover

Bruges

Gand

BRUSSELS

Liege

Namur

Mons

Lille

Dunkerque

Calais

Boulogne

Etaples

Abbeville

Amiens

Dieppe

Le Havre de Grace

Rouen

Caen

Cherbourg

La Hougue

Alderney I.

Guernsey I.

Jersey I.

Chausey

I. Burou

Lof Bas

Lof Ushant or Ouessant

Brest Harb.

Bay of Douarnenez

I.s of Glenans

Lof Croix

Bell Isle

I.de Noirmoutier

I. Dieu

Pertius Breton

Lof Re

Pertius Antiache

I.of Oleron

Gironde R.

Bordeaux

Bayonne

St Jean de Luz

Les Sables d'Olone

Rochelle

Nantes

Angers

Tours

Orleans

Le Mans

Rennes

Brest

Quimper

Morbihan

Finisterre

Cote du Nord

Lower Seine

Manche

Calvados

Orne

Eure & Loire

Seine & Oise

Seine & Marne

Paris

Aisne

Somme

Pas de Calais

Nord

Lys R.

Escaut R.

Sambre R.

Meuse R.

Ardenne

Marne

Meuse

Moselle

Mozelle R.

Rhine R.

Maintz or Mayence

Treves

Luxembourg

Metz

Nancy

Strafbourg

Manheim

Spire

Landau

Deux Ponts

Lower Rhine

Upper Rhine

Upper Marne

Vosges

Upper Saone

Aube

Troyes

Yonne

Cote d'or

Dijon

Doubs

Besançon

Soleurre

Berne

Basle

Brisack

Huningue

Jura

Ain

Mont Blanc

Savoy

Geneva

Chambery

Grand St Bernard

M.Blanc

Isere

Grenoble

Turin

Lausanne

Lof Geneve

Rhone & Loire

Lyon

Puy de Dome

Clermont

Allier

Moulins

Nevers

Bourges

Cher

Nyevre

Saone & Loire

Upper Loire

Cantal

Correze

Creuse

Up. Vienne

Limoges

Dordogne

Lot & Garonne

Lot

Aveiron

Lozere

Mende

Gard

Upper Tarn

Herault

Montpellier

Aude

Perpignan

Eastern Pyrenees

Arriege

Upper Garonne

High Pyrenees

Low Pyrenees

Landes

Gers

Gironde

Charente

Lower Charente

Deux Sevres

Vienne

Indre

Indre & Loire

Loire & Cher

Loiret

Eure

Mayenne

Mayenne & Sarte

Isle & Vilaine

Lower Loire

Maine & Loire

Cote du Nord

Finisterre

Morbihan

la Vendée

Ardeche

Drome

High Alps

Low Alps

Var

Mouth of the Rhone

Contat Venaissin

Avignon

Aix

Marseille

Toulon

Hyeres

Hyeres I.

St Tropez

Frejus

Antibes

Grasse

Nice

Vintimiglia

Monaco

Scale of English Miles 69½ to a Degree

10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

Long. West from London

Long. East from London.

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The rage of republicaniſm was, at this period, carried to an exceſs of folly hitherto unexampled. With a frivolity totally diſgraceful to a nation, the innocent and indiſcriminating titles of *Monſieur* and *Madame* were relinquiſhed, and the awkward phraſeology of *Citizen* ſubſtituted in their ſtead. The croſſes of Saint Louis, which had been beſtowed on the knights of that order, were ordered to be ſurrendered to the ſtate, not as patriotic donations, but as a reſtitution. The ſudden diſſolution of the judicial boards was a more ſerious meaſure, and appeared ſo dangerous and raſh, to all perſons in the leaſt acquainted with the principles of goverment, and accuſtomed to the preſervation of order, that even Thomas Paine, who is conſidered as an anarchiſt in principle, deprecated the haſty adoption of this decree, and intreated that the tribunals might be gradually changed, inſtead of releaſing the nation at once, though for a ſhort period, from the ſalutary reſtraints of law.

The conqueſt of Savoy held a temptation which the convention was not poſſeſſed of fortitude to reſiſt. Contrary to all their former profeſſions of zeal for the liberties of mankind, this feeble and injudicious aſſembly annexed it to their own government, and converted it into an eighty-fourth department, under the name of Mont Blanc; thus by one falſe ſtep they loſt the confidence of all Europe, and afforded a precedent for future decrees, which nearly proved fatal to the liberty and independance of France. The decree which renounced conqueſt, and which limited the operations of war to the ſimple principle of ſelf-defence, was worthy of an *enlightened* people, in an *enlightened* age; and will ever be recorded to the honour of that body which enacted ſo juſt, ſo politic a law. The deviating from that principle degraded a free people to the level of deſpotic ſtates, and was at once the moſt convincive proof of the weakneſs or the diſhoneſty of the convention. The incapacity of that body even to conduct the common buſineſs of a nation, was alſo ſoon evinced by their unworthy and ingrateful treatment of their generals and commanders. La Fayette, it might fairly be ſaid, had forfeited their confidence by avowing and adopting principles diametrically oppoſite to thoſe which they thought proper to conſtitute as the baſis of their new government. But againſt Luckner there was no ſpecific charge. Yet he was denounced as an enemy to the country; the moſt atrocious falſhoods were aſſerted concerning him; and, finally, he was diſmiſſed the ſervice.

General Dillon had agreed to an armiſtice with the prince of Heſſe, at a criſis when theſe unqualified legiſlators (the greater part of whom were totally ignorant of military tactics, and conſequently incompetent to form any judgement on the art of war; therefore muſt have been unacquainted with the particular ſituation of Dillon) choſe to credit the ſuggeſtion that he might have captured the major part of the Heſſians at the time of their retreat: for this was he denounced and accuſed, though he afterwards had ſufficient addreſs to procure a reverſal of the decree.—We have alſo evinced the verſatility of opinion, and the indeciſion, which diſgraced their proceedings, in the inſtance of

general Monteſquiou, who was this day cenſured, the next ſuſpended, and a day or two after diſmiſſed the ſervice; and yet one ſhort week ſcarcely elapſes ere we find this *judicious* and *conſiſtent* body of legiſlators contending which was the moſt honourable method of reſcinding their own decrees, and reſtoring him to all the honours of his ſituation. After this is it not aſtoniſhing that, without any other oſtenſible reaſon than mere party manœuvres, and after no greater lapſe of time than ten or twelve days, we ſhould ſee this ſame Convention employed in a farther conſideration of his conduct, ſo far undoing all their former meaſures, as to force him to fly his country for ever, and take refuge in Switzerland, to avoid the digrace of a public trial, and perhaps to ſecure his life, which, from the implacability of his enemies, would have been greatly endangered? The whole of the proceedings in this ſingular buſineſs, from the commencement of the diſcuſſion to the concluſion, not occupying above *ſeventeen days!* In ſhort, ſuch was the abſurdity of their conduct, that they ſcarcely left the Republic a general capable of commanding its armies, or an officer in whom they could place confidence. Great care is undoubtedly neceſſary in inveſting an individual with the command in chief; but when it is entruſted to him, a conſiderable ſhare of confidence ſhould always accompany it. No man of character and abilities in his profeſſion will riſk his life, happineſs, and reputation, without the proſpect of a competent reward: and if, after the moſt meritorious ſervices, a military character has nothing to look forward to but ingratitude and detraction, his conduct muſt ſoon take an oppoſite direction to that of patriotiſm; ſelf-preſervation and private emolument will then be the principal objects of his attention, and he will rather endeavour to ſecure a comfortable retreat, than expoſe himſelf in a conteſt where every thing may be loſt, and nothing can poſſibly be gained.

Scarce had the Convention aſſembled, and commenced their operations, when the demon of diſcord ſeems to have made ſome ſucceſsful attempts in ſowing the ſeeds of diſſention; the fruits of which ſpeedily made their appearance in that mutual jealouſy and diſtruſt of each other, ſo natural to perſons of their characters and diſpoſitions. On the twenty-ſixth of September, only *five days* from their firſt meeting, on a motion for a guard to protect the perſons of the deputies, a member denounced Robeſpierre—and in which charge Marat was likewiſe implicated—of wiſhing to aſſume to himſelf independent authority, and aſpiring at the dictatorſhip [56]; and, at the ſame time, and apparently not

[56] Upon a propoſal made by M. Merlin, for allotting a guard to the National Convention from the eighty-three departments, a long debate aroſe. M. Merlin ſaid, that a dictatorial party had been denounced to him in the Aſſembly; he demanded to have this party pointed out, that he might *poniard the firſt man* who ſhould arrogate to himſelf the power of a dictator.——M. Laſource made a very able reply. He had not ſpoken of a dictator, or a dictatorſhip; but he had alluded to a dictatorial power, which ſome men of intrigue and ambition might aim at. At the concluſion of his ſpeech he referred to the authors of the late diſorders; and one or two members mentioned M. Robeſpierre——M. Robeſpierre roſe to defend himſelf, and proceeded for ſome time, without appearing to ſpeak to the real accuſation. Several members called upon him to ſpeak plainly, and Lecointre ſaid, "Robeſ-
"pierre,

not upon the worſt grounds, with being, indirectly at leaſt, concerned in the horrid maſſacres of the ſecond and third of September. In the courſe of this brief diſcuſſion much of that ſanguinary temper which has diſgraced ſeveral of the members of that body, made its appearance. It ſhould, however, be mentioned, to the honour of the Convention, that a committee was appointed to enquire into the facts relative to the maſſacres; but unfortunately the predominant influence of the Pariſian mob deterred them from proſecuting the enquiry as far as juſtice demanded.

Danton having reſigned the office of miniſter of juſtice, on being elected a member of the Convention, Roland requeſted a ſimilar permiſſion, but he retained his office for a ſhort time longer, at the particular requeſt of the Convention. The ſtatement of the finances by the miniſter, Claviere, was clear and able. He recommended œconomy in the various departments; and, with an honourable attention to the morals of the people, reprobated lotteries. The war miniſter, Servan, next reſigned, and was ſucceeded by Pache.

It would only be a waſte of time, to detail debates which were productive of no permanent effect, or to regiſter decrees too inſignificant to be remembered. Thoſe which were enacted againſt the emigrants are the moſt important. On the ninth of October it was decreed, "That all emigrants, taken in arms, ſhould be put to death within four-and-"twenty hours after they had been declared guilty by a military committee; and that all fo-"reigners who, ſince the fourteenth of July, 1789, had quitted the ſervice of France, "and entered into that of the enemy, ſhould be conſidered as armed emigrants." The ſeve-rity of this decree was, however, far exceeded by that of the twelfth of November, which extended the penalties of death to what they termed *reputed* emigrants, or thoſe not immediately engaged in hoſtilities. By a further decree of the twenty-ſeventh, thoſe unfortunate men, who had returned in the hope of finding pardon and relief in the boſom of their country, were ordered to depart in four-and-twenty hours, and the penalty of death was awarded againſt ſuch as ſhould not obey within the given time. Whatever apologies may be urged for the peculiar and critical ſituation of France, in favour of theſe decrees, they

"pierre, do not tell us what you did in the conſtituent aſſembly, but ſay plainly whether you have aſpired to a dic-"tatorſhip, or a triumvirate?"

Marat, alſo, was accuſed of writings, tending to excite the people to aſſaſſination. He, with difficulty, (for the Aſſembly were unwilling to hear it) read a long defence of himſelf. At length the order of the day was called for, and carried. In the courſe of his defence, Marat ſaid, "If you enquire concerning my heart, I can anſwer with "truth, that it is pure; but as to my thoughts, they are my own; no power under heaven has a right to demand "an account of them. I declare, that if the decree is carried againſt me, I ſhall here blow my brains out" As he pronounced theſe words *he drew a piſtol from his pocket:* the ſight of the weapon, and the expreſſive geſtures of M. Marat, agitated the Convention conſiderably; but the moderate part of the Aſſembly called for the order of the day.—*Proces-Verbal.*

will

will ſcarcely be ſuch as completely to ſatisfy the friends of freedom. It is neceſſary to notice another decree, as it has excited more attention than almoſt any other proceeding of the Convention, and has, perhaps, made them more enemies in foreign countries than any meaſure which could have been adopted. The decree of *fraternity* of the nineteenth of November is that to which we allude. The circumſtance in which this imprudent reſolution originated, was an inſurrection in the balliwick of Darmſtadt, in the territories of the duke of Deux Ponts, who was then at war with the French nation. The people, headed by the magiſtrates and principal inhabitants of the diſtrict, had declared their wiſhes to be united to the republic, and had ſolicited her protection againſt their former maſter. To have acceeded to this requeſt, would have been acting in ſome meaſure agreeably to the practice of nations; but, with their uſual enthuſiaſm, without debate, without deliberation, the Convention paſſed a decree in the following terms: "The "National Convention declare, in the name of the French nation, that they will grant "fraternity and aſſiſtance to *all thoſe people who wiſh to procure liberty*; and they charge "the executive power to ſend orders to the generals, to give aſſiſtance to ſuch people as "have ſuffered, or are now ſuffering, in the cauſe of liberty." The attempts ſince made by the Convention to palliate or excuſe this decree, have appeared, if poſſible, ſtill more abſurd than the decree itſelf; and only tend to ſhew that the Convention were in reality aſhamed of their own act, and wanted ſpirit to extricate themſelves from the difficulty by a direct repeal.

Notwithſtanding the diſſolution of all regular government ſince the tenth of Auguſt, the country was in general more tranquil than could be expected in ſuch a ſeaſon of anarchy. Happily the greateſt atrocities were confined to the vicinity of the metropolis; we cannot, however, omit mentioning, that in many inſtances the ſoldiery conducted themſelves in a diſorderly and ferocious manner. On the ninth of October the firſt diviſion of the national Gendarmerie arrived at Cambray; and ſcarcely had they entered that town before they proceeded in a body to the priſons, and liberated all who were confined, except one poor wretch, named Canone d'Hercique, who was charged with a robbery; the ſecond diviſion, who arrived on the tenth, finding him only, and underſtanding the nature of his crime, beheaded him. The officers of the ſecond battalion of volunteers, who were in garriſon in the citadel, cauſed the gates to be ſhut, to prevent a communication with the ſoldiers of the Gendarmerie; but Beſambre, the ſecond lieutenant, who was one of the moſt active in endeavouring to bring them back to their duty, fell a victim to their fury. A tale was invented by his own ſoldiers, and told to the Gendarmerie, who ſeized him and dragged him along the eſplanade, where, after ſtabbing him in ſeveral places, they cut off his head. Captain Le Gros, of the ſixth ſquadron of cavalry, likewiſe ſhared the ſame fate, and for a ſimilar offence. A general inſurrection immediately ſucceeded, nor was it quelled without the moſt ſtrenuous exertions, in the courſe of which even the mayor incurred the moſt imminent perſonal danger.

On

We now turn from the conſideration of the ſtate of affairs in the metropolis, to take a ſlight view of the military operations of Dumourier, On the twelfth of October, that general repaired to Paris, to concert meaſures to be purſued in the winter campaign, and after remaining there only four days, returned to the army to make the neceſſary arrangements, and to prepare for entering the Auſtrian Netherlands. From the period when the ſiege of Liſle was raiſed, the Auſtrians had continued to retire before the French. Having arrived, however, within their own territories, they determined to make a ſerious ſtand, and they there began to collect their ſcattered forces. The firſt reſiſtance which Dumourier experienced, was at the village of Boſſu, which is ſituated about a league from the ſince celebrated poſt of Jemappe. At this place the enemy had taken an excellent poſition; but they were totally unable to withſtand the French artillery, and the ardour of the cavalry. The force of the Auſtrians was from eight to ten thouſand; of which number one hundred and fifty were killed, and near two hundred taken priſoners: while the French loſs was only twenty. This action took place on the fourth of November; and ſo little did the Auſtrians expect an attack, at that time, that the officers had prepared a very ſplendid banquet, which the French arrived juſt in time to take poſſeſſion of.

From Boſſu Dumourier proceeded, the next morning, towards Mons, where he came in ſight of the enemy, ſtrongly poſted on the heights of Jemappe. Their right wing was covered by the village of Jemappe, and the river; and their left by thick foreſts. Three rows of fortifications were erected one above another, like ſeats in an amphitheatre, on which were mounted near one hundred pieces of cannon. Had the general therefore truſted entirely to his artillery in this engagement, the advantage of the ſituation was ſo infinitely in favour of the enemy, that a defeat muſt probably have been the conſequence. The French army, which was principally compoſed of young men, had been long ambitious of a cloſe engagement. The general perceived this diſpoſition, and though he ſecretly favoured their wiſhes, yet he reſtrained their ardour, only with a view of encreaſing it. The French having paſſed all that night in ſight of the enemy, at ſeven o'clock in the morning of the ſixth a very heavy cannonade commenced on both ſides, and continued till ten, without producing any effect in favour of the French: which confirmed Dumourier in his opinion with reſpect to the mode of attack which it would be proper to purſue. As he rode along the lines, the troops teſtified the utmoſt impatience to charge the enemy with bayonets. The general contented himſelf, however, with ordering colonel Thevenot, adjutant-general, to attack the village of Carignon, in order to enable him to aſſail Jemappe on that ſide; and at the ſame time, by bringing his artillery nearer, to produce greater effect.

At noon a cloſe attack was determined on. The French troops ſelected for this purpoſe amounted to near thirty thouſand, and the Auſtrians are computed to have been about four-and-twenty thouſand, three thouſand of which were cavalry. The right

wing of the French, conſiſting of the van-guard, was commanded by Bournonville and Dampierre; and the center by Egalité junior, Deſporets, Stetenboffe, and Drouet. The infantry almoſt inſtantaneouſly formed, and the general preſenting himſelf in the front of the line, the muſic, by a ſignal previouſly appointed, began to play the celebrated Marſeillois ſong. The ſoldiers, thus encouraged, ruſhed impetuouſly on, with ſhouts of "*Vive la Nation!*" and joined in the chorus of their favourite tune. The firſt line of redoubts was inſtantly carried. The Auſtrian cavalry, however, advancing at this criſis, with a view of flanking the French, young Egalité was diſpatched to repel this attack, and was ſupported moſt opportunely by a detachment of chaſſeurs and huſſars. At this time ſome diſorder appearing in Bournonville's cavalry, Dumourier rallied them himſelf; while the left wing, which conſiſted chiefly of the Belgian volunteers, obtained poſſeſſion of Jemappe, and the centre carried the ſecond line of redoubts. After ſome reſiſtance on the heights, the enemy, about two o'clock, retreated with precipitation and diſorder towards Mons. In this engagement the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance the French experienced was from the Hungarians, whoſe ranks were ſo impenetrable that they could only be forced by being cut down. The loſs of both parties in this action muſt have been great, for ſeldom has there been a field more obſtinately conteſted; the Auſtrian loſs muſt have far exceeded that of the French, as the flying enemy always ſuffer moſt conſiderably; but Dumourier probably exaggerated the loſs, when he ſtated it at four thouſand, killed and wounded; while he eſtimates his own at only nine hundred: had he brought the loſs on both ſides more on an equality, it had, perhaps, been nearer the fact.

The buſineſs of this day could not fail to give the Auſtrians a reſpectable opinion of French valour. Several ſignal acts of courage were performed. The young general Egalité acquired great reputation; and ſuch was the enthuſiaſm of all ranks, that Baptiſte, Dumourier's valet-de-chambre, rallied and brought up to the charge a regiment of dragoons and two battalions of national guards, who had been repulſed; and was the firſt who ruſhed, ſword in hand, into the Auſtrian entrenchments[57]. The victory of Jemappe was deciſive as to the fate of the Netherlands. Dumourier inſtantly ſummoned the city of Mons, which ſurrendered on the ſucceeding morning, and was taken poſſeſſion of by general Bournonville. From Mons the general proceeded to Bruſſels, which place he entered on the fourteenth of November. On the heights of Anderlecht, adjacent to the city, the rear of the enemy, amounting to about ten thouſand, commanded by prince de Wirtemberg, affected to make a ſtand, but probably only with a view of fa-

57 Baptiſte, Dumourier's valet, having received a letter of recommendation from the general, attended colonel La Rue to Paris, with diſpatches, containing an account of this ſignal victory, and was by him introduced to the bar of the Convention, where he was received with the loudeſt acclamations, introduced into the body of the hall, and received the fraternal embrace from the preſident. Being aſked what reward would be acceptable to him, he only requeſted he might in future be permitted to wear the national uniform: a complete ſuit was inſtantly voted him; and Dumourier received inſtructions to take the firſt opportunity of promoting him to ſome rank in the army.

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vouring the retreat of the governors and civil authorities from Bruſſels. After a conteſt, which laſted near ſix hours, in the courſe of which, the French general aſſerts, an immenſe number of the enemy were killed, the Auſtrians followed the main army, and Dumourier entered Bruſſels in triumph. The moderation and wiſdom of that general were equal in every reſpect to his military abilities. He immediately informed the citizens that it was his intention carefully to avoid all interference with the internal government of the country. A proviſional legiſlative aſſembly was choſen, among whom were the duc d'Urſel, baron Walkiers, and other diſtinguiſhed patriots. Happy had it been for France, as well as for the Netherlands, if the ſame ſyſtem of moderation had continued to prevail. It is a ſingular fact, that Dumourier, in the courſe of his correſpondence with the French miniſters, had poſitively declared—though that declaration muſt ſavour very ſtrongly of bombaſt—that he would be in poſſeſſion of Bruſſels in time to ſpend his Chriſtmas at that place. This aſſertion was really founded on an actual knowledge of the ſtate of the enemy, though it was at the time regarded as an extravagant boaſt; but how much were they ſurprized to find that he had anticipated the performance of his engagement by five weeks!

While the arms of the republic, under the direction of Dumourier, were thus occupied, Tournay, Ghent, Malines, and Antwerp, opened their gates to general Labourdonnaye. Louvain and Namur, after a feeble reſiſtance by the Auſtrian general, Beaulieu, were taken by general Valence; Oſtend was captured by the French fleet on the fifteenth of November; the citadels of Antwerp and Namur reſiſted for a ſhort time, but the former capitulated, on the twenty-eighth of November, to general Miranda, and the latter, on the ſecond of December, to general Valence: in a word, the whole of the Auſtrian Netherlands, Luxembourg only excepted, were ſubjected to the victorious arms of France before the concluſion of the year.

On the eighteenth of November, general Dumourier received a flag of truce from the prince de Saxe Teſchen, conveying a propoſal, on the part of general Clairfait, for a ſuſpenſion of arms during the remainder of the winter ſeaſon. To have acceded to this propoſal, and to have diſbanded a part of the army, and put the reſt into winter quarters, would have been wiſe conduct in the French, and was that which there is reaſon to think the inclinations of the general would have led him to purſue. He however returned a verbal anſwer, "That he could only ſend general Clairfait's letter to the executive "council of the republic, and in the mean time ſhould continue the operations of the "campaign."

As it is probable that the determination of the executive council was in favour of a winter campaign, the active genius of Dumourier loſt no time in following up his ſucceſſes, and purſued the flying enemy into the territory of Liege. On the twenty-firſt of November he proceeded, with an advanced guard of five thouſand men, to Tirlemont,

where the whole of the enemy's army was encamped behind the city, with an advanced guard of three or four thouſand men, on the heights of Cumptich. He attacked, with his almoſt irreſiſtible artillery, this advanced guard, which was reinforced by five thouſand men, who had remained totally inactive. At break of day on the twenty-ſecond the whole of the Auſtrian army decamped from Tirlemont, after having loſt in this action not leſs than four hundred of their beſt troops. Dumourier halted only one day at Tirlemont, and on the twenty-ſeventh overtook again, almoſt at the gates of Liege, the rear-guard of the Imperialiſts, amounting to twelve thouſand men, and commanded by general Staray. The French drove them ſucceſſively from ſix villages, and at laſt from an entrenchment. This conflict laſted ten hours, in which the Auſtrians loſt their general, Staray, an immenſe train of artillery, and five or ſix hundred men killed and wounded, beſides a number of priſoners and deſerters. On the following day the French general entered Liege.

Such was the triumphant career of this extraordinary man, a career which, as he aſſerts, was only arreſted by the treachery of the Jacobin party in Paris. His firſt victories, he obſerves, were ſcarcely announced, before he was publicly ſlandered and abuſed in the Convention, by the unprincipled faction of Marat and Robeſpierre. Under the influence of this party, he ſuppoſes the war miniſter, Pache, to have acted; and every criminal means, he aſſerts, were practiſed to diſtreſs and haraſs the gallant ſoldiers of liberty. While immenſe ſums were voted by the Convention, the army was nearly deſtitute of every neceſſary of life. Unprovided with mattraſſes or coverlets, or even of ſtraw to repoſe on, theſe brave men, in a rainy and inclement winter, were compelled to ſleep upon the damp ground; and ſome of them, to avoid the evils which muſt be conſequent from ſuch a ſituation, actually laſhed themſelves to the trunks of trees, and ſlept in a ſtanding poſition. The ſoldiers were almoſt literally naked, without coats, without ſhoes, and their arms much impaired for want of cloaks to cover them, and keep them dry. The conſequence was, that numbers of them periſhed, and ſtill greater numbers deſerted, and returned home. The general's own words are ſtrong—"To retard and cruſh my ſucceſſes,"—ſays he—"the miniſter, Pache, ſupported by the criminal faction to whom all our evils "are to be aſcribed, ſuffered the victorious army to want every thing, and ſucceeded in "diſbanding it by famine and nakedneſs. The conſequence was, that more than fif-"teen thouſand men were in the hoſpitals, more than five-and-twenty thouſand de-"ſerted through miſery and diſguſt, and upwards of ten thouſand horſes died of hun-"ger!"

If this ſtatement be correct, the ſubſequent misfortunes and overthrow of the French army in Flanders may be eaſily accounted for. The other party, however, have not failed to recriminate on the general, and have aſſerted that he was bribed to betray the cauſe of the republic—That he entered into ſecret and criminal treaties with the king of Pruſſia, in an early ſtage of the conteſt, and ſolely with a view to his own advantage.

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Jones Sculp.t

M:ROBBESPIERRE,

From an original Picture by Bouteville.

Engravd for C. Lowndes and I. Parsons N.o 21 Paternoster Row Sep.t 8.th 1794.

He made a wanton ſacrifice, it is ſaid, of his own ſoldiers at Jemappe, by his injudicious diſpoſition of the army on the commencement of the attack, and afterwards took every means to enrich himſelf, and injure the public cauſe. Of theſe mutual recriminations it is impoſſible for us at preſent to form a correct judgment; we can only ſtate, from the teſtimony of eye witneſſes, that the army was moſt ſhamefully neglected during the whole of the winter campaign; and was certainly, as Dumourier aſſerts, in want of every neceſſary.

Though criminally inattentive to the armies of the republic, the infatuated convention was amuſing itſelf with a petty and ignoble triumph over their fallen ſovereign; and, inſtead of uniting with patriotiſm and firmneſs againſt that combination of enemies with whom they were now ſurrounded, they were only active to diſpute, and perſevering to oppreſs. To comprehend diſtinctly the origin of the violent proceedings againſt the depoſed monarch, it will be neceſſary to revert to the ſtate of parties in France at a period anterior to that of which we are now treating. It will not be forgotten that from the firſt aſſembling of the National Convention, that body appeared divided by faction, and two virulent parties contended earneſtly for ſovereign authority. The party which firſt aſſumed the reins of government after the depoſition of the king, affected a tone of moderation; and, either from policy, principle, or engagement, intended, or at leaſt aſſerted that they wiſhed, to ſave the life of the unfortunate monarch. The multitude, on the other hand, always ſanguinary, but particularly the French populace, as has been evinced in ſo many fatal inſtances, either from an haſty or violent ſpirit, or from the influence of thoſe habits which were acquired under the old government, acted on this occaſion with more than uſual ferocity. Many circumſtances contributed to exaſperate this infatuated people againſt the unhappy king. The inſatiate revenge of thoſe who had loſt near connections or friends on the fatal tenth of Auguſt, was not yet ſatisfied; and a conſiderable ſhare of the guilt of that day was unjuſtly thrown upon a ſingle illuſtrious victim. Theſe paſſions were induſtriouſly cheriſhed by the great movers of faction and ſedition, who had acquired a decided majority in the Jacobin club, and who governed the nation, while every thing conſpired to the promotion of their views. The Girondiſts, or moderate party, were reduced to a ſingular dilemma. If the king was innocent, then they, who were the chief authors and actors in the dreadful affair of the tenth of Auguſt, muſt appear guilty of the worſt of treaſons; but, if not innocent, ſaid they, why ſhould he eſcape the reward of his delinquency?

The rage of faction had ariſen to an alarming exceſs in the Convention itſelf. The *Mountain* party, or anarchiſts, as they were called, were charged, in the perſons of Robeſpierre [58] and Marat, with the horrid maſſacres of the third of September, while the

[58] Having had occaſion, in a preceding part of this work, to mention this *humane* deputy, and his name ſtill continuing to ſully the purity of the hiſtoric page; we hope we may be excuſed for obtruding the following brief account of him:

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the Girondiſts had repeatedly demanded a ſevere examination into the origin of thoſe atrocious tranſactions. The intention of the Girondiſts in favour of the king were not unknown to their opponents, who were likewiſe perfectly acquainted with the public ſentiments upon that ſubject; therefore the only means that appeared of effecting the deſtruction of their rivals, was to clamour inceſſantly for the trial and condemnation of the unfortunate monarch, as it was evident that in either event they muſt be finally tri-

This ſanguinary wretch was born at Arras, the capital of Artois. He never derogated from the blood-thirſty honours of his family, being nephew to Damien, who was broken on the wheel, January the fifth, 1757, for attempting the aſſaſſination of Louis the Fifteenth. His ſituation, ſome years ago, was that of porter in a ſhop in Dublin. Returning to France, he embraced the profeſſion of the law, which he practiſed in Paris, with reſpectability equal to a pettifogger in England. His verſatile genius, deſperate ambition, and unprincipled nature, directed his practice to enormities, which filled his purſe, and increaſed his infamy. In this profeſſion, he took the advantage of ſubſtituting his own name, inſtead of that of a legatee, in a will. For this mal-practice he was impriſoned. In this ſituation he is ſaid to have commenced his firſt acquaintance with his congenial friend Marat. Plauſible and inſinuating in his diſcourſe, he had the greateſt powers for popular deluſion. With a voice gentle, words ſelected, and arguments accompanied with aſſeverations, that ſeemed dictated by the pureſt principles, he ſeduced the multitude into a confident opinion of his integrity and patriotiſm.

His firm ſtep and quick pace announced great activity and energy of temper. Abſorbed in his boundleſs plans, he frequently folded and compreſſed his hands, as though loſt in thought. Being ſubject to ſpaſms in his ſhoulders and neck, the latter was generally in a ſtate of convulſive motion, more eſpecially when he was agitated with much ſurprize, anxiety, or oppoſition. He was temperate in his diet, and ſeldom intoxicated by the ſocial glaſs of domeſtic entertainment, or convivial feſtivity. If a motion was made, diſpleaſing to him, his vindictive temper inſtantly directed his eyes to obſerve the offender, whom he always ſtrove to intimidate by his menacing aſpect.

Livid in complexion, puny in body, and haggard in countenance, many have been ſurprized that he ſhould be capable of faſcinating a people, ſo far as to enable him to become the inſtrument of their own deſtruction. His cruel, vindictive, and rapacious aſpect, diſguſted the ſight, at the ſame time that his affected patriotiſm extorted applauſe. The energy of words ſupplied the deficiency of voice, which was naturally weak, and enfeebled with diſeaſe. His eye-lids were affected with a conſtant twinkling motion, and he always carried about him medicines for temporary relief. Poſſeſſing few paſſions which he could not controul, he was always ſufficiently collected to take advantage of thoſe of others; except when hope left him no proſpect of ſucceſs but from deſperation. It was his aim to deceive all, and avoid deception himſelf. His friendſhip always tended to direct the acts of others to his own advantage; and his enmity was more excited againſt thoſe to whom he owed great obligations, than to his real and avowed opponents. Thoſe who could no longer ſerve him, ſoon fell the victims of his ingratitude and diſappointment. Thoſe whom he dreaded, he attempted to delude into a confidence of his virtue; but his moſt open and inveterate foes have eſcaped his vengeance, by his not daring to lead them to ſacrifice. Though he coaleſced with every one who could aid his deſigns, and whoſe confidence he could obtain, yet he retained more in his intereſt by fear than friendſhip. His moſt intimate aſſociates were the moſt jealous of his principles. He owed his riſe more to the error of popular opinion, than to any brilliancy of talent. His ambition began to pourtray itſelf, when he, in 1784, expreſſed a deſire to become procureur-general to the parliament of Paris, that he might excite public attention. In this ſituation, he perceived the means of gratifying his inſatiate thirſt of fame, and with this motive he appears to have firſt entered the Convention. Unaſſuming in ſucceſs, ſimple in manners, negligent in dreſs, and moderate in his living, he appeared incorruptible to the people. Whatever he determined to perpetrate, his pretence was founded on ſome plea of neceſſity, ariſing from a violence he would oppoſe, or an injury he would avert. A ſtranger to humanity, he never pardoned; but always puniſhed without remorſe. His ferocity and ſanguinary diſpoſition rendered him capable of every ſocial outrage.—Such is the outline of the character of Robeſpierre—a fit inſtrument in the hands of Egalité.

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umphant: if the king ſhould be acquitted, the charge of inconſiſtency muſt inevitably fall upon thoſe who operated the change in the government; if he ſhould be condemned, the views and the engagements of the Girondiſts muſt be fruſtrated.

Such were, in all probability, the motives and intentions of Robeſpierre, Marat, Danton, and the other leaders of the Mountain party, in hurrying on the fate of the devoted Louis with unabating ferocity. In the beginning of October, the clamours of Marat, Merlin, and other incendiaries, plunged the Convention into a ſeries of decrees, viz. one for the ſale of the royal property, for the uſe of the nation; one for removing all royal inſignia; one for eraſing his majeſty's picture from the aſſignats; and various others, the reſult of which muſt prove fatal to the king. An extraordinary commiſſion was appointed, conſiſting of twenty-four members, who were authorized to examine and arrange the body of evidence againſt him. Louis was ſeparated from his family, and the whole of the unhappy priſoners in the Temple were guarded with redoubled vigilance. A committee was likewiſe appointed for duty at the Temple, which they regularly performed in turn.

On the ſixth of November, Valazé, one of the commiſſion of twenty-four, commenced the buſineſs with the following report of accuſation againſt the king.

" The proofs, which we deliver to you, were ſcattered in a great number of papers: " we collected all we could, and have read them with great care. The difficulties which " occurred in this labour were great; for we found a number of letters written in cy- " phers; and you will ſee, by our report, how much thoſe have been deceived, who " imagined that the *ci-devant* king is a ſimple man. There are a number of papers " which prove that conſiderable ſums were ſent to the emigrants; and theſe papers, " while they unveil the plots of Louis the Sixteenth, diſcover the names of his prin- " cipal accomplices.

" A port-folio, found at the houſe of Septeuil, treaſurer of the civil liſt, has afforded " us the principal part of our information. The papers it contained have been formed " into ſeveral bundles. Among others, is a letter from Bouillé, dated Mentz, September " the fifteenth, 1791. At this epoch the perfidious king, without doubt, was careful " not to ſay that he correſponded with Bouillé; yet it appears that the above letter " could be addreſſed to no other perſon but to him. Beſides, the place in which it was " found evidently proves it. You will ſee there an account of the ſums given to Bouillé " by Louis Capet, for the purpoſe of forming a camp at Montmidi. It is extremely " curious, for it contains the names of ſome of the principal agents of the conſpiracy " then formed, and ſome of theſe agents will be ſeen making a figure at the Thuilleries " in 1792, and there receiving, as at the period of the flight to Varennes, conſiderable " ſums of money, apparently deſtined for the like purpoſes."—Bouillé's letter was here read; and ſtated, that the writer had received the ſum of nine hundred and ninety-three thouſand livres. Valazé then continued his report.

" You

" You can no longer then deny, Louis Capet, that you have participated in thoſe plots, " the blackneſs of which the infamous Bouillé has diſplayed in his inſolent manifeſtoes. " You can no longer ſay that you had no part in the flight of your brother; and you " can no longer deny that you kept up a correſpondence with the court of Berlin, and " that you made every effort there to pave the way for a declaration of war againſt " France. The accounts for the expedition to Varennes were finally ſettled on the " ſixteenth of April laſt. We have found that it coſt the civil liſt more than ſix mil- " lions of livres. You have obſerved, repreſentatives of the people, that one Gogulat " is mentioned in Bouillé's letter, as having received from him the ſum of three thou- " ſand ſix hundred livres; and in another letter, of Choiſſeul-Stainville, as having re- " ceived nine thouſand more from him. This corrupted agent, probably a ſubaltern, for " his name is diſfigured in Bouillé's letter, appears afterwards on the ſcene. On the " twenty-ninth of February, 1792, he received from the civil liſt the ſum of ſixty thou- " ſand livres, for which he promiſes to account. You may readily judge, repreſenta- " tives, what account he will give, and what was the nature of the buſineſs, with the " management of which he was entruſted. You will ſee, Louis Capet, and you will ac- " knowledge, that you cannot blind us reſpecting your intentions, when we produce to " you the receipts of the widow Favras, to whom you allowed a penſion of four thouſand " livres, which continued to be paid till the month of June laſt; and when we ſhew " you your promiſe, dated March, 1792, of giving to the *ci-devant curés* of Verſailles a " penſion of eight hundred livres each, as long as they ſhould be deprived of their liv- " ings. This is one of the objects upon which you enjoined ſecrecy; and you doubt- " leſs did not expect, imperious deſpot, that, after ſuch a formal injunction, the ſecret " could ever be divulged. Will he bluſh, citizen colleagues, when we clearly ſhew that " there is no engine of corruption which he did not employ upon weak men; that he " exerted his utmoſt endeavours to miſlead the people; and that he never opened his dan- " gerous treaſures, but with the hope of accompliſhing that end? when we prove to " him, that the author of the *Poſtillon de la Guerre* received from him, in the months of " May and June laſt, the ſum of eight thouſand livres, and that of the *Logographe* thir- " ty-four thouſand, in the ſpace of three months? when we exhibit to him the note " taken from the port-folio of Septeuil, in which ſecurity is given in his name for the " ſum of one million two hundred thouſand livres, to ſupport the bookſellers of Paris? " and, laſtly, when we ſhew him a letter from La Porte to Septeuil, which I think it is " neceſſary, repreſentatives, that you ſhould read, as it would be difficult to expreſs the " meaning of it?

" Repreſentatives, you will next ſee Louis a foreſtaller of corn, coffee, and ſugar. " The papers which we have ſeized prove this fact beyond a doubt. This foreſtalment " was carried on in foreign countries: the treaſurer of the civil liſt had orders to manage " this traffic, and to employ on it three millions of livres. After reviewing a hundred " times the papers and correſpondence reſpecting this commerce, which was carried on

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" from the month of June 1791, till the laſt revolution, we at length found a piece " ſigned "LOUIS," and dated January the ninth, 1791, which explains the whole. Sep- " teuil is there authorized to place the private property of the tyrant, either in the funds " at Paris, or in foreign countries; and as the propoſed commerce was expoſed to evident " riſques, the above paper declares that Septeuil ſhall not be reſponſible for events.

" To afford you ſome relaxation, legiſlators, and that you may participate in our " amuſements, we ſhall now entertain you with the childiſh means invented by the " court to gain over partiſans. We found in the port-folio of Bertrand, a note which " atteſts the eſtabliſhment of a new order of knighthood, under the title of *Chevaliers* " *de la Reine*. The decoration of it is a medal, ſuſpended from a ſcarlet ribband, hav- " ing on one ſide a portrait of the queen, with her name, and on the other the follow- " ing motto—*Magnum reginæ nomen obumbrat.* On the brevets or patents of the order " is inſcribed—*Dux femina facti, partoque ibid regina triumpha.* It appears, from the " note in queſtion, that ſeveral Swiſs officers, unworthy of the country which gave " them birth, and of the age in which they lived, ſuffered themſelves to be ſeduced by " this toy; and that they were not afraid to decorate themſelves with it, even at the " time when Lyons was convulſed by internal commotions.—Whilſt we have only ſuch " children to combat, our ſucceſs cannot be doubtful.

" Other papers prove, that the Gardes-du-Corps at Coblentz were paid by Louis " Capet; that the conſpirators aſſembled at the Thuilleries; that Bouillé himſelf had " had the audacity to go thither, even after the projected eſcape of the king in 1791; " and, laſtly, that, after a decree of accuſation was paſſed againſt the count d'Artois, the " king had ſecured to his children a penſion of two hundred thouſand livres."

The reader will perceive that the principal articles of this report were drawn from an exerciſe of that very power with which the repreſentative body had legally entruſted him. Acts committed anterior to his acceptance of the conſtitution were adduced as evidence to prove his intentions of violating it; and the precautions which he took on the night preceding the bloody tenth of Auguſt, dictated purely by motives of perſonal ſafety, were conſtrued into premeditated plots to deſtroy the citizens of Paris. Papers were however produced in proof of the king having remitted ſums of money to certain emigrants; but they appeared rather the dictates of compaſſion towards the diſtreſſed, than of treachery towards his country. And although it appeared from the papers which had been found in the Thuilleries, mentioned in this report, that money had been actually diſtributed to certain journaliſts and writers in favour of monarchy; yet theſe are the common, and ſurely in moſt caſes the venial, practices of courts; and, in the inſtance before us, might be conſidered as the mere dictates of ſelf-defence. The queſtion, however, which embarraſſed his accuſers moſt, was, Whether the king was not inveſted by the conſtitution with perfect and legal inviolability; and whether, conſiſtently with juſtice,

he, whom the law had ſolemnly pronounced to be above the reach of any legal proceſs, could be brought to trial? This objection was ſtrangely and moſt iniquitouſly over-ruled by the Convention, who in this inſtance eſtabliſhed the precedent, always ſo fatal to liberty, of an *ex poſt facto* law, and evinced to the eyes of Europe their inattention to thoſe "Rights of Man" which the nation had ſolemnly proclaimed.

On the following day Mailhe delivered in a ſecond report; wherein, after going over nearly the ſame ground with Valazé, but with ſtill greater acrimony, he concludes thus: —"What ſhall be the tribunal whoſe authority and impartial equity may remove all "ſuſpicion, and diſſipate every idea of violent or political prejudice?—Two methods "ſeem to have an equality of ſuffrages. One is the formation of a jury, the members "of which ſhall be choſen by the electoral aſſemblies of the departments. The other "is, that the Convention ſhall reſerve this trial to itſelf. The latter has been adopted "by the committee: I therefore preſent to you the following plan of a decree:

"1. Louis the Sixteenth may be tried.—2. He ſhall be tried by the National Con-"vention.—3. Three commiſſioners, choſen from the Convention by public election, "ſhall be charged with the care of collecting all the pieces neceſſary for the trial, and of "preſenting the reſult of them to the Convention.—4. The commiſſioners ſhall ter-"minate their report by an enumeration of the crimes.—5. This enumeration ſhall be "printed and diſtributed.—6. Eight days after a diſcuſſion ſhall commence on the act of "accuſation, and the charges to be adopted or rejected.—7. If the act be adopted, it "ſhall be communicated to Louis the Sixteenth, that he may provide for his defence.— "8. A copy of the report, and of the papers reſpecting it, ſhall alſo be preſented to "Louis the Sixteenth.—9. If he demands the originals, they ſhall be carried to him by "twelve commiſſioners.—10. The originals ſhall not be carried from the archives until "copies of them are taken.—11. The National Convention ſhall fix a day on which "Louis the Sixteenth ſhall preſent his defence.—12. Louis the Sixteenth ſhall preſent "his defence in writing, and ſigned by himſelf.—13. Louis the Sixteenth may give an-"ſwers verbally.—14. After he has made his defence, and after the expiration of the "delay ſettled by the Convention, they ſhall paſs ſentence by public vote."

Manuel moved, that thoſe who might ſpeak in favour of Louis the Sixteenth, ſhould be declared under the ſafeguard and protection of the law. This motion was, to their eternal diſgrace, followed by murmurs and hootings!

Mailhe obſerved, that he had not included Marie Antoinette in his plan of a decree. Conſtitutional inviolability did not, he ſaid, extend to her, and ſhe would be tried before the ordinary tribunals. With regard to Louis-Charles, as he was too young to have participated in the crimes of his parents, he could not be conſidered as guilty.

So

So abject was already the ſtate of the fallen monarch, that upon the following trivial requeſts to one of the commiſſioners at the Temple, that the amount of the expences to be monthly allowed them ſhould be fixed, in order that they might not exceed them; that a phyſician and an apothecary, who knew their conſtitutions, ſhould be allowed them, in order to adminiſter ſuch remedies as they might think proper; that a ſum of two thouſand livres, for their leſſer daily expences, might be granted; and that they might be furniſhed with ſome furniture and linen from the *garde-meuble*, the Convention paſſed to "the order of the day, the priſoners having no want of any thing neceſſary, and the "committee being empowered to furniſh them upon all occaſion [59]."—But, alas! the ill-fated Lewis was reſerved for much greater mortifications, and trials much ſeverer than this!

The treatment to which the royal family were ſubjected in the Temple was totally a ſecret. Many circumſtances of a public nature, however, indicated, that it was indelicate and harſh in the higheſt degree. A committee, appointed by the general council of the commune of Paris, ſat there conſtantly, and, according to directions given, regulated every thing reſpecting the royal family. As they had been more cloſely confined of late, and were not ſeen by the guards who did duty at the Temple, a report was ſpread that the king had eſcaped, although the ſame number as uſual continued to mount guard: it was ſaid, that this was done merely to deceive the people, till ſome excuſe could be thought of to avert the public indignation from the committee for their negligence and treachery. Full of this idea, a body of men from the ſections of Paris, who were on guard at the Temple, inſiſted upon ſeeing the king and royal family, that they might be ſatisfied themſelves, and be enabled to ſatisfy their fellow citizens, that the king actually was in the Temple, and that they were not guarding empty apartments, as was ſtrongly ſuſpected. The municipal officers refuſed to comply with this demand: the guard inſiſted, and threatened to force their way into the apartments. Santerre was ſent for: he expoſtulated with thoſe mutineers, and aſſured them that all the royal family were ſafe in the priſon. This at length ſatisfied the volunteers from the ſections; but the cannoniers perſiſted in their demand, and Santerre was under the neceſſity of appealing to the multitude aſſembled at the gates of the Temple, who, in character of the Sovereign People, decided againſt the cannoniers, and they were obliged to give up the point.

The municipal committee, to whoſe care the royal family were peculiarly entruſted, had made frequent reports to the general council, in which they pretended, that there ap-

[59] When Lewis was conducted to the Temple, he was literally without a penny; Petion lent him two thouſand livres, for which he gave the following receipt:

"The king acknowledges having received from M. Petion the ſum of two thouſand five hundred and twenty-"ſix livres; five hundred and twenty-ſix of which the commiſſioners of the municipality are to pay to M. Hue, "who had advanced them for the ſervice of the king.

"Paris, this 3d of Sept. 1792. (Signed) "Louis."

peared to be a plan for delivering them from the Temple; and the ſmalleſt accidental circumſtances which occurred without were conſidered as ſignals, which were fully underſtood by the priſoners. In the returns to the general council, mention was made of a man's being heard playing on a flute at midnight; of the ſongs that were ſung in the ſtreets; the expreſſions made uſe of by the common criers that paſſed; and it was inſinuated, that by all theſe more was meant than met the ear. It having been repreſented by the committee, that when the family walked in the garden, or appeared on the balcony, a number of perſons came to the windows of the adjacent houſes, and made ſignals, which ſeemed to be underſtood by the priſoners, a member of the council propoſed, that, to prevent this, the king and royal family ſhould never be permitted to take the air, till it was ſo dark that they could not be ſeen; another propoſed to raiſe the walls of the garden, and make ſuch alterations in the Temple, as would effectually prevent the priſoners from being ſeen by any perſon without. Both theſe propoſals were, however, rendered unneceſſary by an order from the council, that all the royal family ſhould be prevented from walking in the garden, or even appearing at the windows of their apartments; and when they aſſembled at the hour of dinner, which was always in the preſence of one or two municipal officers, every look, word, or geſture of the unhappy priſoners was obſerved, interpreted, and frequently reported to the council general, as having a myſterious meaning.

Among other circumſtances equally unimportant, it was mentioned in one of the memorials of the committee, that the king continued to wear his ſtar and ribbands, which raiſed the petulance of the author of a daily journal, who, on the ſubject of this memorial, expreſſed himſelf in the following indecent terms: "If Lewis had common ſenſe, "he would of his own accord have thrown aſide all thoſe feudal trappings; he would by "this time have become a Republican, which is being greater than a king; for a king "is only the higheſt ſlave in his own dominions."—The council general however ordered Manuel to go to the Temple, and announce to the king, that as royalty was aboliſhed, there was no propriety in his wearing his former ornaments any longer. The dialogue which paſſed between the king and Manuel on this occaſion, has been publiſhed in ſome of the journals, probably by Manuel himſelf: even from this account it appears, that the king received this meſſage with that manly indifference, and undiſturbed reſignation, which he had always ſhewn ſince the beginning of his misfortunes. It has been ſaid, that Lewis the Sixteenth never was much affected by the magnificence of royalty, even when he poſſeſſed it in its higheſt ſplendour; he ſeemed to be as little affected by the loſs of it; and the malice of his enemies, diſplayed in theſe paltry inſtances, inſtead of throwing diſgrace on the monarch, rendered his good qualities more conſpicuous.

When the royal family were firſt lodged in the Temple, they were treated with ſome degree of reſpect; they were allowed the comfort of each other's company, and the liberty

berty of walking in the garden of the Temple; but this appearance of reſpect gradually diminiſhed, and at laſt the treatment they received was, in many inſtances, brutal. A perſon who was admitted into the Temple, by means of a near relation, on duty there, declared, that at the hour at which, by a ſtanding order from the council, the priſoners were to be confined to their apartments, he ſaw the keeper go to the king, who was ſtill walking in the garden, and addreſs him in theſe words: "Come along, Monſieur Veto, "you muſt go in.

When the royal family dined, a commiſſioner from the commune of Paris was always preſent. The queen happening one day to raiſe the hand in which ſhe held her knife a little ſuddenly towards her breaſt, the commiſſioner ſeemed alarmed, and made a movement as if he feared ſhe had an intention againſt her life; which the queen obſerving, ſaid, with emphaſis, "No, Sir; I reſerve that honour for the Convention."

From the time that the king's proceſs was reſolved upon, the royal family were confined more cloſely, and watched more ſtrictly than ever. The council ordered, that in future two commiſſioners ſhould paſs the night in his bed-chamber, inſtead of one, which had been the caſe before. All perſons who were admitted into the preſe nce of any of the royal family were previouſly ſearched. Orders were given, that the razors with which the king was in the uſe of ſhaving himſelf ſhould be removed: this was done from a fear that he might prefer ſuicide to the humiliation of a public trial before the Convention; though ſuch an idea was totally remote from the king's way of thinking. When his razors and pen-knife were demanded from him, he ſaid, "Do you think me ſuch a "coward as to kill myſelf?"—The order not only comprehended knives and razors, but alſo ſciſſars, and all ſharp, cutting, or pointed inſtruments, and it was extended to all the royal family. "They had better deprive us of our needles," ſaid the queen, when it was read to her. When the king, afterwards, repeatedly applied for a razor, it was at laſt granted by the council, who directed, however, that he ſhould ſhave himſelf under the inſpection of the commiſſioners; and the queen and princeſs Elizabeth were allowed ſciſſars to pare their nails, with the ſame reſtriction.

On the third of December, after much altercation, in which Robeſpierre, and the reſt of the ſanguinary party, gained the aſcendancy; and in which Petion uſed his endeavours to introduce ſomething like a regularity in the proceedings againſt Lewis, by demanding, "Whether Lewis the Sixteenth could be judged, and who were to be his judges?" the Convention decreed, "That Lewis the Sixteenth be tried by them;" thus at once did they conſtitute themſelves his accuſers, and his judges. The ſitting was then declared permanent till the trial of the king ſhould be terminated; and with ſuch ſavage ferocity did they thirſt for the blood of their victim, that it was with difficulty they were induced to forego the meaſure of *inſtantly* paſſing ſentence, without even the *form* of a trial, only the day after the decree for bringing him to the bar had paſſed.

On

On the ſixth of the ſame month ſeveral motions were made of a ſimilar tendency; ſome even went ſo far as to pre-ſuppoſe the condemnation, and even to propoſe the mode of execution—Sillery and Manuel moved, that nothing be pre-judged before the accuſed had been heard in his defence. "Brutus killed Cæſar,"—ſaid Manuel—"but it was in "a full ſenate; Cæſar was ſurrounded by legions, and Brutus had only his arm. If "Cæſar had been in priſon, Brutus would have demanded that he ſhould be heard before "he was judged. We are judges,"—added Manuel—"and we alone ſhould be di-"veſted of that hatred which all the other citizens are entitled to bear the accuſed." Bourdon reproached Manuel with ſporting with French ſenſibility. "Let there be "placed"—ſaid he—"by the ſide of Lewis, when he ſhall appear at the bar, the citi-"zens who were wounded on the tenth of Auguſt, and, perhaps, the intereſt he inſpires "will be weakened." Saint Juſt ſpoke on the ſubject, grounding his argument on the opinion of Thomas Paine, which was, "That the Convention ſhould undertake the buſi-"neſs on a grander ſcale: it was not Lewis alone they were to judge; it was monarchy it-"ſelf: that, bringing in evidence the treaties of Padua and Pilnitz, there would appear a "general conſpiracy of kings againſt nations [60]."

The Convention, after having heard the reading of a great many projects of decrees, paſſed the following, which were drawn up by Quinette:

"1. The National Convention decrees, that the commiſſion of twenty-four, the "committees of legiſlation and general ſafety, ſhall each name three of their members, "to be joined to the commiſſion of twelve.—2. This commiſſion of twenty-one mem-"bers ſhall preſent, on Monday morning next, the act declaratory of the crimes of which "Louis Capet ſtands accuſed, and ſhall range in due order the papers in ſupport of that "act.—3. The commiſſioners ſhall preſent the ſeries of queſtions to be put to Louis "Capet.—4. The Convention ſhall diſcuſs, on Monday, the declaratory act of the "crimes.—5. The next day Louis Capet ſhall be brought to the bar of the National "Convention, to hear the reading of that act, and to anſwer the queſtions that ſhall be "put to him by the preſident.—6. A copy of the declaratory act, and of the ſeries of "the queſtions ſhall be delivered to Louis Capet, and the preſident ſhall adjourn him to "be heard definitively in two days.—7. The day following the National Convention "ſhall pronounce the fate of Louis Capet, by taking the votes of the members, one by "one; and each member ſhall preſent himſelf, ſucceſſively, for that purpoſe, at the tri-"bune.—8. The National Convention charges the executive power, upon their reſpon-"ſibility, to take all proper meaſures for the general ſafety, during the courſe of the "trial of Louis Capet."

[60] *Proces-Verbal.*

On

On the morning fixed for the examination of Lewis, he knew nothing of its being decreed that he ſhould appear at the bar of the Convention, but roſe as uſual at ſeven; he ſpent only a few minutes in dreſſing, and about three quarters of an hour in prayer. At eight the drums being heard, he enquired of the commiſſioners what was the meaning of it, as he had not before heard them ſo early. The commiſſioners pretended ignorance. "Do you not think,"—rejoined the king—"that they beat the "generale?" The commiſſioners replied, they could not diſtinguiſh. The king walked muſing about the room, and ſometimes ſtood liſtening attentively. "I think I hear the "ſound of horſes feet in the court," ſaid he. The commiſſioners gave no explanation.

The royal family breakfaſted together that morning: they were full of alarm and diſquietude at the noiſe, which increaſed every moment, and of which they plainly perceived the cauſe was carefully concealed from them. The queen and princeſſes went to their own apartments after breakfaſt, and left the prince royal with the king. The commiſſioners at laſt informed him, that he was about to receive a viſit from the mayor of Paris. "So much the better," ſaid the king.—"But I muſt inform you,"—reſumed one of the commiſſioners—"that he cannot ſpeak to you in the preſence of your ſon." The king then, after preſſing the child to his breaſt, deſired him to go and embrace his mother in his name. Clery, the valet who attended the king, withdrew with the prince. The king aſked the commiſſioner, if he knew what the mayor's buſineſs with him was, and received a negative anſwer. He walked about the room for ſome time, ſtopping at intervals to aſk queſtions reſpecting the perſon and character of the mayor. The commiſſioner anſwered, That he was not particularly acquainted with him; but that he bore a good character, and, to the beſt of his recollection was of a middle age, thin, and rather tall. The king ſeated himſelf in a chair, and continued abſorbed in meditation. Meanwhile the commiſſioner had moved behind the chair on which the king was ſeated. When he awaked from his reverie, not ſeeing any body, he turned ſuddenly round, and perceiving the commiſſioner cloſe behind him, ſaid with quickneſs, "What do you want, "Sir?" "Nothing,"—replied the other—"but fearing you were indiſpoſed, I ap-"proached to know what ailed you[61]."

Monſieur Chambon, the mayor, entered ſoon after, and informed the king, that he came to conduct him to the National Convention: the king accompanied him without making any objection. When he came to the court, which was full of troops, horſe as well as foot, he ſeemed ſurpriſed at ſeeing ſome of them in uniforms with which he was unacquainted. Before he ſtepped into the mayor's coach, he threw up his eyes to the window of the apartment in which his family were confined, and the tears were obſerved to

[61] Theſe particulars, which ſome may think of a nature too trifling and minute, ſtrongly paint the ſtate of agitation and ſuſpicion in which the mind of the unhappy monarch was at this time.

trickle

trickle down his cheeks. The coach then proceeded to the Convention, attended by the troops.

The commiſſioner aſcended to the queen's apartment, and found the whole family overwhelmed with fear and ſorrow. He acquainted them that the mayor had been with the king. "We know that,"—ſaid the queen—"but now—where have they carried "the king now?"—"To the Convention," replied the commiſſioner. "You would "have ſaved us much uneaſineſs,"—ſaid the princeſs Elizabeth—"if you had informed "us of this ſooner."

The king was conducted to the Convention by the Boulevards, the new ſtreet of the Capuchins, the Place Vendôme, and the court of the Feuillans. All the ſtreets which open to the Boulêvards had guards ſtationed in them, with orders to prevent the multitude from aſſembling; and cannon were placed at the entrance of all thoſe ſtreets; patroles were ordered to prevent any kind of obſtruction by groupes, or carriages along the whole of the way that the king was to be conducted. Strong guards were placed at different poſts near the Thuilleries and hall of the Aſſembly. It is ſaid, that there were near one hundred thouſand men in arms that day in Paris. The glaſſes of the coach were down during the whole way, and there was no diſturbance. Great numbers of perſons, however, were waiting in all the paſſages leading to the Aſſembly, and the tribunes had been filled from ſix o'clock in the morning.

Previous to the arrival of the king, the ſitting commenced by reading the act of accuſation againſt Louis the Sixteenth, which was preſented by Barbaroux in name of the commiſſion of twenty-one. It contained an enumeration of the principal charges made againſt the unfortunate monarch; and each charge was followed by a liſt of the pieces on which the proofs are to be founded. When it was read, ſeveral new charges were propoſed by ſeveral of the members; and ſome, which appeared to have little weight, or to be ill-founded, were expunged.

The Convention were much ſurpriſed to hear even Marat become, in ſome meaſure, the voluntary defender of Louis the Sixteenth, by requeſting that all thoſe charges alluding to crimes committed before his acceptance of the conſtitution, ſhould be omitted in the act of accuſation. He ſpoke alſo of the amneſty which followed that acceptance; but the Convention paid little attention to his obſervations.

The Convention then decreed, that the act of accuſation ſhould ſerve as the ground of thoſe queſtions which were to be put to Louis the Sixteenth, and that after each queſtion, the preſident ſhould ſay to him, *What have you to anſwer?* The preſident was authoriſed alſo to propoſe ſuch queſtions as might ariſe from the King's anſwers, and to permit him to ſit down at the bar.

It

It was ordered that no member ſhould make any motion while Louis the Sixteenth was at the bar; and that no ſign of approbation or cenſure ſhould be made. It was alſo ordered that a chair might be placed at the bar for the uſe of Louis. It was then determined that the anſwers of Louis ſhould be read over to him, and that he ſhould be aſked to ſign them.

The Preſident then addreſſed the Aſſembly thus: "I inform the aſſembly, that Louis "is at the gate of the Feuillans. Repreſentatives, you are about to exerciſe the right of "national juſtice; you will anſwer to all the citizens of the Republic for the firm and wiſe "conduct which you may hold upon this important occaſion. Europe obſerves you. "Hiſtory receives your thoughts, your actions. Poſterity, incorruptible, will judge "you with inflexible ſeverity. Let your attitude conform to the new functions which "you are about to fill. *Impaſſibility*, and the moſt profound ſilence, become judges. The "dignity of your ſitting ſhould anſwer to the majeſty of the French people. Citizens of "the tribunes, you are aſſociated with the glory and the liberty of the nation, of which "you make part. You know, that juſtice preſides only in tranquil deliberations. The "National Convention relies upon your entire devotion to the country, and upon your "reſpect for the repreſentatives of the people. The citizens of Paris will accept this "new opportunity of ſhewing the patriotiſm and the public ſpirit with which they are "animated [62]."

The commandant general then informed the Convention, that Louis Capet attended their orders. The unfortunate monarch was then admitted to the bar. The mayor, two municipal officers, and generals Santerre and Wittenkoff, entered with him. The guard remained on the outſide, in the hall. The preſident then addreſſed the king in the following terms: —"Louis, the French nation accuſes you. The National Convention reſolved, on the "third of December, that you ſhall be judged by itſelf; on the ſixth, it was decreed, "that you ſhould be brought to the bar. They are about to read the act which an-"nounces the crimes imputed to you. You may ſit down."——Louis ſeated himſelf.

One of the ſecretaries read the act of accuſation, charge by charge, and at each the preſident aſked Louis what he had to ſay in his own defence. The unfortunate monarch delivered no ſpeech, and contented himſelf with giving anſwers to each queſtion in few words.

Preſ. Louis, the French nation accuſes you of having committed a multitude of crimes to eſtabliſh your tyranny, in deſtroying her freedom. You, on the 20th of June 1789, attempted the ſovereignty of the people, by ſuſpending the aſſemblies of their repreſentatives, and expelling them with violence from the places of their ſittings. This is prov-

[62] *Proces-verbal.*

ed in the procès verbal entered at the tennis court of Verſailles by the members of the conſtituent aſſembly. On the twenty-third of June you wanted to dictate laws to the nation —you ſurrounded their repreſentatives with troops—you preſented to them two royal declarations, ſubverſive of all liberty, and ordered them to ſeparate. Your own declarations, and the minutes of the aſſembly prove theſe attempts.—What have you to anſwer? ——*Louis*. No laws were then exiſting to prevent me.

Preſ. You ordered an army to march againſt the citizens of Paris. Your ſatellites have ſhed the blood of ſeveral of them, and you would not remove this army till the taking of the Baſtille, and a general inſurrection, announced to you that the people were victorious. The ſpeeches you made on the ninth, twelfth, and fourteenth of July, to the deputations of the conſtituent aſſembly, ſhew what were your intentions; and the maſſacres of the Thuilleries riſe in evidence againſt you.—What have you to anſwer?——*Louis*. I was maſter at that time to order the troops to march; but I never had an intention of ſhedding blood.

Preſ. After theſe events, and in ſpite of the promiſes which you made on the fifteenth, in the conſtituent aſſembly, and on the ſeventeenth in the town-houſe of Paris, you have perſiſted in your projects againſt national liberty; you long eluded the execution of the decrees of the eleventh of Auguſt, reſpecting the abolition of perſonal ſervitude, the feudal government and tythes. You long refuſed acknowledging the Rights of Man: you doubled the number of the life-guards, and called the regiment of Flanders to Verſailles; you permitted, in orgies held before your eyes, the national cockade to be trampled under foot, the white cockade to be hoiſted, and the nation to be ſlandered. At laſt, you rendered neceſſary a freſh inſurrection, occaſioned the death of ſeveral citizens, and did not change your language till after your guards had been defeated, when you renewed your perfidious promiſes. The proofs of theſe facts are in your obſervations of the eighteenth of September, in the decrees of the eleventh of Auguſt, in the minutes of the conſtituent aſſembly, in the events of Verſailles of the fifth and ſixth of October, and in the converſation you had on the ſame day with a deputation of the conſtituent aſſembly, when you told them, You would enlighten yourſelf with their councils, and never recede from them.—What have you to anſwer?——*Louis*. I have made the obſervations which I thought juſt on the two firſt heads. As to the cockade, it is falſe: it did not happen in my preſence.

Preſ. You took an oath, at the federation of the fourteenth of July, which you did not keep. You ſoon tried to corrupt the public opinion, with the aſſiſtance of Talon, who acted in Paris, and Mirabeau, who was to have excited counter-revolutionary movements in the provinces.—What have you to anſwer?——*Louis*, I do not know what happened at that time, but the whole is anterior to my acceptance of the conſtitution."

Preſ. You laviſhed millions of money to effect this corruption, and you would even uſe popularity as a means of enſlaving the people. Theſe facts are the reſult of a memorial of Talon, on which you have made your marginal comments in your own hand-

writing,

writing, and of a letter which Laporte wrote to you on the nineteenth of April, in which, recapitulating a converſation he had with Rivarol, he told you, that the millions, which you had been prevailed upon to throw away, had been productive of nothing. For a long time you had meditated on a plan of eſcape. A memorial was delivered to you on the twenty-eighth of February, which pointed out the means for you to effect it; you approve of it by marginal notes.—What have you to anſwer?——*Louis.* Ifelt no greater pleaſure than that of relieving the needy—This proves no deſign.

Preſ. On the twenty-eighth a great number of the nobles and military came into your apartments in the caſtle of the Thuilleries, to favour that eſcape: you wanted to quit Paris, on the tenth of April, to go to St. Cloud.—What have you to anſwer?——*Louis.* This accuſation is abſurd.

Preſ. But the reſiſtance of the citizens made you ſenſible that their diſtruſt was great; you endeavoured to diſcard it, by communicating to the conſtituent aſſembly a letter which you addreſſed to the agents of the nation with foreign powers, to announce to them, that you had freely accepted the conſtitutional articles, which had been preſented to you; and, notwithſtanding, on the 21ſt you took flight with a falſe paſſport. You left behind a proteſt againſt the ſelf-ſame conſtitutional articles; you ordered the miniſters to ſign none of the acts iſſued by the national aſſembly; and you forbade the miniſter of juſtice to deliver up the ſeals of ſtate. The public money was laviſhed to inſure the ſucceſs of this treachery; and the public force was to protect it, under the orders of Bouillé, who ſhortly before had been charged with the maſſacre of Nancy, and to whom you wrote on this head, "to take care of his popularity, becauſe it would be of ſervice to you." Theſe facts are proved by the memorial of the twenty-third of February, with marginal comments in your own hand-writing; by your declaration of the twentieth of June, wholly in your own hand-writing; by your letter of the 4th of September 1790 to Bouillé; and by a note of the latter, in which he gives you an account of the uſe he made of nine hundred and ninety-three thouſand livres, given by you, and employed partly in trepanning the troops who were to eſcort you.—What have you to anſwer? ——*Louis.* I have no knowledge whatever of the memorial of the 23d of February. As to what relates to my journey to Varennes, I appeal to my declaration to the commiſſaries of the conſtituent aſſembly at that period.

Preſ. After your detention at Varennes, the exerciſe of the executive power was, for a moment, ſuſpended in your hands, and you again formed a conſpiracy. On the ſeventeenth of July the blood of citizens was ſhed in the Champ de Mars. A letter, in your own hand-writing, written in 1790, to La Fayette, proves that a criminal coalition ſubſiſted between you and La Fayette, to which Mirabeau acceded. The reviſion began under theſe cruel auſpices; all kinds of corruptions were made uſe of. You have paid for libels, pamphlets, and newſpapers, deſigned to corrupt the public opinion, to diſcredit the aſſignats, and to ſupport the cauſe of the emigrants. The regiſters of Septeuil ſhew what immenſe ſums have been made uſe of in theſe liberticide manœuvres.—What have you

you to anſwer?——*Louis.* What happened on the ſeventeenth of July has nothing at all to do with me. I know nothing of it.

Preſ. You ſeemed to accept the conſtitution on the fourteenth of September; your ſpeeches announced an intention of ſupporting it, and you were buſy in overturning it, even before it was completed. A convention was entered into at Pilnitz, on the twenty-fourth of July, between Leopold of Auſtria, and Frederic-William of Brandenburgh, who pledged themſelves to re-erect in France the throne of abſolute monarchy, and you were ſilent upon this convention till the moment when it was known by all Europe—What have you to anſwer?——*Louis.* I made it known as ſoon as it came to my knowledge; beſides, every thing that refers to this ſubject concerns the miniſter.

Preſ. Arles had hoiſted the ſtandard of rebellion; you favoured it by ſending three civil commiſſaries, who made it their buſineſs, not to repreſs the counter-revolutioniſts, but to juſtify their proceedings—What have you to anſwer?——*Louis.* The inſtructions which were given to the commiſſaries muſt prove what was their miſſion; and I knew none of them, when the miniſters propoſed them to me.

Preſ. Avignon, and the county of Venaiſſin, had been united with France; you cauſed the decree to be executed; but a month after that time civil war deſolated that country. The commiſſaries you ſent thither helped to ravage it—What have you to anſwer?——*Louis.* I do not remember what delay has been cauſed in the execution of the decree; beſides, this occurrence has no perſonal reference to me—it only concerns thoſe that have been ſent, not thoſe who ſent them.

Preſ. Nimes, Montauban, Mende, Jales, felt great ſhocks during the firſt days of freedom. You did nothing to ſtifle thoſe germens of counter-revolution, till the moment when Salliant's conſpiracy became manifeſtly notorious.—What have you to anſwer?——*Louis.* I gave, in this reſpect, all the orders which were propoſed to me by the miniſters.

Preſ. You ſent twenty-two battalions againſt the Marſeillois, who marched to reduce the counter-revolutioniſts of Arles.—What have you to anſwer?——*Louis.* I ought to have the pieces referring to this matter, to give a juſt anſwer.

Preſ. You gave the ſouthern command to Witgenſtein, who wrote to you on the twenty-firſt of April 1792, after he had been recalled: "A few inſtants more, and I "ſhall call around the throne of your majeſty, thouſands of French, who are again become "worthy of the wiſhes you form for their happineſs."—What have you to anſwer?——*Louis.* This letter is dated ſince his recall; he has not been employed ſince. I do not recollect this letter.

Preſ. You paid your late life guards at Coblentz; the regiſters of Septeuil atteſt this; and general orders ſigned by you, prove, that you ſent conſiderable remittances to Bouillé, Rochefort, Vauguyon, Choiſeul, Beaupré, Hamilton, and the wife of Polignac—What have

have you to anſwer?——*Louis.* When I firſt learnt that my life-guards aſſembled beyond the Rhine, I ſtopped their pay; as to the reſt, I do not remember.

Preſ. Your brothers, enemies to the ſtate, cauſed the emigrants to rally under their banners: they raiſed regiments, took up loans, and concluded alliances in your name: you did not diſclaim them, but at the moment when you were fully certain that you could no longer croſs their projects, your intelligence with them by a note, written by Louis Staniſlaus Xavier, ſigned by your two brothers, was conceived in theſe words:

"I wrote to you, but it was by poſt, and I could ſay nothing. We are two here, "who make but one; one in ſentiments, one in principles, one in zeal of ſerving "you. We keep ſilence; becauſe, were we to break it too ſoon, it would injure "you: but we ſhall ſpeak as ſoon as we ſhall be certain of general ſupport, and "that moment is near. If we are ſpoken to on the part of thoſe people, we ſhall "hear nothing; but if on your part, we will liſten: we ſhall purſue our road "ſtraight; it is therefore deſired that you will enable us to ſay ſomething; do not "ſtand on ceremonies. Be eaſy about your ſafety; we only exiſt to ſerve you, "we are eagerly occupied with this point, and all goes on well; even our ene-"mies feel themſelves too much intereſted in your preſervation to commit an "uſeleſs crime which would terminate in their own deſtruction. Adieu.

"L. S. XAVIER and CHARLES PHILLIPPE."

What have you to anſwer?——*Louis.* I diſowned all the proceedings of my brothers, according as the conſtitution preſcribed me to do, and from the moment they came to my knowledge. Of this note I know nothing.

Preſ. The ſoldiers of the line, who were to be put on the war eſtabliſhment, conſiſted but of one hundred thouſand men at the end of December, you therefore neglected to provide for the ſafety of the ſtate from abroad. Narbonne required a levy of fifty thouſand men, but he ſtopped the recruiting at ſix-and-twenty thouſand, in giving aſſurances that all was ready; yet there was no truth in theſe aſſurances. Servan propoſed after him to form a camp of twenty thouſand men near Paris; it was decreed by the legiſlative aſſembly; you refuſed your ſanction.—What have you to anſwer?——*Louis.* I had given to the miniſters all the orders for expediting the augmentation of the army: in the month of December laſt, the returns were laid before the Aſſembly. If they deceived themſelves, it is not my fault.

Preſ. A flight of patriotiſm made the citizens repair to Paris from all quarters; you iſſued a proclamation, tending to ſtop their march; at the ſame time our camps were without ſoldiers. Dumourier, the ſucceſſor of Servan, declared, that the nation had neither arms, ammunition, nor proviſions, and that the poſts were left defenceleſs. You waited to be urged by a requeſt made to the miniſter Lajard, when the legiſlative aſſembly wiſhed to point out the means of providing for the external ſafety of the ſtate, by propoſing a levy of forty-two battalions. You gave commiſſion to the commanders of the troops

to diſband the army, to force whole regiments to deſert, and to make them paſs the Rhine, to put them at the diſpoſal of your brothers, and of Leopold of Auſtria, with whom you had intelligence. This fact is proved by the letter of Toulougeon, governor of Franche Comté.—What have you to anſwer?——*Louis.* I know nothing of this circumſtance; there is not a word of truth in this charge.

Preſ. You charged your diplomatical agents to favour this coalition of foreign powers and your brothers, againſt France, and eſpecially to cement the peace between Turkey and Auſtria, and to procure thereby a larger number of troops againſt France from the latter. A letter of Choiſeul-Gouffier, ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, verifies the fact.—What have you to anſwer?——*Louis.* M. Choiſeul did not ſpeak the truth: no ſuch thing has ever been.

Preſ. The Pruſſians advanced againſt our frontiers: your miniſter was ſummoned, on the eighth of July, to give an account of the ſtate of our political relations with Pruſſia; you anſwered, on the tenth, that fifty thouſand Pruſſians were marching againſt us, and that you gave notice to the legiſlative body of the formal acts of the pending hoſtities, in conformity to the conſtitution.—What have you to anſwer?——*Louis.* It was only at that period I had knowledge of it: all the correſpondence paſſed with the miniſters.

Preſ. You entruſted d'Abancourt, the nephew of Calonne, with the department of war; and ſuch has been the ſucceſs of your conſpiracy, that the poſts of Longwy and Verdun were ſurrendered to the enemy at the moment of their appearance.—What have you to anſwer?——*Louis.* I did not know that d'Abancourt was M. Calonne's nephew; I have not diveſted the poſts. I would not have permitted myſelf ſuch a thing; I know nothing of it, if it has been ſo.

Preſ. You have deſtroyed our navy—a vaſt number of officers belonging to that corps had emigrated, there ſcarcely remained any to do duty in the harbours; meanwhile Bertrand was granting paſſports every day; and when the legiſlative body repreſented to you his criminal conduct on the eighth of March, you anſwered, that you were ſatisfied with his ſervices.—What have you to anſwer?——*Louis.* I have done all I could to retain the officers. As to M. Bertrand, ſince the legiſlative aſſembly preſented no complaint againſt him, that might have put him in a ſtate of accuſation, I did not think proper to turn him out of office.

Preſ. You have favoured the maintenance of abſolute government in the colonies; your agents fomented troubles and counter-revolutions throughout them, which took place at the ſame epoch when it was to have been brought about in France, which indicates plainly that you were concerned in this plot.—What have you to anſwer?——*Louis.* If there are any of my agents in the colonies, they have not ſpoken the truth; I had nothing to do with what you have juſt mentioned.

Preſ. The interior of the ſtate was convulſed by fanatics; you avowed yourſelf their protector, in manifeſting your evident intention of recovering by them your ancient

power.

power.—What have you to anſwer?——*Louis.* I cannot anſwer to this; I know nothing of ſuch a project.

Preſ. The legiſlative body had paſſed a decree on the twenty-ninth of January, againſt the factious prieſts, you ſuſpended its execution.—What have you to anſwer?——*Louis.* The conſtitution reſerved to me the free right to refuſe my ſanction of the decrees.

Preſ. The troubles had encreaſed; the miniſter declared that he knew no means, in the laws extant, to arraign the guilty. The legiſlative body enacted a freſh decree, which you likewiſe ſuſpended.—What have you to ſay to this?——To this Louis replied in the ſame manner as in the preceding charge.

Preſ. The uncitizen-like conduct of the guards whom the conſtitution had granted you, had rendered it neceſſary to diſband them. The day after, you ſent them a letter expreſſive of your ſatisfaction, and continued their pay. This fact is proved by the treaſurer of the civil liſt.—What have you to anſwer?——*Louis.* I only continued them in pay till freſh ones could be raiſed, according to the tenor of the decree.

Preſ. You kept near your perſon the Swiſs guards: the conſtitution forbade you this, and the legiſlative aſſembly had expreſsly ordained their departure. What have you to anſwer.——*Louis.* I have executed all the decrees that have been enacted in this reſpect.

Preſ. You had private companies at Paris, charged to operate movements uſeful to your projects of a counter-revolution. d'Aigremont and Gilles were two of your agents, who had ſalaries from the civil liſt. The receipts of Gilles, who was ordered to raiſe a company of ſixty men, ſhall be preſented to you.—What have you to anſwer?——*Louis.* I have no knowledge whatever of the projects laid to their charge; the idea of a counter revolution never entered into my mind.

Preſ. You wiſhed to ſuborn, with conſiderable ſums, ſeveral members of the legiſlative and conſtituent aſſemblies. Letters from Saint Leon, and others, evince the reality of theſe deeds.—What have you to anſwer?——*Louis.* Several perſons preſented themſelves with ſimilar decrees, but I have waved them.

Preſ. Who are they that preſented you thoſe projects?——*Louis.* The plans were ſo vague that I do not recollect them now.

Preſ. Who are thoſe to whom you gave money?——*Louis.* I gave money to nobody.

Preſ. You ſuffered the French name to be reviled in Germany, Italy, and Spain; ſince you omitted to demand ſatisfaction for the bad treatment which the French ſuffered in thoſe countries.—What have you to anſwer?——*Louis.* The diplomatic correſpondence will prove the contrary; beſides, this was a concern of the miniſters.

Preſ. You reviewed the Swiſs on the tenth of Auguſt, at five o'clock in the morning; and the Swiſs were the firſt who fired upon the citizens.——*Louis.* I went on that day to review all the troops that were aſſembled about me; the conſtituted authorities were with me, the department, the mayor, and municipality; I had even invited thither

a deputation of the National Aſſembly, and I afterwards repaired into the midſt of them with my family.

Preſ. Why did you draw troops to the caſtle?——*Louis.* All the conſtituted authorities ſaw that the caſtle was threatened; and as I was a conſtituted authority, I had a right to defend myſelf.

Preſ. Why did you ſummon the mayor of Paris, in the night between the ninth and tenth of Auguſt, to the caſtle?——*Louis.* On account of the reports that were circulated.

Preſ. You have cauſed the blood of the French to be ſhed.——*Louis.* No, Sir, not I.

Preſ. You authorized Septeuil to carry on a conſiderable trade in corn, ſugar, and coffee at Hamburgh. This fact is proved by a letter of Septeuil.——*Louis.* I know nothing of what you ſay.

Preſ. Why did you affix a *veto* on the decree which ordained the formation of a camp of twenty thouſand men?——*Louis.* The conſtitution left to me the free right of refuſing my ſanction of the decrees; and even from that period I had demanded the aſſembling of a camp at Soiſſons.

Preſident, [*addreſſing the Convention.*] "The charges are done with."—[*To Louis.*] Louis, is there any thing that you wiſh to add?——*Louis.* I requeſt a communication of the charges which I have heard, and of the pieces relating thereto, and the liberty of chooſing counſel for my defence.

Valaze, who ſat near the bar, preſented and read to Louis Capet the pieces, viz. The memoire of La Porte and Mirabeau, and ſome others, containing plans of a counter-revolution.——*Louis.* I diſown them.

Valaze. Letter of Louis Capet, dated June the twenty-ninth, 1790, ſettling his connections with Mirabeau and La Fayette, to effect a revolution in the conſtitution.——*Louis.* I reſerve to myſelf to anſwer the contents.—[*Valaze read the letter.*]—It is only a plan, in which there is no queſtion about a counter-revolution; the letter was not to have been ſent.

Valaze. Letter of Louis Capet, of the twenty-ſecond of April, relative to converſations about the Jacobins, about the preſident of the committee of finances, and the committee of domains; it is dated by the hand of Louis Capet.——*Louis.* I diſown it.

Valaze. Letter of La Porte, of Thurſday morning, the third of March, marked in the margin, in the hand-writing of Louis Capet, with "March 3d, 1791," implying a pretended rupture between Mirabeau and the Jacobins."——*Louis.* I diſown it.

Valaze. Letter of La Porte, without date, in his hand-writing, but marked in the margin by the hand of Louis Capet, containing particulars reſpecting the laſt moments of Mirabeau, and expreſſing the care that had been taken to conceal from the knowledge

of

of men, ſome papers of great concern which had been depoſited with Mirabeau.——*Louis.* I diſown it, as well as the reſt.

Valaze. Plan of a conſtitution, or reviſion of the conſtitution, ſigned "La Fayette," addreſſed to Louis Capet, April the ſixth, 1790, marked in the margin with a line in his own hand-writing.——*Louis.* Theſe things have been blotted out by the conſtitution.

Valaze. Do you know this writing?——*Louis.* I do not.

Valaze. Your marginal comments?——*Louis.* I do not.

Valaze. Letter of La Porte of the nineteenth of April, marked in the margin by Louis Capet, "April 19th, 1791," mentioning a converſation with Rivarol.——*Louis.* I diſown it.

Valaze. Letter of La Porte, marked "April 16th, 1791, in which it ſeems complaints are made of Mirabeau, the abbé Perigord, André, and Beaumetz, who do not ſeem to acknowledge ſacrifices made for their ſake.——*Louis.* I diſown it likewiſe.

Valaze. Letter of La Porte of the twenty-third of February, 1791, marked and dated in the hand-writing of Louis Capet; a memorial annexed to it, reſpecting the means of his gaining popularity.——*Louis.* I know neither of theſe pieces.

Valaze. Several pieces without ſignatures, found in the caſtle of the Thuilleries, in the ſecret repoſitory in the walls of the palace, relating to the expences to gain that popularity.

Preſ. Previous to an examination on this ſubject, I wiſh to aſk a preliminary queſtion:—Have you cauſed a preſs with an iron door to be conſtructed in the caſtle of the Thuilleries, and had you your papers locked up in that preſs?——*Louis.* I have no knowledge of it whatever.

Valaze. Here is a day-book written by Louis Capet himſelf, containing the penſions he had granted out of his coffer from 1776 till 1792, in which are obſerved ſome douceurs granted to Acloque.——*Louis.* This I own; but it conſiſts of charitable donations which I have made.

Valaze. Different liſts of ſums paid to the Scotch companies of Noailles, Gramont, Montmorency, and Luxemburgh, on the ninth of July, 1791.——*Louis.* This is prior to the epoch when I forbade them to be paid.

Preſ. Louis, where had you depoſited thoſe pieces which you own?——*Louis.* With my treaſurer.

Valaze. Do you know theſe penſion liſts of the life guards, the one hundred Swiſs, and the king's guards for 1792?——*Louis.* I do not.

Valaze. Several pieces relative to the conſpiracy of the camp of Jales, the originals of which

which are depoſited among the records of the department of l'Ardêche.——*Louis.* I have not the ſmalleſt knowledge of them.

Valaze. Letter of Bouillé, dated Mentz, bearing an account of nine hundred and ninety-three thouſand livres, received of Louis Capet.——*Louis.* I diſown it.

Valaze. An order for payment of one hundred and ſixty-eight thouſand livres, ſigned "Louis," endorſed "Le Bonneirs," with a letter and billet of the ſame.——*Louis.* I diſown it.

Valaze. Two pieces relative to a preſent made to the wife of Polignac, and to La-Vauguyon and Choiſeul.——*Louis.* I diſown them as well as the others.

Valaze. Here is a note ſigned by the two brothers of the late king, mentioned in the declaratory act.——*Louis.* I know nothing of it.

Valaze. Here are pieces relating to the affair of Choiſeul-Gouffier, at Conſtantinople. ——*Louis.* I have no knowledge of them.

Valaze. Here is a letter of the late king to the biſhop of Clermont, with the anſwer of the latter, of the ſixteenth of April, 1791.——*Louis.* I diſown it.

Preſ. Do you not acknowledge your writing and your ſignet?——*Louis.* I do not.

Preſ. The ſeal bears the arms of France.——*Louis.* Several perſons made uſe of that ſeal.

Valaze. Do you acknowledge this liſt of ſums paid to Gilles?——*Louis.* I do not.

Valaze. Here is a memorandum for indemnifying the civil liſt for the military penſions; a letter of Dufreſne Saint Leon, which relates to it.——*Louis.* I know none of theſe pieces.

The preſident again announced, that he had no more queſtions to aſk; and deſired to know whether Louis had any thing farther to add. Louis replied as before, that he deſired to have copies of the accuſations, as well as of all papers intended to ſerve as proofs, and that he might be allowed counſel for his defence. Louis now retired, and after a debate on the latter part of his requeſt, it was decreed, that he ſhould be allowed counſel. The king was re-conducted to the Temple in the ſame carriage, and with the ſame attendants, that he had when he came to the aſſembly. The crowd in the ſtreets was greater than in the morning; the continued cries of *Vive la Republique!* accompanied the coach from the aſſembly hall to the Temple, and the cry *A la Guillotine*[63] *!* was alſo heard more frequently than

[63] Since the entire abrogation of the former code of criminal as well as civil legiſlation, and the aſcendancy of the preſent prevailing party in Paris, all former methods of depriving the wretched victims of life have been found much too tedious to keep pace with the tribunals in their condemnations. An ingenious artiſt has therefore conſtructed an inſtrument of death on the following plan:

than in the morning, but leſs ſo than was expected by thoſe who had taken ſo much pains to irritate the populace againſt him.

In the coach, the king aſked Chaumet, the Procureur Syndic, " If he thought the " Convention would allow him to have counſel." This man, by the account which he afterwards gave of what paſſed, anſwered ſhortly, " that his duty was to conduct him to " and from the aſſembly, and not to anſwer queſtions." When he arrived at the Temple, and was in his apartment, he ſent a meſſage deſiring to ſpeak to the Mayor, who, being in his carriage, and ready to drive away, immediately obeyed the ſummons, and aſcended to the king's chamber. " I hope," ſaid he to Chambon, " that you will not delay to let " me know, whether I am allowed counſel." The Mayor replied, " that he might rely " upon being informed as ſoon as poſſible; adding, that he was perſuaded the Convention " were too juſt to refuſe to him what the law allowed to all."

Every member of the Convention did not agree in opinion with the Mayor; about thirty or forty deputies of the faction called the Mountain, were againſt granting that requeſt, and oppoſed it by the moſt indecent clamours; but finding their efforts vain, they next inſiſted that he ſhould be allowed only one perſon for counſel. The great majority on the contrary were for allowing him three; the debate became ſo tumultuous, that the Preſident was obliged to put on his hat [64]: the Mountain was at laſt obliged to relinquiſh this ſhameful attempt: and it was decreed that the king ſhould have counſel, without limiting the number, and that a meſſage ſhould inſtantly be ſent to inform him of this. One of thoſe who had oppoſed his having counſel, propoſed that two of the ſervants of the Aſſembly ſhould carry this meſſage; but the Convention ordered four of their members for that purpoſe.

After the Mayor left the Temple, the king immediately examined the *Conſtitution*, of which he had a copy, and ſaid to the Commiſſioner, who was now alone with him, " Yes,

It is in form of a painter's eaſel, and about ten feet high; at four feet from the bottom is a croſs bar, on which the ſufferer lays his head, which is kept down by another bar placed above. In the inner edges of the frame are grooves, in which is placed an axe, with a weight, ſupported at the ſummit by a peg. The ſufferer is firſt tied to a plank, of about eighteen inches broad, and an inch thick, ſtanding upright, faſtened with cords about the arms, belly, and legs; this plank is about four feet long, and comes almoſt up to the chin; the executioner then lays him on his belly on the bench, lifts up the upper part of the board, which receives his neck, adjuſts his head, then ſhuts the board, and pulls a cord, faſtened to the peg at the top of the machine, which lifts up a catch: the axe then falls, and the head, which is ſevered in a moment, is received in a baſket ready for the purpoſe, as is the body in another.

The Republic cannot, however, boaſt of the primary invention of this machine, though they ſtand unrivalled in the frequent uſe of it: an inſtrument of this conſtruction was made in England, under the name of THE MAIDEN, though we believe, ſave one inſtance, it never was exhibited: it has, however, been of excellent ſervice in furniſhing the hint to this nation of republicans.

64 This is a ſignal to order, never given but in caſes of great confuſion, and is generally obeyed.

" I find

"I find that the law allows me counſel; but may I not alſo be allowed the ſatisfaction "of having my family with me?" The commiſſioner anſwered, "That he did not know, "but would go and conſult the committee." He went accordingly, and returned ſoon after; he informed the king that he could not ſee his family.—"That is hard," ſaid the king—"but my ſon, they will not deny me the comfort of his company at leaſt: he is "a child, Sir, of only ſeven years of age." "The committee have declared,"—replied the commiſſioner—"that you ſhall have no communication with your family—"your ſon is of your family." The commiſſioner left the king, and went to the queen's apartment, where all the royal family were. The queen immediately aſked, if they might not all wait on the king, who they knew was returned from the Convention. The commiſſioner gave the ſame anſwer he had given to the king. "At leaſt," —ſaid the queen—"let him have the company of this child; pray allow his ſon to go to him." The commiſſioner replied, "That as the child could not be with both, it was "beſt that the perſon who might be ſuppoſed to have the greateſt courage ſhould ſuffer "the privation: beſides,"—he added—"a child of his age has more need of the care of "a mother than of a father."

The following day four members of the Convention waited upon Louis, and informed him, that it was decreed he ſhould be allowed counſel; and requeſted him to name them. His choice fell upon three diſtinguiſhed advocates, Meſſrs. Tronchet, Lamoignon Maleſherbes[65], and Deſeze; he had previouſly applied to M. Target, who excuſed himſelf on account of his infirmity[66]. Louis was ſpeedily furniſhed with the papers he wiſhed for,

[65] Monſieur de Lamoignon-Maleſherbes, is a man of an amiable and reſpectable character; of diſtinguiſhed ſenſe, probity, and learning; of one of the chief families of what was called the Robe in France; he is grandſon of the chancellor Lamoignon, who was an intimate friend of Boileau, Racine, and other men of genius in the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth. The preſent Monſieur de Maleſherbes diſtinguiſhed himſelf towards the end of the reign of Lewis the Fifteenth, by ſome very eloquent and courageous remonſtrances which he drew up when he was firſt preſident of the *Cour des Aides*, and for which he was baniſhed. In the beginning of the reign of Lewis the Sixteenth, he ſucceeded Monſieur de Saint Florentin in the miniſtry; but afterwards, for reaſons which are variouſly ſtated, he deſired and obtained leave to retire. This reſpectable man was in his ſeventy-ſecond year; his generous offer to be counſel for the king gained him the applauſe of the public, and formed a contraſt, greatly in his favour, with the cautious conduct of M. Target, which has been condemned by all parties. Even the *Poiſſards* of Paris marked the difference, went in a body and hung garlands of flowers and laurel on the gate of Monſieur de Maleſherbes, and afterwards proceeded to the houſe of Monſieur Target, to inſult him in a manner peculiar to themſelves. Fortunately for him, he was advertiſed of their intention, and made his eſcape.—*Moore.*

[66] To ſhew, in ſome ſmall degree, the clemency of the city of Paris, a deputation from the council of the commune of that city, appeared at the bar of the Convention, and propoſed the following draft of a decree, which they had thought proper to paſs, reſpecting the unfortunate monarch; but which that body, ſanguinary as they were, rejected with indignation. By this decree, the king was to have no communication with his family; his valet-de-chambre was to be locked up with him, and to have no intercourſe with any body elſe; his counſel were to be ſtrictly examined, even in the moſt *ſecret* parts; and, after having thrown off the cloaths in which they entered, they



Jones Sculpt

THE DAUPHIN,

Son of Louis the Sixteenth,

Born at Versailles the 27th of March

— 1785. —

Engravd for C. Lowndes and I. Parsons № 21 Paternoster Row Octr 18th 1794

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for, many of which he denied that he knew, or had ſubſcribed, or noted, which were ſhewn to him as his own; ſome others he acknowledged, but propoſed to make obſervations upon them. The penſion to the widow Favras he acknowledged, but denied that he had patronized her huſband; and ſaid, that the letter of thanks to Bouillé, upon the affair of Nancy, was his, but that the conſtituent aſſembly had alſo given him marks of their ſatisfaction.—He was now permitted to ſee his family, but the children were ordered to be ſeparated from their unfortunate mother and aunt.

We cannot forbear, in this place, to give one inſtance of the ſtrictneſs of the watch which was conſtantly kept over the king; and his majeſty's particular regard to the religion he profeſſed. We ſhall give it in the words of the report made by one of the commiſſioners on duty, as inſerted in the *Proces-Verbal*.

" On Tueſday laſt, the eighteenth of December, you appointed me, with five of my " colleagues, to be one of the guards in the Temple. As ſoon as we arrived in the " tower, they made us draw lots, and it was my fate to be ſent to the apartment of Louis. " It was near half paſt eleven at night, and Louis was juſt gone to bed. The next " morning he roſe, according to cuſtom, between ſeven and eight: after he was dreſſed, " he took a book, and read by his fire-ſide. After having read about half an hour, he " came to us, and deſired us to cut open two leaves that ſtuck together. My colleague " had a pen-knife, and made uſe of it for that purpoſe. While he was doing it, I look- " ed at the book, ſuppoſing it to be the Grecian or Roman hiſtory, Velleius Paterculus " or Horace, which books the commune had ſent him; but judge my aſtoniſhment when " I ſaw it was a breviary. Louis returned to his fire-ſide with his prayer-book, and con- " tinued reading three quarters of an hour. Breakfaſt was brought up, and my aſto- " niſhment was as great when I heard Louis pronounce theſe words—" It is a faſt to-day, " I ſhall not breakfaſt." Clery, the valet-de-chambre, ſeeing my ſurpriſe, came and " whiſpered to me—" He not only refuſes breakfaſt, but he will not even ſup: this " morning, while I was dreſſing him, he ordered ſomething very light for his evening " collation." Theſe details will appear perhaps too minute; for my part, I do not " think them indifferent, as they give a key to the moral character of Louis, and prove " at leaſt, that he is devout, and certainly devotion is a virtue in a king. About eleven, " two of my colleagues being arrived, Louis went up to them, and begged they would " give him ſome news of his family. " My daughter," added he, " is fourteen years " old to-day." He lifted up his eyes towards heaven; they ſeemed to be wet with

they were to be dreſſed in others provided for them in the Temple, and under the inſpection of the commiſſioners who attended the king, and were not to be allowed to leave the Temple till after ſentence was pronounced. It was alſo an article in this decree, that the counſel ſhould take an oath never to mention any thing they heard while in the Temple.

" tears; and he repeated, in a very moving tone of voice, " My daughter is fourteen " years old, to-day !" When the time of my guard in the apartment of Louis was ex- " pired, I went down into the council chamber with my colleagues, and in a few mi- " nutes we heard that Louis and Antoinette had aſked for ſciſſars, one to cut her nails, " and the other to cut off his beard, which was exceedingly long. We deliberated about " it, and, conformably to your reſolution, we refuſed the ſciſſars. The three counſel " of Louis, Maleſherbes, Tronchet, and De Seze, came in the afternoon; they ſhut " themſelves up with Louis, and remained in his chamber about four or five hours. It " appears that they ſpoke very low, for we could not hear a ſingle word of what they " ſaid. Having ended my ſervice, the next day, Thurſday, I paſſed the whole day in " the council chamber with my companion. Four deputies of the National Conven- " tion came to communicate to Louis ſome papers relative to his trial—After having ex- " amined their powers, we conducted them to Louis. They did not imitate the three " advocates of Louis; they ſpoke to him, in our preſence, with the doors open: they " ſhewed him ſeveral papers ſigned by him, and his brothers. " That writing," ſaid he, " is very like my brother's hand, this is like mine; I cannot however affirm that they " are ſo, as they both may be forged; and, beſides, I don't remember having ſigned thoſe " papers." He anſwered in the ſame ambiguous language to all the other queſtions, and " ever ſeemed to deny rather than affirm. I had returned into the council chamber " with my companion, and a quarter of an hour after the arrival of the four deputies, " Maleſherbes came to us himſelf, ſat down with us near the fire, and my colleague then " made the following obſervation to him: " The permiſſion you have to be alone with " Louis endangers our reſponſibility, and we are ſorry to ſee ———"—" I underſtand " you," interrupted Maleſherbes, " ſearch me, if you deſire it."—" The law forbids us " to ſearch you."—" In that caſe I ſhall do it myſelf."—He then ſhewed us all he had " in his waiſtcoat and breeches pockets, a few keys, and ſome ſix livre pieces, &c. " I " have in my coat-pocket," ſaid he, " a great many papers, which I carry to the king; " I carry him alſo the Moniteur, and ſeveral newſpapers." You are a friend to Louis, " ſaid I, how can you let him read journals and gazettes, in which he ſees daily proofs of " the juſt indignation of the people againſt him? " The king" (he always uſed the ex- " preſſion, *the king*, and we always ſaid *Louis*) is a man of an elevated character, his " mind is ſtrong and courageous, and he is ſuperior to all weakneſs."—" We believe that " you are an honeſt man; but if you were a traitor, you might carry to Louis poiſon or " concealed arms to deſtroy himſelf."—" I carry no arms, as you ſee; and, beſides, be " under no apprehenſion on that article; if the king were a philoſopher, if he were of " the religion of the ancient Romans, that affixed a ſort of honour to ſuicide, he might " kill himſelf; but he is of the Catholic religion, that forbids it; he is pious, and a true " believer; the fear of incurring the wrath of God will ſtop his arm."

On the morning of the twenty-ſixth of December, the ill-fated Lewis was again ſummoned to the bar of the Convention; he left the Temple, a little before nine, in the mayor's

mayor's coach, and was conducted as formerly to the gate of the Capuchins, Rue Saint Honoré, where the national guards formed a line, through which he walked to the chambre des conferences, where he again met his counsel. General Berruyer, commander in chief of all the military of the department of Paris, with all the field officers then in the capital, who were not otherwise on duty, accompanied the king on horseback from the Temple to the assembly hall. Berruyer informed the president, that the king was arrived. The president desired he might be conducted to the bar; which was done in the following order: Berruyer and Santerre walked first, the mayor of Paris and the procureur after them, and the king, with Messrs. Malesherbes, Tronchet, and De Seze, followed. The president said, "Lewis, the Convention has decreed that you should be ultimately "heard this day." Lewis replied, "My counsel is going to speak for me;" pointed to M. De Seze, and sat down.

De Seze, in an able and eloquent speech, of which the following is an abstract, said,

"CITIZENS, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NATION,

"The moment is at length arrived, when Louis, accused in the name of the French "people, and surrounded by counsel, granted to him by humanity and the law, is about "to enter on his defence!—The silence which at present prevails, gives me reason to "think that the day of justice has succeeded the days of prejudice. Unfortunate kings "are entitled to more pity and more respect than the unfortunate in other ranks of life; "and he who formerly occupied the most brilliant throne in the universe, must excite a "still greater degree of interest. You have ordered him to appear before you—he has "obeyed with calmness and dignity, emboldened by his innocence, and supported by the "testimony of his whole life. He has revealed to us even his thoughts. In discussing "without preparation, and without mature examination, charges which he did not fore-"see; and being obliged, as one may say, to make an extempore defence, it was impos-"sible for Louis not to declare to you his innocence. This I shall demonstrate—I shall "produce proper proofs; and I sincerely wish that this hall could be instantly enlarged, "that the multitude, who have received the most fatal impressions against Louis, might "come hither to receive impressions of a contrary nature. Louis knows that Europe waits "with anxiety for the sentence you are about to pass. He knows that it will be handed "down to posterity; but he considers only his contemporaries—like him, we forget pos-"terity, and look only to the present moment.

"Had I to address only judges, I should be satisfied with telling them, that since the "nation has abolished royalty, no farther sentence can be pronounced against Louis; "but I address the people: I must examine the question under two points of view, that "in which Louis was placed before he accepted the constitution, and that in which he "stood after he had accepted it. In examining this affair, I first find the decree which

" enacts, That Louis ſhall be tried by the conſtitution. Thoſe who framed that decree " undoubtedly ſaid, that Louis could not ſhelter himſelf under his inviolability. What " then have you done by that decree? You have conſtituted yourſelves judges of " that accuſation which you yourſelves made. You have decreed alſo, That Louis " ſhould be heard. If he ought then to be heard, he has a right to defend himſelf; " the judge muſt not circumſcribe the means; the Convention will examine them ac- " cording to their juſt value when produced. If Louis deceives himſelf, you muſt re- " fute his errors.

" Nations are ſovereign: they have a right to give themſelves whatever form of go- " vernment they think proper. I ſhall not conteſt this principle, and it is not yet for- " gotten, that the efforts of one of the counſel of Louis contributed to make it be in- " ſerted in the conſtitution. But the nation itſelf cannot exerciſe its ſovereignty: it " muſt therefore delegate the exerciſe of it. In 1789, the nation choſe a monarchical " government—a monarchical government required inviolability in the chief; it was " neceſſary he ſhould command that reſpect which enforces the obedience required by " the law. The nature of this inviolability has been fully diſcuſſed. It has been pre- " tended, that it was not a ſynallagmatic contract; but the delegation of the ſovereignty " was a contract as long as it was not revoked. It was a *mandamus*, if you chooſe; but " a mandatory could not ſubmit to other conditions, or other puniſhments, than thoſe " mentioned in the *mandamus*. On opening the ſecond chapter of royalty, I find that " the perſon of the king is inviolable; there is no exception, no modification what- " ever: but there are certain circumſtances in which the chief might loſe that character " of inviolability. The firſt caſe is as follows:

" Art. 5. ſect. 1. chap. 2. of the third title. If the king has not taken the oath, or " if, after taking it, he retracts, he ſhall be conſidered as having abdicated the throne."

" The nation here impoſes on the king the duty of taking the oath. To retract this " oath, is a crime againſt the nation. The nation guarded againſt this crime, and ap- " pointed a puniſhment for it. I expreſs myſelf incorrectly—it was not a puniſhment, " it was not a forfeiture, the word is not once mentioned; it is only a ſuppoſition, that " the king ſhould be conſidered as having abdicated the throne. You ſee that the " conſtitution eſtabliſhes no tribunal, that it ſpeaks not of a trial, and that it does not " pronounce the word forfeiture. The king, however, without retracting his oath, " might betray it—he might favour criminal and hoſtile enterpriſes againſt the ſtate. " The conſtitution provided alſo againſt this caſe.

" Art. 6. If the king ſhall put himſelf at the head of an army, and direct its force " againſt the nation, or if he does not oppoſe, by a formal act, ſuch an enterpriſe

" which

" which may be undertaken in his name, he ſhall be conſidered as having abdicated " the throne."

" Weigh well, I beſeech you, the nature of the crime provided againſt by this article. " None more criminal can exiſt. It ſuppoſes all the machinations, all the perfidies, all " the ſcourges, all the horrors, and all the calamities, of a bloody inteſtine war; and " yet what does the conſtitution pronounce? A preſumption of the king having abdi- " cated the throne.

" Art. 7. If the king quit the kingdom, and does not return, after being invited to " do ſo by the legiſlative body.—What does the conſtitution declare in this caſe? A pre- " ſumption that he has abidicated the throne.

" Art. 8. States, that, after an expreſs or legal abdication, the king ſhall be tried, like " other citizens, for all crimes poſterior to his abdication. It reſults, then, that the " king had a particular exiſtence, abſolutely different from that of other citizens; and " whence aroſe this particular, this privileged exiſtence, but from the law, which con- " ferred upon him that character of inviolability, which he could not loſe, but by an " expreſs and legal abdication? It is after being guilty of the moſt atrocious crime a king " can commit againſt the nation, that it ſuppoſes him to have entered the claſs of citi- " zens? In ſhort, the law here is perfectly equal with regard to the legiſlative body and " the king. The legiſlative body might alſo betray the nation—It might invade the " national ſovereignty. The nation had a right to eſtabliſh a puniſhment for the depu- " ties, and yet this has not been the caſe.

" Louis is accuſed—He is accuſed in the name of the nation—he is accuſed of va- " rious crimes. Theſe crimes are either provided againſt by the conſtitutional act, and " then the puniſhment there eſtabliſhed is to be applied to them, or they are not pro- " vided againſt, and in that caſe there exiſts no puniſhment which can be applied to " them. I will go ſtill farther, I ſay they have been provided for—The moſt atrocious " of all, that of a criminal war againſt the nation, has been provided for. In whatever " manner that article may be underſtood, the crimes are there—they are all there; but " the law only declares, the preſumption of the throne being abdicated. I am well " aware, that the nation having at preſent aboliſhed royalty, the puniſhment cannot be " applied; but could it change the condition of Louis? Has he not a right to ſay, I " was the priſoner of the nation, why did you not bring me to trial? You have abo- " liſhed royalty; I do not diſpute your right: but what—becauſe you have aboliſhed " royalty, do you wiſh to puniſh me? And, becauſe you know no law applicable to me, " do you wiſh to create one for me—for me alone? You are doubtleſs inveſted with " every power; but there is one which you have not—that of being unjuſt.

" It

" It has been ſaid, that Louis ought to be tried, as an enemy. But is he not a very " cruel enemy who could put himſelf at the head of an army againſt the nation?—It " has been ſaid, that he was inviolable only in regard to every citizen individually. " According to this principle, would not the repreſentatives of the people be more in- " violable in regard to the people, for whatever they might have done, ſaid, or written, " during a ſeſſion? I ſhall here quote to you the following paſſage from Rouſſeau :— " Where I ſee neither the law which proſecutes, nor the law which condemns, I will " not refer to the general will; for the general will cannot pronounce as the general will, " either againſt any man, or any fact."—But if you take from Louis the right of being " inviolable, you cannot take from him the right of being tried as a citizen: and in the " latter caſe I would aſk you, where are thoſe protecting forms; where are thoſe ju- " ries, which are as it were hoſtages for the lives and honour of citizens? I would aſk " you, where is that proportion of ſuffrages which the law has ſo wiſely eſtabliſhed? " Where is that ſilent ballot, which encloſes in the ſame urn the conſcience and the opi- " nion of the judge? I ſpeak to you with the openneſs of a ſon of freedom. I wiſh " to find among you judges, and I ſee only accuſers—you wiſh to paſs ſentence upon " Louis, and you have been his accuſers—yon wiſh to paſs ſentence upon Louis, and " you have already expreſſed your ſentiments on his caſe. You wiſh to paſs ſen- " tence upon Louis, and your opinions are well known all over Europe.

" I now proceed to the act of accuſation. You go back to the month of June, 1789; " I ſhall go back to the ſame period. But how could you accuſe Louis of having then " attempted to diſſolve the Aſſembly? Do you forget that it was he who convoked it? " Do you forget, that for above a century and a half, princes, more jealous of their au- " thority than he, conſtantly refuſed ſuch a convocation? Do you forget that had it not " been for Louis, and the numberleſs ſacrifices to which he conſented, you would not be " here deliberating on the intereſts of the ſtate? He is accuſed of having ſurrounded " Paris with troops; but I can ſay, that theſe troops were deſtined only to protect Paris " from thoſe who wiſhed to diſturb the public tranquillity. I had occaſion to ſee the " orders given to them when I undertook the defence of the commandant, whom the na- " tion without any heſitation acquitted. I ſhall not here take notice of the memoire " in which Talon is mentioned as acting a part in a plan formed for a counter-revolu- " tion, nor of the papers ſubjoined to that memoire. Had I to defend a perſon of or- " dinary rank, I would obſerve, that a citizen cannot be condemned from papers pro- " cured by attacking his habitation, unleſs they have been previouſly ſealed up, and an " inventory taken of them.

" The habitation of Louis was attacked, and his drawers were broke open. None o " them were ſealed up, no inventories were taken; and papers which might have been op " poſed to others may have been concealed. The letters of a deceaſed perſon are quoted " but can the letters of a perſon deceaſed be adduced as proofs? Theſe letters, it is ſaid

" mentio

" mention money diſtributed; but even ſuppoſing that this fact, which they do not
" clear up, were true; and ſuppoſing it true, that greater or ſmaller ſums had been ex-
" torted from the beneficence and ſenſibility of Louis, do you not know with what un-
" happy facility kings may be ſurpriſed and deceived? The plan of a letter to La
" Fayette and Mirabeau is mentioned; but this letter was never ſent. Mirabeau and
" La Fayette were at that time the two moſt popular characters; they both loved the
" conſtitution, and nothing was meant in that letter but the good of the ſtate. Louis is
" accuſed alſo of having written a letter to Bouillé; in regard to this, he has no occa-
" ſion to juſtify himſelf; the National Aſſembly had before voted thanks to Bouillé for
" his good conduct.

" You accuſe him for the aſſemblage on the twenty-eighth of February; but popu-
" lar rumours had attracted at that time a number of violent perſons around the palace,
" and Louis ordered them to lay aſide their arms. You accuſe him with the maſſacres
" in the Champ-de-Mars; but do you forget that this unhappy prince was then ſuſpend-
" ed from his powers, and watched as a priſoner? The nation has decreed that it ſhall be
" a republic, but this was not the form of government it wiſhed for then. Did not the
" legiſlative aſſembly declare againſt a republic in the month of July laſt? Had Louis
" betrayed the intereſts of the nation at that period, or had he abuſed its confidence, you
" ought to have pitied him—you ought to have bewailed the fate of kings—but he ought
" not to have been tried. I have not yet pronounced the word which would have made
" that chain of accuſations fall. I have not ſaid, that ſince all theſe facts, Louis accept-
" ed the conſtitution—the conſtitution was the contract of alliance between the people
" and the king—there was no longer any doubt—the paſt was forgotten. Let us now
" examine what Louis has done ſince his acceptation. The act of accuſation compre-
" hends facts for which Louis was not bound to anſwer perſonally, and facts for which
" he was perſonally reſponſible. By the conſtitution, the king was not reſponſible
" for what might be done by his agents; on the contrary, it made his miniſters reſponſi-
" ble. At preſent one has no right to accuſe the king and his miniſters for the ſame act.

" Louis is accuſed of having left the National Aſſembly ignorant of the convention
" of Pilnitz. But this convention was a ſecret treaty between the emperor and the
" king of Pruſſia. There was no reaſon of ſtate that could make it a rule for miniſters
" to communicate to an aſſembly, whoſe deliberations were public, an act which was
" not public. You have accuſed Louis of retarding, for a month, the tranſmiſſion of
" the decree relative to Avignon. That, citizens, was one of the charges againſt the
" miniſter Deleſſart, who had declared, that his defence, which he was preparing in his
" priſon, would leave no doubt of his innocence. And can you, after his death, prefer
" the ſame charge againſt the king? You have charged him with the troubles of Nîmes
" and of Jales. Was the king reſponſible for all the troubles inſeparable from ſo great
" a revolution? A letter of Witgenſtein is imputed to him as a crime: all that he could

" do,

" do, was to give Witgenſtein no appointment after his recall. The ſituation of com-
" mandant of Corſica is talked of, but that command he never obtained. It is ſaid, that
" he had an appointment in the army of the North: La Fayette may have aſked it, but
" the letter that gave him ſuch an appointment remained in the war office.

" Louis is accuſed of the account given by Narbonne. I ſhall anſwer but a word.
" When Narbonne quitted the miniſtry, the legiſlative aſſembly decreed, that he car-
" ried with him the regret and the confidence of the nation. The ſurrender of Longwy
" is made a charge againſt him, but the inhabitants alone were guilty. The ſurrender
" of Verdun is made a charge againſt him—who then but Louis appointed the comman-
" dant, ſo celebrated for his heroiſm, who preferred death to ſurrendering? He is ac-
" cuſed of having retained the Swiſs guards, although the conſtitution forbad it. Mark
" the facts: a decree ſaid, that the king ſhould be requeſted to preſent a new formation
" of his regiment of Swiſs guards, and in the mean time the Aſſembly had directed that
" it ſhould be kept up proviſionally till the period of this formation. On the third of
" July 1792, the Aſſembly ordered the departure of the three battalions of this regi-
" ment. On the ſeventeenth, the letter of d'Affry, remonſtrating againſt the decree, and
" appealing to the capitulation—a new decree which ordered the departure of two bat-
" talions—D'Affry, heſitating between the decree and the capitulations, addreſſed new
" remonſtrances to the Aſſembly. The Aſſembly paſſed to the order of the day, and the
" battalions left Paris.

" I come now to the facts that may be conſidered as concerning him perſonally. Louis
" is firſt attacked for not having ſanctioned the decree reſpecting the prieſts, and that re-
" ſpecting the camp at Paris. I might ſay, that the conſtitution gave him the free and
" abſolute power of ſanction; and that, if he erred, his error could not be imputed to
" him as a crime. But if a great number of citizens ſeemed to ſupport the latter de-
" cree, a ſtill greater number ſeemed to oppoſe it. He thought it prudent to refuſe his
" ſanction; but, at the ſame time, by a wiſe meaſure, he directed the formation of the
" camp at Soiſſons; and this camp was more uſeful to our armies than that at Paris
" could have been.

" His letter to the biſhop of Clermont is objected to him: but that letter contains
" only an opinion purely religious, and was prior to his acceptance of the conſtitution.
" When he accepted the conſtitution, he did not think it free from blemiſhes; for, in the
" very act of accepting it, he ſpeaks of legal reforms. He is accuſed of having paid his
" guard; but the Aſſembly, in decreeing its diſcharge, had ſaid that it ſhould be or-
" ganiſed anew; it was therefore incumbent on his juſtice and his humanity to pay it till
" its new formation. He is accuſed of having given aid to the emigrants, and of hav-
" ing protected, by his ambaſſadors, the coalition of foreign powers. He is accuſed of
" his

" his influence at the court of Vienna: I anſwer, that Louis conſtantly oppoſed the ef-
" forts of the emigrants. Reſpecting this I will cite a fact: Louis was informed, by
" his reſident, of an attempt of the emigrants to obtain arms and ammunition at Frank-
" fort, and of the refuſal of the magiſtrates of that place to comply with their demand.
" He directed his reſident to thank the magiſtrates, and to invite them to perſevere in
" their refuſal.

" There is not a ſingle emigrant that received aid from him. He provided for the
" maintenance of his nephews; the eldeſt was fourteen, the youngeſt eleven years of
" age; there was no law that fixed the age at which emigration was a crime: the Conven-
" tion has made one. The nephews of Louis were without reſources: muſt he ſtifle
" the ſentiments of humanity? Muſt he, for being a king, ceaſe to be a kinſman? He
" gave money to the governeſs of his children; but ſhe *was* the governeſs of his chil-
" dren, and had left France ſince 1789. Choiſeul Beaupré had been in Italy ſince 1789,
" and had never borne arms againſt France, He gave aid to Rochefort, but Rochefort
" was not an emigrant. He is accuſed of having remitted money to Bouillé: Bouille's
" letter ſays, " Pay to Monſieur, the king's brother, by his order." The truth is, that
" he never remitted pecuniary aid to Monſieur, and the order in queſtion was the order
" of Monſieur, and not of the king. All that he did was to give ſecurity for his other
" brother for a ſum of four hundred thouſand livres; but this was in 1789, and he was
" induced to it by motives of humanity.

" He is accuſed of the manœuvres of Dumouſtier at the court of Berlin; but Du-
" mouſtier was not the agent of Louis, but of the princes, his brothers. A letter of
" Choiſeul-Gouffier is objected to him. It is ſuppoſed, that becauſe he was the ambaſ-
" ſador of Louis, to Louis muſt his projects be imputed; but the very letter of this am-
" baſſador proves that it was three days after his recall, and on account of that recall,
" that he formed an intrigue againſt the national ambaſſador ſent to replace him. It was
" Choiſeul who wrote, who acted, who ſpoke of his ſervices to the princes, the king's
" brothers. The billet proves that Louis had no connection with him.

" I come now to the charges of the ſubornation of ſeveral members of the legiſlative
" aſſembly. This plan reduced the liquidation of offices ten millions; he eaſed the na-
" tional treaſury to that amount, and charged the civil liſt with the intereſt. We un-
" derſtand the corruption that turns to the profit of perſonal intereſt; but a corruption
" that leaves us all the ſhame, and gives to another all the profit, we cannot eaſily com-
" prehend. The fact is, as it appears from the papers communicated to Louis, that it was
" he alone who prevented the decree from being propoſed to the Aſſembly, and that he
" expreſſed diſpleaſure and indignation at it.

"A charge is brought againſt him which has excited the indignation of the people, "and which could not but appear a very heavy one. He is accuſed of having paid his "body-guards at Coblentz. This charge I own ſtruck me with grief; I was led to ſuſ- "pect the good faith of Louis; the proofs appeared to be clear. I come this day to "make the reparation in the eyes of Europe which I feel that I owe to him. All the pa- "pers refer to the month of October 1791. Mark what the adminiſtrators of the civil "liſt wrote to the treaſurer in November: "The intention of his majeſty is to continue "the pay of his body-guards till they be replaced; but his majeſty means that the amount "of this pay ſhall not be delivered in total to the etat-major, but to each individual at "the pay-office of the civil liſt, on his particular receipt, and certificate of reſidence "within the kingdom." All the papers have been made as public as poſſible—Louis has "been denounced to France, to all Europe. All the articles of accuſation have been "ordered to be printed; and the only paper that refutes theſe charges, is the only one that "remained unknown. This paper muſt have been among the reſt: By what ſtrange fa- "tality is it not to be found among them? At laſt Louis, after much pains, obtained "from the offices an authentic copy of this paper: he has produced it to the eyes of "Europe.

"I come at laſt to the diſaſtrous day of the tenth of Auguſt. Had we believed that "Louis had committed the crimes of which he is accuſed, you would not ſee us at this "bar to give him the aid of our courageous veracity. All your ſucceſſes ſince that day "have given you the power of being generous—we aſk you only to be juſt. He dread- "ed the invaſion of his palace; he maintained a more exact correſpondence with the po- "pular authorities—In fine, the people came thither. The procureur-ſyndic reads, with "regret no doubt, the firſt article of the law, which directs to repel force by force. The "cannoniers, for anſwer, diſcharge their cannon before him; then the procurator-ſyndic "invites Louis to go to the Aſſembly; he goes thither: *one hour after*, our misfortunes "commence. How began the action? I know not: hiſtory, perhaps, will know no "more than I. He is accuſed of having reviewed the troops—Granted. Accuſe the "mayor alſo of having viſited the poſts. Was not Louis a conſtituted authority? Was "not his authority a depoſit in his hands, of which the law forbad him the leaſt in- "fringement? I know it has been ſaid that Louis excited the inſurrection, to effect the "execution of his projects; but who is now ignorant that this inſurrection was com- "bined, matured; that it had its agents, its counſel, its directors; who is ignorant that "acts, that treaties on the ſubject, had been ſigned?

"In this hall men have contended for the glory of the tenth of Auguſt. I come not "to diſpute that glory; but ſince it has been proved that that day was premeditated, how "can it be made a crime to Louis? And you accuſe him, and you would give judgment "againſt him; againſt him, who has never given a ſanguinary order; againſt him, who at "Varennes preferred returning a captive, to expoſing the life of a ſingle man; againſt "him,

him, who on the twentieth of June refuſed every kind of aid, and preferred remaining "alone in the midſt of the people. Hear hiſtory ſpeak—Louis mounted the throne at "the age of twenty; he exhibited on it an example of morals, of juſtice, of œconomy; "he aboliſhed ſervitude in his domains; the people deſired liberty, he gave it. [*Murmurs.*] "We cannot deny to Louis the glory of having always anticipated the wiſhes of his "people.—I do not conclude; I appeal to hiſtory; recollect that hiſtory will judge your "judgment."

Fermond, the preſident, then aſked Louis if he had any thing to add to the defence made by his counſel.

Louis roſe, and with mixed ſenſibility and firmneſs ſaid, "Citizens, my means of de-"fence are laid before you. I ſhall not repeat them. *In ſpeaking to you, perhaps for the* "*laſt time*, I declare to you that my conſcience makes me no reproach, and that my de-"fenders have told you nothing but the truth. I have never dreaded the public exami-"nation of my conduct; but my heart is rent to find in the act of accuſation, the impu-"tation of having wiſhed to ſhed the blood of the people; and, above all, that the mis-"fortunes of the tenth of Auguſt are attributed to me. I own, that the many proofs I "have given upon all occaſions of my love for the people, and the manner in which I "have always conducted myſelf, appeared to me ſufficient to prove, that I did not fear "to expoſe my own perſon to ſpare their blood, and to exempt me for ever from ſuch an "imputation."

The keys found at the Garde-Meuble were then preſented to him, and he was aſked if he knew them. "I know"—ſaid he—"that I delivered keys to Clery; I know that "my houſe was forced, and all my furniture broken. I had no more occaſion for keys; "but I know not whether thoſe now preſented to me are the ſame that I delivered. "From the time that has elapſed I cannot recollect them." He then retired with the ſame calmneſs that had attended him ſince he was firſt brought to the bar; but on going out a ſudden fluſh overſpread his countenance, and a few tears fell.

A decree was immediately paſſed, that he ſhould be re-conducted to the Temple; a ſecond, that the defence of his counſel ſhould be ſigned by them, and by him, and laid on the table; and a third, that the words, "*The people deſired liberty, he gave it*," which had excited murmurs in the Convention, and which the counſel had ſtruck out of their notes, ſhould be replaced. It was alſo decreed, that a minute of the defence ſhould be prepared, with the aſſiſtance of the counſel; and, on the application of the counſel, that they ſhould aſſiſt in correcting the printed proofs of the defence, copies of which were order-ed to be ſent to the eighty-four departments.

On

On the way from the Temple to the Aſſembly, ſome perſon in the carriage with the king made mention of ſome of the Roman hiſtorians, which gave him occaſion to ſay, that he preferred Tacitus to Livy: he accuſed the latter of having compoſed ſpeeches for the generals, which certainly had never been pronounced. On his return from the Aſſembly, he preſerved the ſame ſerenity. The procureur had his hat on, which had not been the caſe when he was in the carriage with the king the firſt time he went to and from the Convention. The king took notice of this piece of rudeneſs, by ſaying to him, "You had forgot your hat the laſt time you attended me; but you have been more care-"ful of your health on this occaſion." Obſerving that the procureur bowed and waved his hand with a look of familiarity to ſome perſons in the ſtreets, the king ſaid, "I ſup-"poſe theſe are citizens of your ſection?" The procureur anſwered, "No, they do "not belong to my ſection; but they were members of the general council of the tenth "of Auguſt, *whom I always ſee with pleaſure.*" The mayor held his ſnuff-box in his hand: the ſecretary of the municipality, looking at a portrait of M. Chambon's wife on the lid, made the uſual obſervation, that the original was handſomer than the portrait.—The king alſo deſired to ſee it; which having done, he ſaid, that M. Chambon was happy in poſſeſſing a woman more beautiful than ſuch a portrait.—The king arrived at the Temple in ſafety, though the cries of the rabble were more noiſy and frequent than on the former day.

His majeſty had no ſooner withdrawn, than the Convention was convulſed with a variety of paſſions—Some moving for inſtant ſentence—others for delay; and at laſt one of the moſt diſgraceful ſcenes was exhibited that ever was witneſſed in any aſſembly even of Indians or Hottentots. We give it in the words of their own *Proces-Verbal:*

Thuriot, who but two days before had ſaid at the Jacobin club, that rather than Louis ſhould eſcape, he would *blow out his brains* with his own hand, moved that the Convention ſhould continue to ſit till judgment was pronounced. Couthon moved, that the diſcuſſion ſhould be opened immediately, and continued, in preference to all other matters, till judgment was given. Petion roſe to explain Couthon's propoſition, and to ſhew that it did not pre-judge the queſtion. The Mountain, ſeconded by the clamours of the galleries, which had been on their ſide during the whole debate, endeavoured to prevent his being heard. The majority at laſt loſt their temper, and forgot their dignity. They advanced with menacing geſtures to meet their antagoniſts, and *a brawl, in which blows were exchanged, enſued!!!* The preſident put on his hat, and declaring that he would inſtantly exert the utmoſt rigour of his authority, order was reſtored, and Petion was heard. He ſpoke with grief of the ſcandalous ſcene that had juſt paſſed; of the facility with which men's motives were calumniated; of the atrocity of forcing the conſciences of men, and compelling them to decide without diſcuſſing. "We wiſh"—ſaid he—"to "examine every thing, becauſe we all wiſh to be juſt. The friends of liberty and of "juſtice

" juſtice are not thoſe who ſhew themſelves the moſt eager for blood, but thoſe who wiſh " to judge on entire conviction." He concluded with ſhewing that Couthon's motion did not narrow the diſcuſſion, and ſat down amid the applauſes of the members; but not a ſingle mark of approbation from the galleries, to him whoſe every word was formerly applauded.—The Convention decreed Couthon's propoſition.

A. D. 1793.] On the fourth of January the Convention decreed, that all future acts, &c. ſhould bear date the SECOND YEAR of the French Republic; hereby giving another notable inſtance of the ſtability of opinion in that ſapient Aſſembly, the FIRST YEAR having laſted a few days above three months—their own decree for the abolition of royalty, and declaring France a republic, bearing date about the twenty-firſt of September.

On the fifth, the counſel for Lewis tranſmitted to the Convention ſome obſervations on a charge made againſt him by a member of the Convention, of having conſtantly kept two miniſters, one oſtenſible, the other private; and for having, in conſequence of this ſecret miniſtry, ſent Hayman to Pruſſia. They reminded the Convention that Louis, at the time when he projected his journey to Montmidi, had tranſmitted to Bouillé the ſum of nine hundred and ninety-three thouſand livres, of which he ordered him to give an account, after his return to Paris. Bouillé having retired to Luxembourg, Monſieur, who went thither alſo, finding himſelf without reſources, took from Bouillé the ſum of ſix hundred and ſeventy thouſand livres. It was from this ſum that the princes took three thouſand four hundred livres for the expence of Hayman's journey to Pruſſia *on the king's ſervice*. This expreſſion was the conſequence of a very extraordinary affectation in the princes, when they formed regiments, or entered into negociations with foreign powers. Louis could not prevent his brothers from abuſing his name. " You " will remember,"—ſaid the counſel—" that in the denunciation made on the thirty-firſt " of March to the National Aſſembly, in the name of Louis, by the miniſter, Dumou- " rier, of a treaty between the emigrant princes and prince Hohenloe, Dumourier was " particularly charged to teſtify to the Aſſembly how much Louis was afflicted and diſ- " treſſed on account of this ſtep. You will recollect alſo, that on the fifth of July, Louis " denounced a loan of eight millions, negociated by the princes in Holland, by one " Harel-la-Verter. The following remark will ſerve as a compleat refutation of the " above charge: Had there exiſted a ſecret miniſtry, ſome proofs of it would have been " diſcovered among the papers found at the Thuilleries, when the palace was attacked, "as Louis was in the habit of preſerving all his papers."—The Convention ordered that this letter, and ſome other pieces, ſhould be printed.

For ſeveral days after the defence, the Convention was moſtly occupied in hearing the opinions of the members, all of whom prefaced their diſcourſes, by declaring a conviction of the king's guilt. They differed however with reſpect to the penalty he had incurred

curred; many being of opinion that juſtice and policy forbade the pains of death: all the Rolandiſts, Briſſotines, and Girondiſts, were of this number. Danton's and Robeſpierre's party argued for IMMEDIATE DEATH; and became ſo impatient at the delay, from attending to the different harangues, that they repealed the decree they had paſſed a few days before; and, inſtead of hearing every member from the tribune, they reſolved that the diſcourſes ſhould be printed, and laid on the table, to be read by thoſe who choſe, and the fourteenth of January was appointed for pronouncing ultimately. It was not till the fifteenth, however, that the firſt appeal was made, owing to the long and warm diſcuſſions which took place, before it was determined in what terms, and in what order, the queſtions ſhould be ſtated, on which the Convention was to decide: at laſt, it was decreed that the following queſtions ſhould be put to all the members, and decided by the nominal appeal:

1. Is Louis Capet, late king of France, guilty of a conſpiracy againſt liberty, and of attempts againſt the general ſafety of the State? Yes, or No.
2. Shall the judgment to be pronounced on Louis, be ſubmitted to the ratification of the people in the primary aſſemblies? Yes, or No.
3. What puniſhment has he incurred?

Theſe queſtions appear to have been artfully arranged in this order, to render the king's condemnation more certain.

As the ſittings had been declared permanent till the Convention ſhould come to an ultimate deciſion on the fate of the fallen monarch, the topic was ſeveral times reſumed, previous to the day of final conſideration. To attempt to convey an idea of the proceedings, would only be to give a diſguſting detail of ſanguinary and ferocious harangues on the one ſide, headed by Egalité, Marat, Robeſpierre, &c. all tending to the ſame point, and inſiſting, and violently clamouring for the blood of their devoted victim; on the other hand, the Girondiſts and Moderates contending that ſmaller puniſhments, ſuch as impriſonment, baniſhment, &c. beſt befitted the nature of the offences committed, and the rank of the offender. But to the diſgrace of that Aſſembly, there was no party to be found leaning to the ſide of mercy, nor ſcarcely a ſingle member who had not in his own mind already pre-condemned the illuſtrious priſoner.

As the Convention could proceed no further than propoſing the form of each members delivering his opinion on the fourteenth, on account of the extreme length of debate to which thoſe proceedings gave riſe, the buſineſs was neceſſarily deferred to the ſucceeding day, when the Convention paſſed the following decree, That in voting on the ſeveral queſtions relating to the trial of Louis, the anſwer of each member ſhall be entered after his name; that this liſt ſhall be printed and ſent to the eighty-four departments

ments; and that abſent members ſhall be allowed to give their opinion on their return to the Convention.—The firſt queſtion was then put to the vote: "Is Louis guilty of "conſpiracy againſt the liberty of the nation, and of attempts againſt the general ſafety "of the ſtate?" One of the ſecretaries called over the names in the alphabetical order of the departments. The names being called over, Vergneaux, the preſident, ſaid, of ſeven hundred and thirty-five voters, ſix-and-twenty have been abſent by leave; five by illneſs; one for cauſe unknown; ſix-and-twenty have made various declarations, and ſix hundred and ninety-three have voted for the affirmative[67]. I do declare, in the name of the Convention,

"THAT LOUIS CAPET IS GUILTY OF CONSPIRACY AGAINST "THE LIBERTY OF THE NATION, AND OF ATTEMPTS AGAINST "THE GENERAL SAFETY OF THE STATE."

The ſecond queſtion was then put to the vote: "Shall recourſe be had to the appeal "to the people before inflicting puniſhment?" A great number of members aſſigned reaſons for voting againſt the appeal. Almoſt all of them ſeemed to dread it, as a ſource of civil war. Many of the members expreſſed their indignation at having ſeen the neareſt relation of Louis vote againſt him. To which he replied, "*I think only of my duty*, and "I ſay—No!"—This ſecond vote of Egalité brought the following remark from Barbaroux: "It is time for the French people to reſume the exerciſe of their ſupremacy, "to cruſh a faction, in the midſt of which I ſee Philip d'Orleans, whom I denounce to "the whole Republic. I know that I expoſe myſelf to all their poinards; but, as the "life of man is uncertain, I think it my duty to make this declaration[68]."

The calling over of the names was not concluded till eleven o'clock. Twenty members were abſent by leave; ten did not vote; three were indiſpoſed; three were abſent without known cauſe; four hundred and twenty-four voted for the negative, and two hundred and eighty-three for the affirmative. The preſident declared,

"THE NATIONAL CONVENTION DECREES, THAT THE JUDG- "MENT WHICH IT SHALL PRONOUNCE UPON LOUIS CAPET, "SHALL NOT BE SUBJECTED TO AN APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE."

[67] Among theſe was Egalité!!!

[68] So daring and violent had been the endeavours of the faction to promote the deſigns of Egalité, that the members of the Convention could not but be ſenſible of his infamous intention of ſubverting the monarchy, in order either to poſſeſs the government himſelf, or to have it dependant on his influence; and he was thus openly accuſed of criminal endeavours to obtain the crown, or at leaſt the regency.

Previous to the diſcuſſion of the third queſtion, ſeveral members obſerved, that as the Convention wiſhed to exerciſe the functions of judges, they ought to adopt the form generally uſed, of not condemning an accuſed perſon but by a majority of two-thirds of the votes. After ſome debate the Convention determined, that the majority ſhould be ſimple, that is, that *one* ſhould be a majority. At a quarter paſt ſeven at night, the Convention proceeded to the nominal appeal[69] upon this queſtion: "What puniſhment ought to be in-"flicted on Louis Capet?"—Although we have anticipated the ſentiments of the Convention in general, we truſt a ſketch of the opinions of a few of the moſt leading members of both parties, as individually delivered on this memorable occaſion, will not be unacceptable to our readers.

Maihlé, who ſpoke firſt, voted for death; and requeſted, at the ſame time, that the Convention would take into conſideration, whether they ought to retard, or to haſten that puniſhment.——*Genſonne*, after having demanded that they ſhould apply to Louis the puniſhment awarded to high treaſon in the criminal code, expreſſed his deſire, in order to prove to Europe that the repreſentatives of the French people made no exception in favour of any guilty perſons, that they ſhould give orders for the miniſters of juſtice to proſecute the aſſaſſins of the ſecond of September. This propoſal of Genſonne did not intimidate the ſanguinary faction to which he alluded.——*Philippe Egalité*, in pronouncing the ſentence of death, ſaid, "Inſenſible to every ſentiment but that of my duty, "convinced that thoſe who conſpire againſt their country deſerve death, I vote for death."——*Salles*. "All we have left is the choice of the evils which threaten our country—for-"tunately Louis the Sixteenth leaves after him a man who, of all others, is the fitteſt to "diſguſt us with royalty."——*Condorcet*. "I do not vote for death, as I never ſhall give "my voice for it: I do not vote for impriſonment, becauſe I am a judge, and the ſen-"tence of impriſonment is to be found in no law; but I vote for the diſcuſſion of the "moſt important point after the ſentence of death; whether it will be expedient to defer "or accelerate the execution of the ſentence."——*Yſabeau*. "It is as much repugnant to "my character as to my principles, to pronounce ſentence of death againſt any man ex-"cept a tyrant[70], for a tyrant appears to me not to be a man. At preſent it is not I "who pronounce that ſentence, but the law. This ſhall be the firſt and the only time "of my life, that that terrible word ſhall proceed from my mouth; for I ſhould not con-

[69] The *Nominal Appeal*, adopted by the Convention, on the preſent and ſeveral ſubſequent occaſions, in order to individuate the opinions of the members, was a regulation conducted in the following manner: The ſecretary called over the names of the members, in the order of the departments, and every one in his turn aſcended the tribune, from whence he delivered his vote, and thoſe who thought proper explained the reaſons which induced their deciſion.

[70] It may be proper to remark here, that no other ſtyle was adopted, ſince the firſt meeting of the National Convention (when ſpeaking of his majeſty) than, "THE TYRANT," "CAPET," "LOUIS THE LAST," "THE PRI-"SONER," &c. &c. together with every other degrading or ironical epithet which the malicious ingenuity of theſe partial and mercileſs legiſlators could invent. Even the patronimic name of *Bourbon* was cautiouſly omitted, probably as carrying a popular ſound, and reminding the people of their favourite Henry the Fourth. On the firſt adoption of this inſulting mode, Louis appeared to be much hurt: but his feelings ſoon ſubſided, and he received that, as he did every reiterated inſult, with calmneſs and reſignation.

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"tinue in exiſtence had my country another king to condemn. I vote for the puniſh-
"ment of death."——*Deſtigoyte.* "I will not enter into any compoſition with tyrants.
"I vote for death, and a ſpeedy execution of the ſentence."——*Garron de Goulon.* "I am
"of opinion, that we cannot exerciſe, at the ſame time, the functions of accuſers,
"judges, and jury. The people did not delegate to us the right of pronouncing with-
"out their ratification. I conſider it to be tyranny, when men place themſelves above
"that ever-ſacred law, the Sovereignty of the People. I reſpect the opinions of thoſe
"who entertain ſentiments different from mine, but I cannot adopt them."——*Pons de Verdun.* "Louis has gone beyond the bounds of his conſtitutional inviolability. I ſee
"the ſame difference between thoſe crimes provided for by that conſtitution which he
"firſt annihilated, and thoſe of which he has rendered himſelf guilty, as between poi-
"ſoning and aſſaſſination. As he has exceeded the meaſure of the crime, the puniſh-
"ment incurred ſhould be the greater. The king, as an individual, has placed himſelf,
"in regard to puniſhment, on a footing with unprivileged conſpirators; for, in regard
"to criminality, he has been always privileged. He is more criminal than they—Should
"this be a reaſon for treating him with leſs ſeverity? The Rights of Man loudly ex-
"claim againſt ſuch injuſtice. They would reproach me with diſguiſing it under the
"name of policy; with covering it under the puſillanimous pretence of falſe incom-
"petence; and with weakneſs, ſhould I ſuffer myſelf to be frightened with vain phantoms.
"Louis has been accuſed by the whole nation of having conſpired againſt it. We have
"declared him guilty. My conſcience bids me open the penal code: it pronounces
"againſt Louis the ſentence of death, which ſeveral of his accomplices have already
"ſuffered."——*Cambaceres.* "The National Convention, in my opinion, ought to de-
"cree, that Louis has incurred the puniſhment pronounced by the law againſt conſpira-
"tors. The execution of this decree ought, however, to be ſuſpended till the ceſſation
"of hoſtilities, when the Convention, or the legiſlative body who ſhall ſucceed it, may
"finally determine reſpecting the fate of Louis; who, in the mean time, ſhould be kept
"in confinement. But in caſe the enemies of the republic ſhall invade the French ter-
"ritories, the decree ought that inſtant to be put in execution."——*Robeſpierre.* "Be-
"cauſe you have eſtabliſhed yourſelves the judges of Louis, without the uſual forms,
"are you leſs his judges? You cannot ſeparate your quality of judge from that of legiſ-
"lator. Theſe two qualities are indiviſible. You have acknowledged the crimes of
"the tyrant; it is your duty to puniſh them. No conſideration ſhould make you heſitate
"reſpecting the puniſhment reſerved for the greateſt criminal that ever exiſted. I vote for
"death."——*Danton.* "I am not one of thoſe ſtateſmen who know not how to deter-
"mine but from political conſiderations. I am a republican, and do not heſitate reſpect-
"ing the choice of the puniſhment reſerved for Louis the Laſt. You ought to ſtrike a
"terror into tyrants by an inflexibility of character. I vote for the puniſhment of
"death."—*Manuel.* "Some have ſpoken to us of the Romans: their example has been
"cited; but ought we, can we diſpenſe with acknowledging this eternal truth, that the
"right of death belongs only to nature. Had Louis been brought before ordinary

"judges,

" judges, they could not have avoided pronouncing the puniſhment of death; but we, " repreſentatives of the people, who are not bound to conſult a penal code, ridiculouſly " atrocious—We, whom the nation has ſent to diſcover error, and to proclaim truth, do " not heſitate to ſay, that the life of a man, though criminal, is not at the diſpoſal of " ſociety. I vote for the impriſonment of the tyrant, during the continuance of the war, " in that place where the victims of his deſpotiſm languiſhed; and for his expulſion " when peace ſhall be ſecured."——*Condorcet.* " I declare that no circumſtance, except " the preſent, could induce me to pronounce ſentence of death againſt any one. I re- " queſt that the ſevereſt puniſhment, next to death, may be inflicted on Louis; but in " caſe death ſhall be pronounced againſt him, I requeſt that the political conſideration, " preſented by Maihle, viz. " Whether the puniſhment ought to be accelerated or re- " tarded?" may be diſcuſſed."——*Ducos.* " At a time when I am about to pronounce on " the fate of Louis, the *ci-devant* king, my duty to my conſtituents and to my con- " ſcience, requires that I ſhould declare thoſe principles which have directed my judg- " ment and opinion. I never thought that the National Convention ought to judge " Louis. I never doubted that they had a right to do ſo; but I thought it was not proper " for them to exerciſe that right. They decreed, that they would try him. Had a ſenſe of " my duty, and of my incompetence, rejected that decree, no power on earth could have " forced me to have executed it. It was repugnant only to my opinion, and my opinion " was ſilent before that of the majority. I voted againſt ſubmitting the ſentence to the " ſanction of the people, becauſe this appeared ſubverſive of every principle of repreſen- " tative government under which I wiſh to live and die; for it is clear to me as demon- " ſtration, that there can be no liberty but under ſuch a government; and becauſe the " people cannot at the ſame time preſerve and delegate the exerciſe of their powers—have " repreſentatives and be unrepreſented. With regard to the forms employed in conduct- " ing this buſineſs, I am of opinion they have gone beyond the uſual rules. As the " trial ought to have gone beyond them, on account of the ſingular ſtate of the ac- " cuſed, and the particular nature of the accuſation, I thought it neceſſary to examine " whether they were conformable to the laws and uſages of the tribunal; but if they " were ſufficient to convince me, the diviſion of the judiciary functions into thoſe of ac- " cuſers, jury, and judge, by the law, is at once a precaution, and means taken by ſociety " for the better adminiſtration of juſtice—this diviſion, however, is not juſtice. Juſtice " conſiſts in a juſt application of law to facts—This is what I look for in the preſent " trial. I declare, that the extraordinary ſtate of the accuſed could alone make me con- " ceive and approve the extraordinary form of the ſentence, which ſhould be ſingular, " as is the caſe which it is about to determine. I declare, beſides, that if the Conven- " tion ſhould wiſh to paſs ſentence againſt a common citizen, by employing the ſame vio- " lation of forms, I ſhould conſider it as criminal and tyrannical, and I ſhould denounce " it to the French nation. Citizens, it evidently appears to me, from an attentive exa- " mination which I have made of the conduct of Louis during the courſe of the legiſla- " tive aſſembly, and from the papers found either in the Thuilleries, or at the houſe of

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"the intendant of the civil liſt, that Louis, the *ci-devant* king, is convicted of having "conſpired againſt the general ſafety of the ſtate, and againſt the liberty of the nation; "and that he conſequently ought to undergo the puniſhment appointed by the penal "code for crimes of that nature. Citizens, to condemn a man to death is, of all the "ſacrifices which I have made to my country, that alone which ought to be accounted "as any thing."——*Thomas Paine.* "I vote for the proviſional confinement of Louis, "and for his expulſion after the war."——*Briſſot.* "It would have been deſirable that "the puniſhment to be inflicted on Louis ſhould have been pronounced by the whole "nation. It would have been the beſt method of carrying along with us the ſentiments "of neighbouring nations, and of defeating the projects of the tyrants of Europe, who "deſire the puniſhment of Louis, in order to excite, with more ſucceſs, indignation and "hatred againſt the National Convention. But as the Aſſembly have thought proper "to reject the appeal to the people, I am now clearly of opinion, that the only way of "avoiding the dangers which threaten us, is to pronounce the puniſhment of death "againſt Louis, and to defer its execution to the moment when the people ſhall have "ſanctioned the conſtitution which we ſhall preſent to them. I know that, in ſome "ſenſe, the opinion which I deliver may be calumniated; I have only to offer, in reply to "my enemies, my honourable poverty. The moment, perhaps, is not far diſtant, when "I ſhall bequeath it to my children; but while I live, I will exert myſelf, with all my "power, for the maintenance of order; without which, a republic can only be a combi-"nation of ruffians. I declare, as a man who has a profound knowledge of our ſucceſs, "of our reſources, and of thoſe of the powers who threaten us, that we have nothing "to fear from kings, and their ſatellites; and I add, that if we do not deſtroy that ſyſtem "of diſorganization which has raiſed its audacious head, the republic is loſt."

The diſcuſſion was now interrupted for a while by the receipt of a letter from the defenders of Louis; on reading which it was decreed, that they ſhould be heard after the reſult of the nominal appeal ſhould be proclaimed. The preſident then announced that he was going to proclaim the reſult of the nominal appeal. The moſt profound ſilence prevailed for ſeveral minutes. He then ſaid, "The Aſſembly is compoſed of ſeven hun-"dred and forty-five members—one of theſe is dead, ſix indiſpoſed, two abſent without "cauſe, and cenſured in the minutes conformable to the decree, eleven abſent upon com-"miſſions, and four who do not vote; making, in all, twenty-three members who have given "no opinion. The number of votes is thus reduced to ſeven hundred and twenty-one. "In order that there may be a majority, it is neceſſary that there ſhould be a union of "three hundred and ſixty-one ſuffrages. Twenty-one members have voted for death, "with the demand of a diſcuſſion on the period of his execution; one has voted for "death, with the reſerve of its commutation or delay; two for death, not to be carried "into execution till peace, unleſs in caſe of an invaſion of the French territory, in which "inſtance, to be inflicted within twenty-four hours after ſuch invaſion has taken place;

"two

" two for impriſonment in chains; three hundred and nineteen for impriſonment and " baniſhment; three hundred and ſixty-ſix for death!" The preſident then proceeded to pronounce the following ſentence:

" I DECLARE THEN, IN THE NAME OF THE CONVENTION, " THAT THE PUNISHMENT WHICH IT PRONOUNCES AGAINST " LOUIS CAPET IS—*DEATH!*"

The three defenders of Louis Capet were then admitted to the bar. One of them (De Seze) ſaid, " Citizens repreſentatives, the law and decrees have intruſted to us the " ſacred function of the defence of Louis. We come, with regret, to preſent to you " the laſt act of our function. Louis has given to us his expreſs charge to read to you " a letter ſigned with his own hand, of which the following is a copy:

" I owe to my own honour, I owe to my family, not to ſubſcribe to a ſentence which " declares me guilty of a crime with which I cannot accuſe myſelf. In conſequence, I " appeal to the nation, from the ſentence of its repreſentatives; and I commit, by theſe " preſents, to the fidelity of my defenders, to make known to the National Convention " this appeal, by all the means in their power, and to demand that mention of it be made " in the minutes of their ſittings.

" Given at Paris, Jan. 16th, 1793. (Signed) " LOUIS."

De Seze then reſumed his ſpeech. He reminded the Aſſembly that the decree of death had only been pronounced by a majority of five voices, while the other part of the Aſſembly were of opinion, that the ſafety of the country required another deciſion. He warmly conjured them to examine anew the queſtion of appeal, and to grant to humanity, to the intereſt of the ſtate, all that juſtice might not ſeem imperiouſly to claim.

Tronchet, another of the defenders of Louis, proteſted againſt the decree, by which the Aſſembly had declared that the ſentence ſhould be paſſed, like its other decrees, by an abſolute majority. He demanded the repeal of the decree, obſerving, that as the penal code had ſerved as the baſis of the opinion of thoſe who had pronounced the puniſhment of death, the Aſſembly ought, conformably to that code, not to pronounce the puniſhment, except by two-thirds of the voices.

Lamoignon Maleſherbes, the third counſel of Louis, begged the Convention to allow him till to-morrow to preſent ſome obſervations on the kind of majority which to him ſeemed neceſſary, before ſentence ſhould have been pronounced. He regretted that he could not ſpeak extempore with ſufficient facility to enable him to explain his ideas.

The preſident informed the counſel [72] that the Convention would take their requeſts into conſideration, and invited them to the honours of the ſitting.

On a motion made by Robeſpierre, the Convention decreed—1. That the appeal interpoſed by Louis Capet is null, being contrary to the rights of the people, and to the power of national repreſentation; and that all citizens are forbidden to ſupport this appeal, under pain of being puniſhed as diſturbers of the public tranquillity.—2. That there are no grounds for attending to the remonſtrances of the counſel of Louis, in regard to the nature of the majority which paſſed ſentence upon him.

The diſcuſſion of the queſtion, Whether it would be proper to ſuſpend the execution of the ſentence paſſed againſt Louis Capet, was adjourned to next day. The Convention roſe at eleven at night, after a ſitting which continued thirty-ſix hours. At this ſitting the Spaniſh court, through the medium of its miniſter, made a becoming interpoſition on the part of the unfortunate Louis; but the reading of the letter was rejected with equal haughtineſs and imprudence.

The day following Breard moved,—1. That the ſecretaries ſhould retire, and make out a copy of the minutes, that it might be preſented to the Convention to-morrow, at the opening of the ſitting.—2. That the Convention ſhould order an addreſs to the people, on the trial of Louis Capet, to be drawn up.——*Thuriot.* "I oppoſe the ſecond propoſition, as contrary to the dignity of the Convention, and to the glory of the French people; ſince it would, on the one hand, repreſent the trial of Louis as an illegal act, which had need to be juſtified; and would, on the other, be ſuppoſing that a number of the French people were partizans of the tyrant. I move, that the ſecretaries ſhall immediately preſent the exact reſult of the *appel nominal*; and that the Convention ſhall not ſeparate, until they have determined on the reſpite demanded in favour of Louis."——*Tallien.* "I ſecond this motion *from motives of humanity.* Louis knows that he is condemned; would it not be the height of barbarity to ſuffer him to remain long in the horrible agony of ſuſpenſe?"——*Couthon.* "I requeſt, *in the name of hu-*

[72] It ſhould be mentioned here, that, excluſive of the counſel choſen by Louis for his defence, ſeveral of his former adherents made various efforts to eſtabliſh his innocence. Among theſe ſtood M. Cazalés, ſo diſtinguiſhed in the firſt Aſſembly by his zeal for monarchy and ariſtocracy, and who was then in England: he ſolicited, though he knew it muſt be at the riſk of his life, a paſſport, to enable him to appear as counſel for Louis; the ſame offer was made by M. Narbonne, ex-miniſter of war, and M. Lally-Tolendal: a more feeble effort was made by M. de Bouillé, who tranſmitted an atteſtation in his favour, reſpecting the flight to Montmidi, and a letter of M. Choiſeul, teſtifying the king's diſpleaſure at the money which remained in the hands of Bouillé on that account, having been paid to his brothers. M. Bertrand alſo, ex-miniſter of the marine, then an emigrant in England, offered to appear as an evidence. He tranſmitted papers to prove that both parties negociated with the king in ſecret; but theſe papers were not produced, becauſe they would have proved fatal to the character of Danton, La Croix, and other of the leaders, both of the Jacobin and Gironde parties.

" *manity*, that Tallien's motion may be adopted. Louis is informed of his fate, every " moment of delay is a puniſhment, and, to many people, ſuch a puniſhment would be " worſe than death. Every ſentence in criminal caſes ought to be executed in four-and- " twenty hours. I well know, that by this grand example of juſtice, we ſhall draw " down upon our heads the fury and vengeance of tyrants; but theſe reflections have no " weight here; and ſuch is the ſervice we render to *humanity*, that we tear aſide the " veil, give to the people of all nations an idea of their force; and, by ſtriking off the " head of Louis, ſtrike all tyrants. I ſupport, then, the motion of Tallien, and requeſt " that the following article may be added to the ſentence of death, viz.—The execu- " tive council ſhall immediately ſend the preſent decree, by expreſs, to the eighty-four " departments. It ſhall be executed in the Place de Carouſel, and an account of its exe- " cution ſhall be delivered in four-and-twenty hours."——*Robeſpierre.* " We have voted " for the death of the tyrant—we muſt no longer think of negociating with tyranny. " I cannot allow myſelf to imagine, that there is in this Convention a ſingle man who " will refuſe to participate in the *glory of that courage* by which we ſhall ſecure the ad- " miration of poſterity !! With regard to the queſtion of a reſpite, I think you ought to " ſet it aſide through *humanity*. If you do not determine in the courſe of this ſitting, " I requeſt that your utmoſt delay may only be an adjournment till to-morrow."—After much altercation this requeſt was complied with. Before the Convention adjourned, a ſilly report was ſpread, of attempts having been made to ſet fire to the apartments of the late king. It was, however, added, that they had been perceived time enough to pre- vent any bad conſequences.

On Saturday, the nineteenth, Marat demanded that the Aſſembly ſhould decree that there is no room to deliberate on the queſtion of delay, and that the tyrant be ſent to puniſhment within four-and-twenty hours.——*Pons de Verdun.* " The queſtion pro- " poſed to you to-day has been already completely diſcuſſed. You have ſeveral times " taken up the queſtion of delay upon political conſiderations, and likewiſe in the diſ- " cuſſion on the appeal to the people, and that which preceded the laſt *appel nominal*; ſo " that they propoſe to you to recur to a queſtion which has been already three times de- " cided. They propoſe to you to entail upon yourſelves, with reſpect to foreign na- " tions, the ſcandal of having pronounced ſentence of death before you had examined " whether, upon political conſiderations, it ought to be executed."——*Genſonne.* " I " approve of the opinion of Pons; but if it is not proper to occupy a long time in the " diſcuſſion of the delay, at leaſt it is neceſſary to take the meaſure calculated to enſure " the general ſafety, before we carry into execution the ſentence of death. The Con- " vention ought to ſummon to its bar the conſtituted authorities, in order to obtain in- " formation whether the ſtate of Paris gives reaſon to apprehend any diſturbance, if the " execution ſhould take place within four-and-twenty hours. It is proper to provide " for the ſecurity of perſons and property, and particularly to put under the protection " of the laws the children of the condemned ſufferer; for the execution ought not to

" diſhonour

"diſhonour the National Convention. I demand, then, that the information which I "require on all theſe points, be immediately ordered."——*Buzot* repreſented the perſonal dangers which threatened thoſe who approved of a delay: he was inſenſible to ſuch conſiderations. The Aſſembly, in order to abridge the trial of Louis, had been compelled to neglect ſome cuſtomary forms. This deficiency of forms, which in the preſent moment was of little conſequence, might be matter of ſerious reproach to the Convention with poſterity; if, by the delay, they did not prove that the whole of their proceedings had been influenced by juſtice, and not by precipitancy. "I conclude"—ſaid he—"that the execution of the ſentence of death be deferred till the expulſion of *all* "*the Bourbons*. If you do not remove the perſons connected with the tyrant, you will "ſoon have a king. It is not enough that Louis ſingly periſh. If you do not exter- "minate the faction who might give him a ſucceſſor, you are undone."——*Thuriot*. "The "decree is paſſed, it muſt be executed. They tell you to dread the reſentment of the "departments againſt an improper majority; but have they forgot that all the members "of this Aſſembly are agreed with reſpect to the crimes of Louis? They are forced to "confeſs, that the city of Paris has but one opinion in regard to the tyrant, and yet they "inſinuate doubts of the diſpoſitions which may be teſtified in the ſequel. No—I am "not afraid to ſay, that there is not one Pariſian who is not ready to ſhed his blood for "the execution of your decree. Paris does not wiſh for a new deſpot. What then is "this ſtrange ſyſtem of ſacrificing all the Bourbons?—ſacrificing thoſe who have done "nothing againſt their country; while they have not the courage to ſpeak to you of thoſe "infamous men who conſpired againſt liberty; and, while they knew all the crimes of "the tyrant, attempted to ſave him. I conclude with demanding, that Louis be exe- "cuted within four-and-twenty hours, and that the executive council be charged to "take the meaſures neceſſary to enſure the public ſafety."——*Barbaroux*. "It is evident "that if the French republic periſhes, the eſtabliſhment of liberty in Europe will be "retarded ſeveral centuries. They are little acquainted with the politics of courts, who "think that the death of Louis will furniſh a pretext to foreign powers for declaring "war againſt us. The execution of the ſentence ought to be haſtened from many con- "ſiderations, and I think the expulſion of all the Bourbons is a meaſure of general ſa- "ty. I vote, then, for the execution of the ſentence; and move, that before the defi- "nitive ſentence be pronounced, the Convention ſhall paſs ſentence of baniſhment "againſt all the Bourbons."——*Condorcet*. "Whatever courſe you purſue, there are "doubtleſs dangers which you cannot avoid. I think I can prove, that for the dangers "of reſpite there are ſufficient remedies, or remedies which may at leaſt leſſen them. "Hitherto we have had only to combat kings, and armies attached to the cauſe of ty- "rants by ſevere diſcipline. The people have remained in a ſtate of uncertainty, the "effect of which has been favourable to us. Kings are endeavouring to inſtigate them "againſt us; to gain their end they will take advantage of the execution of Louis, and "they will ſucceed if you are not on your guard. Let us prove to the whole world that

" we are not barbarians: and that if we wiſh for the death of the tyrant, we wiſh alſo " for the happineſs of mankind.—Let us ſtrike the *ci-devant* king, but let us aboliſh the " puniſhment of death for all private crimes, and reſerve it only for treaſon. Let us " haſten to reviſe our ſyſtem of taxation, to eſtabliſh beneficent laws, to form a ſyſtem of " public inſtruction, and to meliorate the management of our hoſpitals. We may then " anſwer tyrants, if they reproach us with the death of Louis; and we may reſt aſſured, " that with ſuch diſpoſitions he may then be executed without danger in four-and-twen- " ty hours."——*Briſſot.* " Such has been the influence of the French Revolution, that " at London, Vienna, Berlin, and every where, great deference is paid to public opinion. " It is conſulted, it is feared, and attempts are made to corrupt it. The public opinion " of Europe is of more importance to us than armies. In this ſtate of things, the im- " mediate execution of Louis muſt be very unfavourable to us. There are in Europe two " claſſes of men: the firſt, conſiſting of philoſophers and friends of liberty, will not ſee " the neceſſity for the death of Louis, and will think, that a great nation ought to diſ- " dain ſanguinary vengeance; the other, compoſed of the ſlaves of prejudice, will con- " ſider the puniſhment of a king as the greateſt of crimes—and both will unite to " condemn us. On theſe conſiderations I vote for a reſpite till the new conſtitution " ſhall be ratified. If you purſue another courſe, you muſt declare war againſt Eng- " land, Spain, and Holland. Give an example of moderation, and a revolution will be " accompliſhed throughout all Europe."

The diſcuſſion being cloſed, the Convention proceeded to the nominal appeal on the queſtion, " Whether the execution of the ſentence paſſed againſt Louis Capet ſhould " be delayed?"

Several members wiſhed that the term of the delay to be voted upon ſhould be firſt decided. Legendre obſerved, that the firſt queſtion ſhould certainly be, Whether there ought to be any delay? and that the Convention could afterwards eaſily fix the term. Some members, when they voted, wiſhed to aſſign their reaſons; but this was oppoſed by the Convention, and the members were permitted to pronounce only, YES, or NO. When the nominal appeal was terminated, the preſident announced, that, after calling over the votes upon the queſtion, " What puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on Louis?" and after the explanations given by ſeveral who had voted for death with reſtrictions, it was found that the ſentence of death pronouced upon Louis had been carried by a majority, not of *five*, but of *twenty-ſeven*, votes.

The preſident then declared the reſult of the nominal appeal on the queſtion, " Whether the execution of the ſentence ſhould be delayed?" Of ſeven hundred and forty-eight members, ſeventeen were abſent by commiſſion, twenty-one from ſickneſs, eight without any aſſigned reaſon, twelve did not vote, three hundred and ten voted for delaying the execution of the ſentence, and three hundred and eighty for carrying it into immediate

immediate effect. The Convention then ordered their decree to be immediately notified to the executive council, with orders to give an account the next day, at eleven o'clock, of the measures taken to put it in execution within four-and-twenty hours.

Cambaceres then said, "Citizens, by pronouncing sentence of death against the last "king of the French, you have done an act, the remembrance of which will not pass "away, and which will be recorded by the graver of immortality in the annals of hif-"tory. Public safety could alone prescribe to you that awful decree. Since it is pass-"ed, I stand up, in the name of humanity, to call your attention to the person who is "the object of it. Let us allow him every possible consolation; and let us take proper "measures to prevent the execution of the national will from being sullied with any "stain. I move, therefore, the following propositions:

"1. The executive council shall be immediately summoned, and a copy of the decree "which pronounces sentence of death against Louis shall be delivered them.

"2. The executive council shall be charged to notify this decree to Louis in the "course of the day; to cause it to be executed within four-and-twenty hours *after it has* "*been notified to him*; to take every measure of safety and police which to them shall "appear necessary, during the execution; to be careful that no insult be offered to the "remains of Louis; and to give an account of their mission to the National Con-"vention.

"3. The mayor and municipal officers of Paris shall be enjoined to suffer Louis to "communicate freely with his family, and to have with him such priests as he may de-"sire in his last moments.

These propositions were unanimously adopted, with an amendment by Brissot, that the executive council should not be called till eleven o'clock in the morning. The sitting rose at two o'clock in the morning.

On the twentieth the executive council met for the execution of the decree, and summoned the commissioners of the directory of the department, the mayor, the commandant-general, the public accuser, and the president of the criminal tribunal of the department of Paris, to attend. After having concerted some measures with them, the minister of justice, the president of the council, another member, and the secretary of the council, accompanied by two members of the department, and the mayor, repaired, at two o'clock precisely, to the apartment of Louis. The president of the council informed Louis, that he was charged by the executive council to notify to him an extract of the minutes of the sittings of the National Convention of the fifteenth, seventeenth, nineteenth, and twentieth of January. The secretary of the council read the extract to him as follows:

"1. The

" 1. The National Convention declares Louis Capet, *laſt king of the French*, guilty of " a conſpiracy againſt the liberty of the nation, and of a crime againſt the general ſafety " of the ſtate.

" 2. The National Convention declares, that Louis Capet ſhall undergo the puniſh- " ment of DEATH.

" 3. The National Convention declares, that the act of Louis Capet, brought to the " bar by his counſel, and termed an appeal to the nation on the ſentence paſſed againſt " him in the Convention, is null; and forbids every perſon from giving it authority, on " pain of being proſecuted, and puniſhed, as guilty of a crime againſt the general ſafety " of the republic.

" 4. The temporary executive council ſhall notify the preſent decree, within the day, " to Louis Capet, and ſhall take the neceſſary meaſures of police and ſafety, to ſecure " its execution within *four-and-twenty hours*, reckoning from the notification, and ſhall " render an account of the whole to the National Convention immediately after its " execution."

When the ſecretary had finiſhed reading, Louis made a reply nearly to the ſame effect as the contents of a paper which he drew from his port-folio. The miniſter of juſtice anſwered, that the members of the council then preſent would withdraw to deliberate on his demands: but not being able to come to any reſolution by themſelves, they returned to lay them before the council, who, after hearing them read, reſolved that they ſhould be communicated to the Convention. They are as follow:

" I demand a delay of three days, that I may be able to prepare myſelf for appearing " before God: I demand, for this purpoſe, to be permitted to ſee freely the perſon whom " I ſhall point out to the commiſſioners of the commons; that this perſon may be ſe- " cure from all fear, and from all uneaſineſs, for the act of charity which he ſhall per- " form to me. I demand to be delivered from the perpetual inſpection which the coun- " cil general has eſtabliſhed for ſome days paſt. I demand, during this interval, leave " to ſee my family when I ſhall deſire it, and without witneſſes. I could wiſh that the " National Convention would conſider with all ſpeed of the lot of my family, and per- " mit them to retire, freely and conveniently, wherever the Convention ſhall think " proper. I recommend to the benevolence of the nation, all the perſons who were at- " tached to me; there are many of them who expended their whole fortune on their ſi- " tuations, and who, having no longer any appointment, muſt be in neceſſity; and even " ſome of them who had no means of living but their appointments. Among the pen- " ſioners are many aged perſons, women, and children, who had no other means of " ſubſiſtence.

At the Tower of the Temple, Jan. 20th, 1793. (Signed) " LOUIS."

" As we were retiring,"—added the miniſter—" he delivered a note to one of the " commiſſioners

" commiſſioners, of the commons, in a hand-writing different from his own, containing " the name of his confeſſor: it is M. Edgeworth, or de Fermon, No. 483, Rue du Bacq."

The Convention decreed, that Louis ſhould be allowed to call whatever miniſter of religion he might think proper, and to ſee his family without witneſſes. They authoriſed the executive council to inform him, that the nation, always great, and always juſt, would attend to the lot of his family. Reſpecting the demand made in favour of thoſe who depended on him for their ſubſiſtence, the Convention *paſſed to the order of the day*, becauſe ſuch perſons had a right to appear, and to requeſt payment, or ſome other indemnity, if debts were due to them. They *paſſed alſo to the order of the day*, on the demand made by Louis, that the execution of the ſentence might be delayed three days. The Aſſembly then *paſſed to the order of the day*, on the demand of Louis to be freed from the perpetual inſpection of the council general. The miniſter of juſtice obſerved, that the commiſſioners of inſpection always remained in an apartment contiguous to that of Louis. After this, the proviſionary executive council made the neceſſary preparations for the execution; and immediately iſſued the following proclamation:

" *Jan.* 20*th*, 1793. *Second Year of the Republic.*

" The proviſional executive council, deliberating on the meaſures to be taken for the " execution of the decree of the National Convention, of the fifteenth, ſeventeenth, " nineteenth, and twentieth of January, 1793, enacts the following regulations:

" 1. The execution of the ſentence of Louis Capet ſhall take place to-morrow, " (Monday, the twenty-firſt of January.)

" 2. The place of execution ſhall be *La Place de Revolution*, heretofore *Louis XV.* " between the pedeſtal and the *Champs-Eliſées*.

" 3. Louis Capet ſhall ſet out from the Temple at eight o'clock in the morning, ſo " that the execution ſhall take place at noon.

" 4. The commiſſioners of the department of Paris, the commiſſioners of the muni- " cipality, and members of the criminal tribunal, ſhall aſſiſt at the execution; the " ſecretary-regiſter of the tribunal ſhall draw up the minutes; and the ſaid commiſſioners, " and members of the tribunal, as ſoon as the execution is over, ſhall return and give an " account to the council, who ſhall continue in a ſtate of permanent ſitting during the " whole day.

" By the proviſional executive council.
" ROLAND, CLAVIERE, MONGE, LE BRUN, GARAT, PACHE."

When the miniſter of juſtice returned to the Temple, he informed the king, that the Convention acquieſced in moſt of his demands; he gave a favourable interpretation to the general anſwer which had been given to that reſpecting the lot of his family; but added, that *the delay was refuſed*. " It is immaterial," replied Louis, " we muſt ſubmit."

There

There is ſomething infinitely harſh and revolting to humanity in the refuſal of this laſt requeſt, which there is every reaſon to believe, from the character and conduct of the king, proceeded from the pious motive which he aſſigned, and not, as his enemies have ſuggeſted, from a weak deſire of prolonging a wretched exiſtence.

When the miniſter of juſtice had retired, the king gave to one of the commiſſioners a letter, addreſſed to Mr. Edgeworth, who was the perſon he wiſhed to attend him in his laſt moments.

Mr. Edgeworth's father was originally a proteſtant clergyman, of a good family in Ireland, but was converted to the Roman Catholic religion, and had eſtabliſhed himſelf in France, where he bred his ſon an eccleſiaſtic, in the faith which he himſelf preferred. The ſon recommended himſelf ſo much by his good conduct and excellent character, that he was choſen by the princeſs Elizabeth as her confeſſor; by which means he became known to, and highly eſteemed by, the king; of which he gave the ſtrongeſt proof, by ſending for him on this awful occaſion.

The king's letter was carried to Mr. Edgeworth by three ſoldiers, ſent by the council of the commune. The contents of the letter were requeſting his attendance; but if he found himſelf, from apprehenſion of the conſequence, or any other cauſe, averſe to accept that melancholy office entreating him to find another eccleſiaſtic who had not the ſame reluctance. Mr. Edgeworth informed the ſoldiers, that he would attend them directly. His mother and ſiſter were then at a ſmall diſtance from Paris; he deſired madame d'Argouge, a relation with whom he lived when in town, not to inform them of what had happened, becauſe he perceived that lady was greatly alarmed, and feared ſhe might communicate her apprehenſions to them. Mr. Edgeworth was conducted firſt before the council in the Temple, and then to the king. On his being introduced, he inſtantly ſhewed ſuch marks of reſpect and ſenſibility, as affected the unfortunate prince ſo much, that he burſt into tears, and was for ſome moments unable to ſpeak: at length he ſaid—"Excuſe me, "Mr. Edgeworth, I have not been accuſtomed, of late, to the company of men like you."

After paſſing ſome time with his confeſſor, the king thought he had acquired ſufficient fortitude to bear an interview with his family. The queen, the princeſs Elizabeth, with the prince and princeſs royal, were conducted to his apartment. They continued near three hours together—Imagination cannot picture a ſcene more affecting than this interview—Perſons, ſo lately placed in the moſt brilliant ſituation that the world can give—hurled from the ſummit of human ſplendour to the depth of human miſery. A ſiſter, children, and wife, in a priſon, taking their laſt leave of a brother, father, huſband, and a king, rendered more dear by his paſt ſufferings, their common calamity, and the dreadful fate awaiting him the following day. The king, though affected at different times beyond the power of expreſſion, retained his recollection to the laſt.

laſt. When they were to ſeparate, the princeſs Elizabeth mentioned their hopes of ſeeing him again in the morning, which he permitted her to expect. The queen was inconſolable; no conſideration could prevent her pouring forth her indignation, in the moſt violent expreſſions, againſt the enemies of her huſband. In the bitterneſs of her ſoul ſhe beat her breaſt and tore her hair; and her ſcreams were heard, at intervals, all that night of agony and horror.

After his family had withdrawn, the king remained ſome time with his eyes fixed on the ground without ſpeaking; then with a profound ſigh he pronounced—"It was indeed "a dreadful moment!" But the miſery of his own fate did not ſo entirely engroſs his mind as to exclude all ſolicitude for the fate of others; he enquired in a moſt affectionate manner of Mr. Edgeworth for ſeveral whom he conſidered as his friends, and particularly for the eccleſiaſtics, who had been perſecuted with the greateſt cruelty; and expreſſed ſatisfaction at hearing that many of them had eſcaped to England, where they were received with kindneſs and hoſpitality. Mr. Edgeworth prevailed on him to go to bed for four hours. He roſe at five; and expreſſing an inclination to hear maſs, Mr. Edgeworth informed the council, who were ſitting in the Temple, of the king's requeſt. Some difficulties were made, which Mr. Edgeworth removed, ſaying that the uſual ornaments, and all the requiſites for the ceremony, could be procured from a neighbouring church. Mr. Edgeworth ſhewing great ſolicitude that the king ſhould be gratified, one of the commiſſioners ſaid, he had heard of people who had been poiſoned taking the ſacrament. To this horrid inſinuation Mr. Edgeworth made no other reply, than by calmly reminding him "That the committee were to procure the hoſt."

The neceſſary apparatus being provided, Mr. Edgeworth ſaid maſs, and adminiſtered the ſacrament to the king; and then mentioned that his family expected to ſee him before he left the Temple. The king, fearing that he had not ſufficient fortitude for a ſecond interview, wiſhed to ſpare them the agony of ſuch a ſcene, and therefore declined it.

At half an hour after eight Santerre arrived, and informed him that he had received orders to conduct him to the place of execution. After paſſing a few minutes in private with his confeſſor, he came to the outer room, where Santerre had remained, and addreſſing him, ſaid, "Let us go, I am ready." In deſcending to the court, he begged the commiſſioners to recommend certain perſons who were in his ſervice to the commune; after which, not imagining that Mr. Edgeworth intended to accompany him any further, he bade him adieu; but the other ſaid, his attendance was not yet over. "What!"—ſaid the king—"do you intend to adhere to me ſtill?" "Yes,"—replied the confeſſor—"to the laſt."—The king walked through the court with a firm ſtep, and entered the mayor's coach, attended by Mr. Edgeworth, a municipal officer, and two commanders of the national guards.

The king recited the prayers for perſons in the agonies of death during the conveyance from the Temple to the Place de la Revolution. When the carriage ſtopped at the ſcaffold, the king ſaid, "We are now arrived." He inſtantly pulled off his coat, unbuttoned the neck of his ſhirt, aſcended the ſcaffold with ſteadineſs, and ſurveyed for a few moments the immenſe multitude; then approaching the edge of the ſcaffold, and as there was a great noiſe, made a motion with his hand for ſilence, which inſtantly took place; then raiſing his voice, he ſaid, "Frenchmen, I die innocent. I pardon all my enemies, "and I wiſh that France———" Santerre, who was on horſeback near the ſcaffold, made a ſignal for the drums to beat, and the executioners to perform their office. The king's voice was quickly drowned in the noiſe of the drums and trumpets.

Three executioners then approached to lay hold of him: at the ſight of a cord, with which one of them attempted to bind his arms, the king for the firſt time ſhewed ſigns of indignation, and ſeemed as if preparing to reſiſt. Mr. Edgeworth put him in mind that the Saviour of mankind had allowed his arms to be tied: he no ſooner pronounced this, than the king became paſſive as a lamb. The executioners laid hold of him, and placed him on the guillotine. The confeſſor then kneeling with his face near to that of the king, pronounced aloud, "Son of Saint Louis, aſcend to heaven?" The blow was given—Mr. Edgeworth's face was ſprinkled with the king's blood. The executioner walked round the ſcaffold, holding up the head to the view of the people. The crowd then ſhouted, "*Vive la Nation! Vive la Republique*[73]!"

After

[73] The following account of the laſt moments of the unfortunate Lewis is truly intereſting: It is extracted from the Letters of an Engliſh Lady at that time in Paris.

"The French king received the intelligence of his approaching fate without diſmay. He diſplayed far more firmneſs upon the ſcaffold than he had done upon the throne, and atoned for the weakneſs and inconſiſtency of his conduct in life, by the calmneſs and fortitude of his behaviour in death. The evening before his execution, his family, from whom he had been ſeparated ſince the commencement of his trial, were conducted to the tower of the Temple, and allowed the ſad indulgence of a laſt interview, unmoleſted by the preſence of his guards. Alas! when imagination pictured the anguiſh of ſuch an interviw, it was not neceſſary to look back upon the former elevation of the ſufferer, in order to pity the gloomy tranſition in his fate! It was not neceſſary to recollect, that he who was the following morning to ſuffer death upon the ſcaffold, was once the firſt monarch in Europe, and would be led to execution through the ſtreets of his own capital! It was enough to conſider this unfortunate perſon as a man, a huſband, a father! Ah, ſurely, amidſt the agonies of final ſeparation from thoſe to whom we are bound by the ſtrongeſt ties of nature and affection! ſurely, when we cling to thoſe we love, in the unutterable pang of a laſt embrace!—in ſuch moments the monarch muſt forget his crown, and the regrets of diſappointed ambition muſt be unfelt amidſt the anguiſh which overwhelms the broken heart. That anguiſh was not confined to the boſom of the king, the queen, and his ſiſter; the princeſs his daughter has attained that age when perhaps the ſoul is moſt ſuſceptible of ſtrong impreſſions, and its ſenſibility moſt exquiſite. Even the young prince, who is only in his ninth year, caught the infectious ſorrow, and, while his eyes were bathed in tears, cried, ſobbing, to Santerre, "Oh! let "me run through the ſtreets—I will go to the diſtricts—I will go to all the ſections, and beg for my papa!"

"Louis had ſufficient firmneſs to avoid ſeeing his family on the morning of his execution. He deſired the queen might be told that he was unable to bear the ſight of her and his children in thoſe laſt moments. He took a ring off his finger, which contained ſome of his own hair, of the queen's, and of his two children, and deſired

it

After his execution many perſons ſeemed eager to obtain ſome part of his cloaths. His blood was taken up on paper, and on white handkerchiefs, by perſons who had not the air of attaching any political ſuperſtition to it. Among theſe were obſerved two young men, one of whom, apparently a foreigner, gave a boy fifteen livres to dip a very fine white handkerchief in the blood; the other gave a louis-d'or for the hair-ribbon and ſome of the hair.

it might be given to the queen. He called the municipal officers round him, and told them, it was his dying requeſt, that Clery, his valet-de-chambre, might remain with his ſon. He then ſaid to Santerre, "Let us go;" and after croſſing, with a hurried pace, the inner court of the Temple, he got into the mayor's carriage, which was in waiting, and was attended by his confeſſor.

"The calmneſs which Louis the Sixteenth diſplayed on this great trial of human fortitude, is attributed not only to the ſupport his mind received from religious faith, but alſo to the hope which it is ſaid he cheriſhed, even till his laſt moment, that the people, whom he meant to addreſs from the ſcaffold, would demand that his life might be ſpared; and his confeſſor, from motives of humanity, had encouraged him in this hope. After aſcending the ſcaffold with a firm ſtep, twice the unhappy monarch attempted to ſpeak, and twice Santerre prevented him from being heard, by ordering the drums to beat immediately. Alas! had he been permitted to ſpeak, poor was his chance of exciting commiſeration! Thoſe who pitied his calamities had carefully ſhunned that fatal ſpot; and thoſe who moſt immediately ſurrounded him, only waited till the ſtroke was given, in order to dip their pikes and handkerchiefs in his blood!

"Two perſons who were on the ſcaffold aſſert, that the unhappy monarch, finding the hope he had cheriſhed of awakening the compaſſion of the people fruſtrated, by the impoſſibility of his being heard, as a laſt reſource, declared that he had ſecrets to reveal of importance to the ſafety of the ſtate, and deſired he might be led to the National Convention. Some of the guards who heard this declaration cried, "Yes, let him go the Convention!" Others ſaid, "No!"—Had the king been conducted to the Convention, it is eaſy to imagine the effect which would have been produced on the minds of the people by the ſight of their former monarch led through the ſtreets of Paris, with his hands bound, his neck bare, his hair already cut off at the foot of the ſcaffold, in preparation for the fatal ſtroke—with no other covering than his ſhirt. At that ſight the enraged populace might have melted into tenderneſs, and the Pariſian women, among whom were numbers who paſſed the day in tears of unavailing regret, might have ruſhed between the monarch and his guards, and have attempted his reſcue, even with the riſque of life. Santerre, who foreſaw theſe conſequences, and perceived the danger of the riſing diſpute among the guards, called to the executioner to do his office.—Then it was that deſpair ſeized the mind of the unfortunate monarch—his countenance aſſumed a look of horror—twice with agony he repeated, "I am undone! I am undone!" His confeſſor meantime called to him from the foot of the ſcaffold, "Louis, ſon of Saint Louis, aſcend to heaven!"—and in one moment he was delivered from the evils of mortality.

"The executioner held up the bleeding head, and the guards cried "*Vive la Republique!*" Some dipped their handkerchiefs in the blood—but the greater number, chilled with horror at what had paſſed, deſired the commandant would lead them inſtantly from the ſpot. The hair was ſold in ſeparate treſſes at the foot of the ſcaffold; and, as if every incident of this tragedy had been intended to diſplay the ſtrange viciſſitudes of human fortune, as if every ſcene were meant "to point a moral," the body was conveyed in a cart to the pariſh church of Saint Madelaine, and laid among the bodies of thoſe who had been cruſhed to death on the Place of Louis XV. when Louis the Sixteenth was married, and of thoſe who had fallen before the chateau of the Thuilleries on the tenth of Auguſt. The grave was filled with quick-lime, and a guard placed over it till the corpſe was conſumed. The ground was then carefully levelled with the ſurrounding earth, and no trace or veſtige remains of that ſpot to which, ſhrouded by the doubtful gloom of twilight, ancient loyalty might have repaired, and poured a tear, or ſuperſtition breathed its ritual for the departed ſpirit.

Before

Before Louis left the Temple, he delivered a packet in charge to one of the commiſſioners, containing a duplicate of his will; of which the following is a copy, literally tranſlated, and certified by a municipal officer to have been collated with the original:

" In the name of the Moſt Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, " this day, the twenty-firſt of December, 1792, I, Louis, the Sixteenth of the name, " king of France, having been for more than four months impriſoned with my family " in the tower of the Temple at Paris, by thoſe who were my ſubjects, and deprived of " all communication whatſoever, even ſince the eleventh inſtant, with my own family; " moreover, being implicated in a trial of which it is impoſſible to foreſee the iſſue, on " account of the paſſions of men, and for which no pretext or means can be found in any " exiſting law; having only God for the witneſs of my thoughts, and to whom I can " addreſs myſelf; here declare, in his preſence, my laſt will and ſentiments.

" I leave my ſoul to God, my creator; I pray him to receive it in mercy, and not to " judge it according to its deſerts, but according to thoſe of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who " offered himſelf a ſacrifice to God his father for us men, however unworthy, and for " me the moſt unworthy. I die in the union of our mother, the Catholic, Apoſtolic, " and Roman church, who holds her powers by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion from Saint " Peter, to whom Jeſus Chriſt intruſted them. I firmly believe and acknowledge every " thing contained in the commandments of God and the church, the ſacraments and " myſteries, ſuch as the church teaches, and hath always taught them; I have never " pretended to make myſelf a judge of the different modes of explaining the dogmas " which divide the church of Jeſus Chriſt, but I have conformed, and will always con- " form, if God grant me life, to the deciſions which the higher eccleſiaſtics of the Holy " Catholic church give, and ſhall give, conformably to the diſcipline of the church fol- " lowed ſince Jeſus Chriſt. I lament, with all my heart, our brethren who may be in " error, but I pretend not to judge them, and I love them no leſs in Jeſus Chriſt, ac- " cording to what Chriſtian charity teaches us: I pray God to pardon me all my ſins; " I have endeavoured to know them ſcrupulouſly, to deteſt them, and to humble my- " ſelf in his preſence. Not being able to avail myſelf of the miniſtry of a Catholic " prieſt, I pray God to receive the confeſſion which I have made, and above all my pro- " found repentance for having put my name (though it was againſt my will) to acts " which may be contrary to the diſcipline and belief of the Catholic church, to which " I have always remained ſincerely united in heart; I pray God to accept of my firm " reſolution, if he grant me life, to make uſe, as ſoon as I can, of the miniſtry of a " Catholic prieſt, to confeſs myſelf of all my ſins, and to receive the ſacrament of re- " pentance; I requeſt all thoſe whom I may have offended through inadvertence, for I " do not recollect having knowingly offended any one, or thoſe to whom I may have " given bad example or ſcandal, to forgive me the evil which they may think I have " done them.

" I entreat

" I entreat all charitable perſons to join their prayers with mine, to obtain of God " the pardon of my ſins. I forgive, with all my heart, thoſe who have made themſelves " my enemies without my having given them any cauſe; and I pray God to forgive " them, as well as thoſe who, through a falſe or miſtaken zeal, have done me much evil.

" I recommend to God, my wife, my children, my ſiſter, my aunts, my brothers, and " all thoſe who are attached to me by the ties of blood, or in any other manner whatſo- " ever. I pray God particularly to look with the eyes of mercy on my wife, my chil- " dren, and my ſiſter, who have long been the partners of my ſufferings; to ſuſtain " them by his grace, if they ſhould loſe me; and as long as they ſhall remain in this " periſhable world. I recommend my children to my wife; I have never doubted her " maternal tenderneſs for them. I recommend to her, above all, to make them good " Chriſtians, and honeſt members of ſociety; to make them conſider the grandeurs of " this world, if they are condemned to prove them, but as things dangerous and periſh- " able, and to turn their views towards the only and ſolid glory of eternity. I requeſt " my ſiſter to continue her tenderneſs to my children, and to be a mother to them, " if they ſhould have the misfortune to loſe their own.

" I entreat my wife to forgive me all the evils which ſhe ſuffers on my account, and " the uneaſineſs which I may have cauſed her in the courſe of our union; as ſhe may " be aſſured, that I remember nothing againſt her, if ſhe thinks ſhe has any thing to re- " proach herſelf with. I earneſtly recommend to my children, next to their duty to " God, which they ought to prefer to every thing, to maintain mutual union, ſubmiſ- " ſion and obedience to their mother, and gratitude for all the cares which ſhe incurs for " them, and in memory of me. I entreat them to conſider my ſiſter as a ſecond mother. " I recommend to my ſon, if he ſhould have the misfortune to become king, to think " that he owes himſelf entirely to the good of his fellow-citizens; that he ought to for- " get all hatred, and all reſentment, and eſpecially whatever relates to the misfortunes " and uneaſineſs which I experience; that he cannot promote the good of the people, " but by reigning according to the laws; but, at the ſame time, that a king cannot make " the laws reſpected, and do the good he wiſhes, but in proportion as he has the neceſ- " ſary authority; and that, without this, being fettered in his operations, and inſpiring " no reſpect, he is more injurious than uſeful. I recommend to my ſon to take care of " all the perſons who were attached to me, as far as his circumſtances ſhall give him " the means; to think that this is a ſacred debt which I have contracted to the children " or relations of thoſe who have died for me, and next to thoſe who are unfortunate on " my account. I know that there are many perſons, of thoſe who were attached to me, " who have not conducted themſelves towards me as they ought, and who have even " ſhewn me ingratitude; but I forgive them (often, in the moments of trouble and ef- " ferveſcence, a man is not maſter of himſelf;) and I entreat my ſon, if he ſhould have " the opportunity, to remember only their misfortunes. I could wiſh to be able to teſ-

" tify my gratitude to thoſe who have diſplayed a true and diſintereſted attachment to " me. On the one hand, if I was ſenſibly affected by the ingratitude and diſloyalty of " perſons to whom I had never ſhewn any thing but favours, to them, their relations, " or friends; on the other, I have had the conſolation of ſeeing the gratuitous attach- " ment and intereſt which many perſons have ſhewn to me. I entreat them to accept " of my thanks; in the ſituation in which things ſtill are, I ſhould be afraid of bring- " ing them into danger if I were to ſpeak more explicitly; but I recommend particular- " ly to my ſon to ſeek all occaſions of diſcovering them.

" I ſhould, nevertheleſs, think that I calumniated the ſentiments of the nation, did I " not openly recommend to my ſon, Meſſrs. de Chamilly and Hu, who were induced " by their true attachment to ſhut themſelves up with me in this mournful reſidence, " and who were near falling the unhappy victims of that reſolution. I alſo recommend " to him Clery, with whoſe attention I have had every reaſon to be ſatisfied ſince " he has been with me. As it is he who has remained with me to the laſt, I requeſt " Meſſieurs of the commune to deliver to him my cloaths, my books, my watch, my " purſe, and the other little effects which have been depoſited at the council of the " commons.

" I alſo moſt willingly forgive thoſe who guarded me the ill-treatment and ſeverity " which they thought it their duty to make me ſuffer. I have found ſome feeling and " compaſſionate ſouls; may they enjoy the tranquillity of heart which ought to ſpring " from their delicacy of ſentiment.

" I entreat Meſſrs. de Maleſherbes, Tronchet, and De Seze, to receive here my thanks, " and the expreſſion of my ſenſibility, for all the care, and all the pains, which they " took for me.

" I conclude, by declaring, before God, and ready to appear before him, that I reproach " myſelf with none of the crimes which are alledged againſt me.

(Signed) " Louis."

Done in duplicate at the Tower of the Temple, Dec. 25, 1792.

The following is an extract from the regiſter of the Temple, of the twenty-firſt of January; and we believe the laſt which occurred reſpecting the unfortunate Louis:

" There appeared before us the citizen Clery, valet-de-chambre of Louis Capet, who " wiſhed to make a diſcovery of three articles, which he had been this morning intruſt- " ed with by Louis Capet, in preſence of ſeveral commiſſaries, who bore witneſs there- " to; which articles are, a gold ring, in the inſide of which are engraved the letters " 'M. A. A. A. 19th *Aprilis*, 1770,' which ring Louis directed to be given to his ſpouſe, " ſaying,

" ſaying, at the ſame time, that it was with regret that he parted with it. Moreover, a " gold watch-ſeal opening on three ſides, on one of which were engraved the arms of " France, on the ſecond 'L. L.' and on the third the head of a child, with a helmet on, " which ſeal he ordered to be given to his ſon: and, laſtly, a ſmall paper, upon " which was written, in the hand-writing of Louis Capet, '*Hair of my wife, my ſiſter,* " *and my children*;' and containing four ſmall parcels of hair, which he ordered Clery to " deliver to his ſpouſe, and to tell her, that he begged her pardon for not having ſent for " her this morning, which was only done with a view to ſave her the grief of ſo cruel a " ſeparation.—The council, deliberating upon the demand of citizen Clery, have left " him depoſitary of the articles before mentioned, till it ſhall be otherwiſe ordered by " the council general of the commune, to whom the matter is referred."

Thus fell Louis the Sixteenth, to whom, with ſome propriety, has been applied an expreſſion of our own Shakeſpeare—" A man more ſinned againſt than ſinning!" He was born in difficult times, and in his connections was peculiarly unfortunate. That he was poſſeſſed of good talents, was known to all who enjoyed his intimacy, and is evident from his long and unpremeditated examination before the Convention, which, in juſtice to his memory, we were happy to inſert. During the firſt years of his reign, however, the indolence of his diſpoſition, and his habits of ſelf-indulgence, operated to caſt his abilities into ſhade, whence they were only called forth by the ſevere trials of adverſity. He was undoubtedly of a benevolent temper, and always appears to have had the good of his people at heart; but it muſt be added, that he deſired it in his own way, for he always appears to have been tenacious of power, and to have parted with it reluctantly. It would have been happier for him if, from the firſt of the Revolution, he had acted a more decided and manly part on one ſide or the other: but this may, perhaps, be excuſed, from conſidering the habits of intrigue in which he was educated in the old court, and from the perſuaſion of corrupt courtiers by whom he was ſurrounded. But it was unfortunate: for the aſſembling of the troops near Paris, in 1789, and the flight to Varennes, appear to have made an indelible impreſſion upon the minds of the people, and to have generated a degree of ſuſpicion which was not to be eradicated.

Of his guilt or innocence, with reſpect to the grand charge of correſponding with the emigrants, and exciting a foreign war againſt his country, for the purpoſe of effecting a counter-revolution, the documents are too ſlight to enable us to form a deciſive opinion. Thus far it may, perhaps, be right to concede, that his intended flight to the frontiers, and the proclamation which he left behind him, too certainly evinced that he was not ſatisfied with the limited ſhare of authority which the conſtitution of 1789 allowed him; and the inſults and diſguſts which he afterwards experienced, were not calculated to reconcile him to it. The charge relative to the defence of the Thuilleries, on the tenth of Auguſt, 1792, appears extremely ill-founded. That a faction exiſted who were deſirous of eſtabliſhing a republic in France, *by any means*, we cannot poſſibly doubt,

what were the intentions of the court party, we have not yet been able to fathom: but, judging from external appearances only, ſelf-defence moſt certainly juſtified the oppoſition to the armed mob, who aſſailed the royal reſidence on that fatal day.

If, however, the Convention were completely convinced of the criminality of the king: if the forcible objections drawn from the inviolability attached to his perſon by the conſtitution, and the incompetency of the tribunal at which he was arraigned, were determined, upon the beſt principles, to be nugatory and unfounded, ſtill they ought not to have condemned him upon ſuch evidence as was brought againſt him. To take away life is a ſerious act; and the cleareſt and moſt deciſive evidence of legal criminality is abſolutely required. He who has a ſingle doubt upon his mind, and yet condemns a fellow creature to death, is guilty of MURDER. The conduct of Petion and the Girondiſts, who declared him guilty upon the evidence, and yet wiſhed, by ſubterfuges, to reſcue him from puniſhment, was even more inconſiſtent than that of his implacable adverſaries; but both evinced their total ignorance of the principles of juſtice, of the nature of evidence, and of the very forms which ought to be preſerved in all judicial proceedings[74].

Some

74 From an eminent French writer on the ſtate of parties at this period, the following particulars are extracted.

"Opinions in France have undergone an extraordinary change within the laſt month. But a few weeks ago, the general opinion, and the wiſh, undoubtedly, of the far greateſt part of the people, was, that the king's puniſhment ſhould not be capital; and it ſeemed a ſettled point, that even the judgment itſelf, whatever it might be, ſhould be referred to the primary aſſemblies.

"This was the ſentiment of a majority in the Convention: in order to penetrate into the intrigues and manœuvres by which that majority was worked into a minority, it is neceſſary to be acquainted with the ſtate of parties, and of factions, in Paris.

"Though it muſt be preſumed, that all the repreſentatives of the French nation are now republicans, or at leaſt aſſume the character, the majority in the Convention was diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the *Republican Party*. Of this party the moſt eminent men for character and abilities were Kerſaint, who has lately reſigned, Vergniaud, Buzot, Genſonne, Barbaroux, Briſſot, Guadet, and Rabaut.—The oppoſite party to this is well known by the name of the *Montagne*, becauſe they, for the moſt part, ſit at the extremity of the hall, on the right of the preſident, where the benches riſe above each other. In this claſs one need ſcarcely mention Robeſpierre, Thuriot, Chabot, Bazire, Billaud, Danton, Camille, Deſmoulins, Tallien, with other violent Jacobin leaders. This faction, as to numbers, was not formidable. In the Convention they were not more than ſixty or ſeventy; but they were really formidable from their violence, their connection, the private ſupport which they received from the purſe of Egalité, and the ſupplies of Paché, the war miniſter, as well as from the attachment of the leaders in all the ſections of Paris, the municipality, and their hired mob.

"The minority thus relied upon the force of the capital: with the majority were all the departments: the former were ſupported by the miniſter of the war department, the latter by the miniſter of the interior, who divided between them the greateſt part of the power and patronage of the executive government. Beſides theſe, there was another ſet of men in the Convention, neutral or undecided. They were ſuppoſed to amount to about ninety or an hundred, and of courſe not connected. The moſt remarkable among them was Petion and Condorcet. Juſt before the trial of Louis the parties tried their ſtrength; and the triumph of the majority was ſhewn in a decree, by which the whole family of the Bourbons was to be baniſhed from the territories of the republic. This decree gave riſe to thoſe intrigues and movements which in a few weeks turned the ſcale of power, and brought the unfortunate Louis to the ſcaffold.

"Egalité,

Some of thoſe members of the Convention who had been moſt ſtrenuous in their endeavours to ſave the life of the king, immediately reſigned their ſeats, particularly Kerſaint and Manuel. The miniſter, Roland, alſo reſigned on this occaſion, and for this cauſe; the war miniſter, Paché, was ſoon after diſmiſſed, and Bournonville ſucceeded to that department. The reſignation of both Roland and Paché are, however, repreſented by Dumourier [75] as a compromiſe between the Gironde and Jacobin parties; and Paché was ſoon after placed in a ſtill more important ſituation, that of mayor of Paris.

It has been believed by ſome perſons of great political ſagacity, that had the powers of Europe, or even thoſe who were ſtill neutral, interpoſed in favour of the king with the ſame magnanimity as the court of Spain, and with a proper degree of frankneſs, and unequivocal marks of good faith, his life, at leaſt, might have been ſaved; but ſo hoſtile from the beginning of the Revolution had almoſt every court appeared, that we wonder not that the French conſidered themſelves as inſulted and deſerted, and looked with a

"Egalité, againſt whom the decree ſeemed principally to be levelled, collected all his ſtrength, made an appeal in his uſual way to the paſſions, and to the corruption of the lower claſs of the people; and finding that he muſt either prevail, or fall to riſe no more, uſed his utmoſt efforts, by manœuvre within the Convention, and by intimidation from without, to obtain a repeal of the decree. The majority of the republicans were ſtill againſt him; but, by the interpoſition of Petion, and the neutral party, he carried his point ſo far as to procure a ſuſpenſion of the decree till after the trial of the king ſhould be finiſhed. Then came on the trial of Louis, and with it the ſecret movements and plots that kept Paris in a ſtate of perpetual agitation, and threatened either an inſurrection, or a renewal of the bloody ſcenes of the firſt week in September. The majority in the Convention appealed to the eighty-four departments; and from moſt of the departments an armed force was ſent to protect the Convention, to give freedom to its deliberation, and force to its deciſion. About this time it was thought that the Orleans' faction was on the point of being cruſhed; the forces of the federate body being ſo greatly ſuperior to the *Sans Culottes*, or the armed mobs of Saint Antoine and Saint Marceau: but all on a ſudden the Jacobins contrived to get over a great part of the Federates: they met and fraternized with the *Sans Culottes* of Paris; and the majority in the Convention, thus deprived all at once of its ſupport, was obliged to give way to the menaces of the oppoſite faction, and to condemn Louis. Thus the Jacobins, whoſe power for ſome months paſt had been at a very low ebb, were again poſſeſſed of the aſcendancy; a proof of which was given in the election of the committee of general ſafety, to whoſe diſcretion the lives and property of the citizens of Paris is committed. All the members of this committee are choſen from among the moſt furious of the Jacobins.

"The people of Paris ſeemed to be rather indifferent about the fate of the king; but they are inured to blood, "and horrors now are not diſpleaſing to them." In the ſections, they were decidedly for the death of Louis; but their ſittings being permanent, the councils are held only by a few violent men in each ſection, who exclude the reſt. We may judge how little their acts are thoſe of the body of the people, from this circumſtance: at the laſt election of deputies for Paris, when Robeſpierre and Co. were returned, only four thouſand perſons attended to give their voices; and there are in Paris no leſs than one hundred and twenty thouſand citizens who have a right to vote.

"The circumſtance of handkerchiefs being dipped in the blood of Louis, I believe to be ſtrictly true; though I have reaſon to believe a falſe conſtruction may have been put upon it. They were moſt probably royaliſts, who wiſhed to have ſome precious relic of their deceaſed ſovereign; and it has already been reported, that one of theſe handkerchiefs has been conveyed to Frankfort, and is to be the red flag to animate the ſoldiers of the combined armies againſt France in the ſpring."

[75] See Dumourier's Memoirs.

ſuſpicious

ſuſpicious eye upon the motions of every other ſtate. At this unfortunate period too they were elated with their temporary ſucceſſes; and if it was really the wiſh of any other nation to preſerve peace and neutrality, no time could be more improper to employ towards this impetuous people the language of arrogance and inſult.

Soon after the condemnation of the king, M. Pelletier de Saint Fargeau, a deputy of the Convention, who had voted for his death. was aſſaſſinated by a perſon of the name of Paris, who had formerly been one of the gardes-du-corps. As he was dining at the Garden de l'Egalité, in a coffee-houſe kept by one Fevrier, ſix perſons came from an adjoining apartment, and one of them ſaid, "There is that ſcoundrel, Pelletier Saint Far-"geau." "My name is Pelletier,"—replied the deputy—"but I am not a ſcoundrel." "Did you not vote for the death of the king?"—"Yes, I did; but that was a duty im-"poſed upon me by my conſcience."—Scarcely had he pronounced theſe words, when Paris thruſt a ſabre into the lower part of his belly, which occaſioned a large and deep wound. Pelletier requeſted that no hurt might be done to the aſſaſſin: he even had the courage to draw up an account of the manner in which the crime he fell a victim to was committed. He was carried to his father's houſe in the Place Vendôme, and expired next morning. The Convention decreed public honours to the memory of Pelletier; but the aſſaſſin, who appeared to be inſane, eſcaped to the country, where he ſoon after deſtroyed himſelf.——The family of Pelletier de Saint Fargeau appeared at the bar of the Convention—"The daughter of Michael Le Pelletier,"—ſaid one of her uncles —"comes to teſtify to you, as well as to the French people, her gratitude for the eter-"nity of glory to which you yeſterday raiſed her father." Then, raiſing the child in his arms, and turning her face round to the whole aſſembly, he added, "My niece, behold thy father—people, behold thy child!" Barrere moved, that the Convention, in the name of the French people, ſhould adopt this child: it was alſo decreed, that a competition of artiſts ſhould be eſtabliſhed for erecting a ſtatue, repreſenting Pelletier on his death bed—and alſo for a painting of the ſame ſcene, to be afterwards hung up in the hall of the Convention.

To conciliate the people of the Belgic provinces, whoſe prejudices had been outraged, and whoſe rights had been invaded, the French Convention, in November 1792, conceived a project for opening the Scheldt from Antwerp, in contradiction to one of the articles of the treaty of Weſtphalia, in 1648, and contrary to the ſuppoſed intereſts of the United Provinces. The labours of the hiſtorian are little more than a record of the inconſiſtency of human nature, and the verſatility of ſtateſmen. When Joſeph the Second, in the year 1716, entertained a ſimilar project, it is aſſerted that the Britiſh ambaſſador, Sir Joſeph Yorke, "went purpoſely to Antwerp, to inſtigate the inhabitants of "that city to petition the emperor to inſiſt on the free navigation of the Scheldt[76]." It

[76] See "*Memorien dinende tel Opheldering*," or "Memoirs relating to the War between England and Holland."—By the Hon. J. Rendorp.

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is truly ſingular, therefore, that what appeared ſo reaſonable at a former period, ſhould now be conſidered as a ſufficient cauſe for involving the nation in the calamities of war; and what is more ſingular is, that the Britiſh miniſtry ſhould appear more deeply intereſted in the prevention of the meaſure than the ſtates of Holland themſelves. Lord Auckland was directed to aſſure their High Mightineſſes, that as the theatre of war was brought ſo near to the confines of their republic, his majeſty was both ready and determined to execute, with the utmoſt good faith, the treaty of 1788. The States, in their anſwer to this declaration from the Britiſh court, profeſſed the ſtrongeſt belief, that no hoſtile intentions were conceived by any of the belligerent powers againſt them. The native phlegm of the Hollanders begat, in the more peaceful and ſteady, a real reluctance to believe activity neceſſary to ſave their country; an inſuperable hatred of the court party induced the more active to diſſemble their expectancies of what they moſt ardently wiſhed. If we may credit univerſal report, the Hollanders were equally indifferent with reſpect to the opening of the navigation of the Scheldt; and calmly replied, that if ſuch an event was to take place, they could carry on their commerce at Antwerp as well as at Amſterdam.

The abſurd and impolitic decree of the French Convention, paſſed on the fifteenth of November, 1792, in which they propoſe "to grant fraternity and aſſiſtance to all thoſe "people who wiſh to procure liberty," &c. conſtituted another ground of complaint and alarm, though there was not the ſmalleſt token of any intention to invade the territories of Great Britain; though there was not a poſſibility that ſuch an attempt would have been ſucceſsful; and though the obnoxious decree can only be conſidered in the light of a ridiculous gaſconade, proceeding from a body of men intoxicated with their late unexpected ſucceſſes, while in reality they had too much ſerious buſineſs on their hands to admit of their engaging in any new quarrels.—Wiſhing to explain their conduct on theſe occaſions, and ſeemingly deſirous to prevent a miſunderſtanding between the two nations, M. Chauvelin, ambaſſador from the French nation, at London, delivered the following official note to lord Grenville, one of his Britannic majeſty's ſecretaries of ſtate:

"The underſigned miniſter plenipotentiary of France has the honour to communi-
"cate to lord Grenville the inſtructions which he has received from the executive coun-
"cil of the French republic, with orders to lay them before his Britannic majeſty's ſe-
"cretary of ſtate for the department of foreign affairs, in caſe he ſhould think he could
"not ſpeedily enough obtain an interview with the miniſter.

"The French government, by continuing, ſince the recall of lord Gower from Paris,
"to leave at London a miniſter plenipotentiary, thought they gave to his Britannic ma-
"jeſty an unequivocal proof of the deſire they had to remain in good intelligence with
"the Britiſh court, and to ſee all thoſe clouds diſſipated, to which events, neceſſary and
"inſeparable from the internal regimen of France, ſeemed then to have given birth.

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" The intentions of the executive council of France towards England have never " ceaſed to be the ſame; but they cannot ſee with indifference the public conduct " which the Britiſh miniſtry obſerve at preſent towards France. It is much to be re- " gretted, that they have perceived in this conduct an indiſpoſition which they ſtill force " themſelves not to believe. They think it a duty, however, which they owe to the " French nation, not to leave it much longer in that ſtate of uncertainty in which it " has been thrown by ſeveral meaſures lately adopted by the Britiſh government—an " uncertainty in which the Engliſh nation muſt ſhare, and which muſt be equally un- " worthy of both. The executive council of the French republic have conſequently " authoriſed the miniſter of France, at London, to demand, with openneſs, of the mi- " niſters of his Britannic majeſty, Whether France ought to conſider England as a neu- " tral or hoſtile power? and have particularly charged him to obtain on this point a de- " finitive anſwer. But in demanding from the miniſters of his Britannic majeſty an " open and candid declaration of their intentions towards France, the executive council " do not wiſh that the ſmalleſt doubt ſhould exiſt reſpecting the diſpoſitions of France " towards England, and of its deſire to remain at peace with it. They even wiſh to " anſwer previouſly to all thoſe reproaches which may be thrown out againſt France, in " order to juſtify England. Reflecting on the reaſons which might determine his Bri- " tannic majeſty to break with the French republic, the executive council can ſee them " only in a falſe interpretation, given, perhaps, to the decree of the National Conven- " tion of the nineteenth of November. If the Britiſh miniſtry are really alarmed by " that decree, it can only be for want of comprehending the true meaning of it. The " National Convention never intended that the French Republic ſhould favour inſur- " rections, and eſpouſe the cauſe of a few ſeditious perſons, or, in a word, that it ſhould " endeavour to excite diſturbance in any neutral or friendly country whatever. Such an " idea would be rejected by the French nation. It cannot without injuſtice be imputed to " the National Convention. This decree, then, is applicable only to thoſe people, who, " *after having acquired their liberty*, may requeſt the fraternity and aſſiſtance of the " French republic, by a ſolemn and unequivocal expreſſion of the *general will*. France " not only ought, and wiſhes, to reſpect the independence of England, but that alſo of " its allies, with whom it is not at war. The underſigned, therefore, has been charged " to declare formally, that France will not attack Holland whilſt that power confines " itſelf, on its part, within the bounds of ſtrict neutrality. The Britiſh government " being thus aſſured reſpecting theſe two points, no pretence for the leaſt difficulty can " remain, but on the queſtion for opening the Scheldt—a queſtion irrevocably decided " by reaſon and juſtice, of little importance in itſelf, and on which the opinion of Eng- " land, and perhaps even of Holland, is too well known to render it difficult to make it " ſeriouſly the ſole cauſe of a war. Should the Britiſh miniſtry, however, embrace this " laſt motive to induce them to declare war againſt France, would it not then be proba- " ble that their private intention was to bring about a rupture at any rate, and to take

" advantage

" advantage at preſent of the moſt futile of all pretences, to colour an unjuſt aggreſſion,
" long ago meditated?

" In this fatal ſuppoſition, which the executive council rejects, the underſigned
" would be authoriſed to ſupport with energy the dignity of the French people, and to
" declare, with firmneſs, that a free and powerful nation will accept war, and repel,
" with indignation, an aggreſſion ſo manifeſtly unjuſt, and ſo unprovoked on their
" part. When all theſe explanations, neceſſary to demonſtrate the purity of the inten-
" tions of France, and when all peaceful and conciliatory meaſures ſhall have been ex-
" hauſted by the French nation, it is evident that the whole weight and the whole re-
" ſponſibility of the war, will ſooner or later fall upon thoſe who have provoked it.
" Such a war would really be the war only of the Britiſh miniſtry, againſt the French
" republic; and ſhould this truth appear for a moment doubtful, it would not, perhaps,
" be impoſſible for France to render it ſoon evident to a nation, which, in giving its con-
" fidence, never renounced the exerciſe of reaſon, and its reſpect for juſtice and for truth.

" Such are the inſtructions which the underſigned has received orders to communicate
" officially to lord Grenville, inviting him, as well as all the council of his Britannic
" majeſty, to weigh, with the moſt ſerious attention, the deliberations and demands
" which they contain. It is evident that the French nation deſires to preſerve peace
" with England. It proves this, by endeavouring, with candour and openneſs, to re-
" move every ſuſpicion which ſo many paſſions and various prejudices are continually
" labouring to excite againſt it; but the more it ſhall have done to convince all Europe
" of the purity of its views and the rectitude of its intentions, the greater right it will
" have to a claim of not being longer miſunderſtood.

" The underſigned has orders to demand a written anſwer to the preſent note: he
" hopes that the miniſters of his Britannic majeſty will be induced, by the explanations
" which it contains, to adopt ideas favourable to a good underſtanding between the two
" nations; and will have no occaſion, in order to return to them, to conſider the terrible
" reſponſibility of a declaration of war, which would inconteſtably be their work; the
" conſequences of which could be only fatal to both countries, and to all mankind, and
" in which a generous and free people could not long conſent to betray their own in-
" tereſts, by contributing to aſſiſt and ſupport a tyrannical coalition.

(Signed) " CHAUVELIN."

To this note lord Grenville returned the following anſwer;

" I have received, Sir, from you, a note, in which, ſtyling yourſelf miniſter-plenipo-
" tentiary of France, you communicate to me, as the king's ſecretary of ſtate, the in-
" ſtructions which you ſtate to have yourſelf received from the executive council of the

" French republic. You are not ignorant, that ſince the unhappy events of the tenth " of Auguſt, the king has thought proper to ſuſpend all official communication with " France. You are yourſelf no otherwiſe accredited to the king, than in the name of " his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty. The propoſition of receiving a miniſter accredited by " any other authority or power in France, would be a new queſtion, which, whenever " it occurred, the king would have the right to decide according to the intereſts of his " ſubjects, his own dignity, and the regard which he owes to his allies, and to the gene- " ral ſyſtem of Europe. I am therefore to inform you, Sir, in expreſs and formal " terms, that I acknowledge you in no other public character than that of miniſter from " his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, and that, conſequently, you cannot be admitted to treat " with the king's miniſters, in the quality, and under the form, ſtated in your note.

" But obſerving that you have entered into explanations of ſome of the circumſtances " which have given to England ſuch ſtrong grounds of uneaſineſs and jealouſy, and that " you ſpeak of theſe explanations as being of a nature to bring our two countries nearer, " I have been unwilling to convey to you the notification above ſtated, without at the " ſame time explaining myſelf clearly and diſtinctly on the ſubject of what you have com- " municated to me, though under a form which is neither regular nor official.

" Your explanations are confined to three points:—The firſt is that of the decree of " the National Convention of the nineteenth of November, in the expreſſions of which " all England ſaw the formal declaration of a deſign to extend univerſally the new prin- " ciples of government adopted in France, and to encourage diſorder and revolt in all " countries, even in thoſe which are neutral. If this interpretation, which you repre- " ſent as injurious to the Convention, could admit of any doubt, it is but too well juſ- " tified by the conduct of the Convention itſelf. And the application of theſe princi- " ples to the king's dominions, has been ſhewn unequivocally, by the public reception " given to the promoters of ſedition in this country, and by the ſpeeches made to them " preciſely at the time of this decree, and ſince, on ſeveral different occaſions.

" Yet, notwithſtanding all theſe proofs, ſupported by other circumſtances which are " but too notorious, it would have been with pleaſure that we ſhould have ſeen here " ſuch explanations, and ſuch a conduct, as would have ſatisfied the dignity and honour " of England, with reſpect to what has already paſſed, and would have offered a ſuffi- " cient ſecurity in future for the maintenance of that reſpect towards the rights, the " government, and the tranquillity of neutral powers, which they have on every account " a right to expect.

" Neither this ſatisfaction, nor this ſecurity, is found in the terms of an explanation " which ſtill declares, to the promoters of ſedition in every country, what are the " caſes in which they may count beforehand on the ſupport and ſuccour of France; and

" which

" which reſerves to that country the right of mixing herſelf in our internal affairs, " whenever ſhe ſhall judge it proper; and on principles incompatible with the political " inſtitutions of all the countries of Europe. No one can avoid perceiving how much " a declaration like this is calculated to encourage diſorder and revolt in every country. " No one can be ignorant how contrary it is to the reſpect which is reciprocally due " from independent nations, nor how repugnant to thoſe principles which the king has " followed, on his part, by abſtaining, at all times, from any interference whatever in " the internal affairs of France. And this contraſt is alone ſufficient to ſhew not only " that England cannot conſider ſuch an explanation as ſatisfactory, but that ſhe muſt " look upon it as a freſh avowal of thoſe diſpoſitions which ſhe ſees with ſo juſt an un- " eaſineſs and jealouſy.

" I proceed to the two other points of your explanation, which concern the general " diſpoſition of France with regard to the allies of Great Britain, and the conduct of " the Convention and its officers relative to the Scheldt. The declaration which you " there make, " That France will not attack Holland ſo long as that power ſhall ob- " ſerve an exact neutrality," is conceived nearly in the ſame terms with that which you " was charged to make in the name of his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, in the month of " June 1792. Since that firſt declaration was made, an officer, ſtating himſelf to be " employed in the ſervice of France, has openly violated both the territory and the neu- " trality of the republic, in going up the Scheldt, in order to attack the citadel of Ant- " werp, notwithſtanding the determination of the government not to grant this paſſage, " and the formal proteſt by which they oppoſed it. Since the ſame declaration was " made, the Convention has thought itſelf authoriſed to annul the rights of the repub- " lic, exerciſed within the limits of its own territory, and enjoyed by virtue of the " ſame treaties by which her independence is ſecured. And at the very moment when, " under the name of an amicable explanation, you renew to me in the ſame terms the " promiſe of reſpecting the independence and the rights of England and her allies, you " announce to me, that thoſe in whoſe name you ſpeak, intend to maintain theſe open " and injurious aggreſſions. It is not certainly on ſuch a declaration as this, that any " reliance can be placed for the continuance of public tranquillity.

" But I am unwilling to leave, without a more particular reply, what you ſay " on the ſubject of the Scheldt. If it were true that this queſtion is in itſelf of little " importance, this would only ſerve to prove more clearly, that it was brought forward " only for the purpoſe of inſulting the allies of England, by the infraction of their neu- " trality, and by the violation of their rights, which the faith of treaties obliges us to " maintain. But you cannot be ignorant, that here the utmoſt importance is attached " to thoſe principles which France wiſhes to eſtabliſh by this proceeding, and to thoſe " conſequences which would naturally reſult from them; and that not only thoſe prin-

" ciples, and thoſe conſequences, will never be admitted by England, but that ſhe is, " and ever will be, ready to oppoſe them with all her force.

" France can have no right to annul the ſtipulations relative to the Scheldt, unleſs " ſhe have alſo the right to ſet aſide equally all the other treaties between all the powers " of Europe, and all the other rights of England, or of her allies. She can have no " pretence to interfere in the queſtion of opening the Scheldt, unleſs ſhe were the ſo- " vereign of the Low Countries, or had the right to dictate laws to all Europe.

" England never will conſent that France ſhall arrogate the power of annulling at " her pleaſure, and under the pretence of a pretended natural right, of which ſhe makes " herſelf the only judge, the political ſyſtem of Europe, eſtabliſhed by ſolemn treaties, " and guaranteed by the conſent of all the powers. This government, adhering to the " maxims which it has followed for more than a century, will alſo never ſee with in- " difference that France ſhall make herſelf, either directly or indirectly, ſovereign of the " Low Countries, or general arbitreſs of the rights and liberties of Europe. If France " is really deſirous of maintaining friendſhip and peace with England, ſhe muſt ſhew " herſelf diſpoſed to renounce her views of aggreſſion and aggrandiſement, and to confine " herſelf within her own territory, without inſulting other governments, without diſ- " turbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights.

" With reſpect to that character of ill-will which is endeavoured to be found in the " conduct of England towards France, I cannot diſcuſs it, becauſe you ſpeak of it in " general terms only, without alledging a ſingle fact. All Europe has ſeen the juſtice " and the generoſity which have characterized the conduct of the king: his majeſty has " always been deſirous of peace: he deſires it ſtill, but ſuch as may be real and ſolid, and " conſiſtent with the intereſt and dignity of his own dominions, and with the general " ſecurity of Europe.

" On the reſt of your paper I ſay nothing.—As to what relates to me and my col- " leagues, the king's miniſters owe to his majeſty the account of their conduct; and I " have no anſwer to give you on this ſubject, any more than on that of the appeal " which you propoſe to make to the Engliſh nation. This nation, according to that " conſtitution by which its liberty and proſperity are ſecured, and which it will always " be able to defend againſt every attack, direct or indirect, will never have with foreign " powers connection or correſpondence, except through the organ of its king; of a king " whom it loves and reveres, and who has never, for an inſtant, ſeparated his rights, " his intereſts, and happineſs, from the rights, the intereſts, and the happineſs of his " people.

(Signed) " GRENVILLE."

On

On the refuſal of the Britiſh miniſters to treat with M. Chauvelin, as miniſter from the French republic, the executive council confirmed the explanation he had previouſly offered in an official note, on the fourth of January [76].

In that note the executive council unequivocally diſclaim the conſtruction which the miniſters of his Britannic majeſty had affected to put upon the decree of the ſixteenth of November, viz. "That the French Convention had held out encouragement to "excite to rebellion the ſeditious of all nations." They declare that the decree in queſtion "Could not be applicable, but to the *ſingle caſe*, when the *general will* of a na-"tion, clearly and *unequivocally* expreſſed, ſhould call for the aſſiſtance and fraternity of "the French nation." With reſpect to the opening of the Scheldt, they obſerve, "That it is a queſtion abſolutely indifferent to England; that it is little intereſting to "Holland; but that it is of the utmoſt importance to the Belgians." They aſſert the natural right of that people to the navigation of the river; and obſerve, that though the emperor and the houſe of Auſtria thought it proper to ſurrender this right, the people ought not to be bound by an authority they no longer acknowledged. They declare, however, "As the French nation has renounced all conqueſt, and only occupies the "Netherlands during the war; that as ſoon as the Belgic nation ſhall find itſelf in full "poſſeſſion of its liberty, and when its general will may be declared legally and unfet-"tered, then if England and Holland ſhall affix any importance to the opening of the "Scheldt, the executive council will leave that affair to a direct negociation with the "Belgians themſelves. If the Belgians, through any motive whatever, ſhall conſent to "deprive themſelves of the navigation of the Scheldt, France will not oppoſe it."

Whatever may have been the errors or the crimes of the French, the candid and reflecting mind cannot compare the temperate language of this and the other memorials from the executive council of France, with the harſhneſs which appears in the official communications of lord Grenville, without drawing a concluſion to the diſadvantage of the latter. While theſe queſtions were thus in agitation, hoſtile preparations were made by Great Britain, and, at once departing from the idea of neutrality, an order was iſſued prohibiting the exportation of even foreign corn to France, while it was permitted to every other country; and two veſſels which had already taken in their lading for Bayonne were compelled to diſembark it.

If the language of lord Grenville was not that of conciliation, that which was employed by lord Auckland, his Britannic majeſty's ambaſſador at the Hague, in a memorial preſented to the States General of the United Provinces, on the twenty-fifth of January, was totally without a precedent in hiſtory, as proceeding from one ſtate which

[76] See Appendix.

wiſhed

wiſhed to be at peace with another. "*Wretches* aſſuming the title of philoſophers, who "had the preſumption to think themſelves capable of eſtabliſhing a new ſyſtem of civil "ſociety," and to "realize a dream of vanity;" who "deſtroyed all received notions of "ſubordination, manners, and religion," were the terms in which the legiſlature of France was deſcribed in an official public paper. They were further charged in this curious production with "imbecility and villany."—"Property, liberty, ſecurity, even "life itſelf," were ſaid to be "playthings in the hands of theſe infamous men, the ſlaves "of the moſt licentious paſſions of rapine, enmity, and ambition."

While the diſpute ſtill continued unadjuſted, the bill, which authorized the ſecretaries of ſtate to arreſt and impriſon aliens, or to order them out of the kingdom at their diſcretion, was introduced into parliament. As this meaſure was a direct infraction of the commercial treaty with France, M. Chauvelin, with much candour and moderation, remonſtrated againſt the bill, as likely to produce ſuſpicion and diſſatisfaction in France, and as a violation of the fourth article of the commercial treaty. In remarking on the injurious reproaches which had been caſt on the French nation as enemies to the Britiſh conſtitution, M. Chauvelin obſerves, "The executive council has already repelled, with in-"dignation, ſuch ſuſpicions. If ſome men, caſt out from the boſom of France, have "ſpread themſelves in Great Britain, with the criminal intention of agitating the peo-"ple, and of leading them to revolt, has not England laws to protect the public order? "Could ſhe not puniſh them? The Republic would, aſſuredly, not have interpoſed in "their favour. Such men are not Frenchmen." M. Chauvelin's note was inſtantly returned, becauſe in it he had ſtyled himſelf miniſter plenipotentiary from the French Republic. About the ſame time the bill was paſſed, prohibiting the circulation of aſſignats.

On the ſeventeenth of January, a few days after the paſſing of the alien bill, M. Chauvelin, waving the queſtion of his being accredited as the miniſter of the French Republic, ſolicited, in very humble terms, an interview with lord Grenville; but this requeſt was unaccountably refuſed; and M. Chauvelin himſelf was one of the firſt on whom the powers veſted in miniſters by this ſtatute were enforced. For on the twenty-fourth of January, he received the following order to quit the kingdom within eight days; and that no publicity might be wanting to the affront, the order was inſerted by authority in the London Gazette.

"I am charged to notify to you, Sir, that the character with which you had been in-"veſted at this court, and the functions of which have been ſo long ſuſpended, being "now entirely terminated by the fatal death of his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, you have "no longer any public character here.

"The

"The king can no longer, after ſuch an event, permit your reſidence here. His ma-
" jeſty has thought fit to order that you ſhould retire from this kingdom within the
" term of eight days; and I herewith tranſmit to you a copy of the order which his
" majeſty in his privy council has given to this effect.

" I ſend you a paſſport for yourſelf and your ſuite; and I ſhall not fail to take all the
" other neceſſary ſteps, in order that you may return to France with all the attentions
" which are due to the character of miniſter-plenipotentiary from his Moſt Chriſtian
" majeſty, which you have exerciſed at this court.

(Signed) "GRENVILLE."

It however appears that while the Britiſh miniſtry refuſed to negociate with an authorized agent of the French republic, they yet held communications with inferior perſons on theſe affairs, and even authorized lord Auckland to enter into a negotiation with general Dumourier. Dumourier inſinuates, "that it is probable the Britiſh miniſtry
" had no other deſign than to amuſe him, in order to gain time to make the neceſſary
" preparations for war;" and he adds, that "the treaty entered into by the court of
" Saint James's with the court of Turin, at that very period, confirms the opinion."
This negociation, which was carried on through the medium of M. Le Maulde, a confidential friend of Dumourier, was however totally unproductive of the happy conſequences which it was hoped might have reſulted from it.

Perceiving an apparent reluctance in the Engliſh miniſtry to treat with M. Chauvelin; while the negociations were ſtill depending, M. Maret, under ſecretary for foreign affairs, was diſpatched from France to treat with the Britiſh miniſters. "It is confident-
" ly reported,"—ſays an eminent writer—"that M. Maret had it in his inſtructions
" unequivocally to offer to our miniſtry theſe three points: firſt, that the naviga-
" tion of the Scheldt ſhould be given up; ſecondly, that the French troops ſhould
" not approach the Dutch territories within a given diſtance; and, that the decree of
" the ſixteenth of November ſhould be either altered or repealed.

As the firſt miſſion of M. Maret was, however, not attended with any effect, he was ſent again from the executive council with enlarged powers. It was aſſerted at that time, that his object was to propoſe to the Britiſh miniſtry the ceſſion of ſome of the moſt valuable of the French Weſt India iſlands, and the annexing of the Netherlands to the Dutch republic, provided this arrangement ſhould prove mutually agreeable to the States-General and the Belgic congreſs. M. Maret was, however, we believe, never permitted to produce his credentials. He arrived in England at the very eve of M. Chauvelin's

M. Chauvelin's departure, and was alſo ordered, without further ceremony, to depart from the kingdom [77].

77 The following letters were delivered to Lord Grenville (No. I. and II.) on Friday, the twenty-ſixth of April, 1793, by Mr. John Salter of Poplar, at his lordſhip's office, Whitehall, on his lordſhip's requiſition, after having peruſed Mr. Salter's authority.

NUMBER I.

"My Lord,

"The French republic being deſirous to terminate all its differences with Great Britain, and to end a war which, "by the manner it is otherwiſe likely to rage, cannot fail to bring miſeries dreadful to humanity on both nations; I "have the honour to demand of your lordſhip, as miniſter of his Britannic majeſty, a paſſport and ſafe conduct for "a perſon poſſeſſed with full power to repair to London for that purpoſe.

"Mr John Salter, notary public in London, will deliver this to your lordſhip, and, on the condition of its being "requiſite, another letter, containing the name of the perſon who will have the confidence of his nation.

"I have the honour to be, my lord,
"Your lordſhip's obedient humble ſervant,
"The miniſter for foreign affairs,
"LE BRUN."

"Paris, April 2, 1793.
"Second year of the French Republic.
"To his excellency Lord Grenville."

NUMBER II.

"My Lord,

"Agreeable to the intimation given in my firſt letter, and which has for its object the reſtoration of peace, I "have the honour to inform your lordſhip that Mr. Maret will be deputed to give to our nation that deſirable event.

"I need not remind your lordſhip, that it will be neceſſary to attach to him three perſons, as his ſecretary, valet-"de-chambre, and a courier: but I claim of your lordſhip the neceſſary protection for them.

"I have the honour to be, my lord,
"Your lordſhip's moſt obedient humble ſervant,
"The miniſter for foreign affairs,
"LE BRUN."

"Paris, April 2, 1793.
"To his excellency Lord Grenville."

Copy of the Miniſter's letter to Mr. Salter.

"Sir,

"You will deliver to his excellency lord Grenville, miniſter and ſecretary of ſtate to his Britannic majeſty for "foreign affairs, the encloſed letter, No. I. and, if his lordſhip demands it, alſo the encloſed letter, No. II. on be-"half of the French Republic.

"I am, with conſideration, ſir,
"Your very humble and obedient ſervant,
"The miniſter for foreign affairs,
"LE BRUN."

"Paris, April 2, 1793.
"Second year of the French Republic.
"To Mr. Salter, Poplar, London."

"And I do atteſt the truth of the before-mentioned copies of letters, No. I. and No. II. as alſo the letter to Mr. "Salter, to have been ſigned by Mr. Le Brun, miniſter for foreign affairs in France, in my preſence; to have re-"ceived the letters ſo delivered to lord Grenville (as alſo copies of the ſame) from the ſaid miniſter, and to have de-"livered the ſame into the hands of Mr. Salter; and I do hereby authorize and deſire the publication thereof.

"Biggin-Houſe, Surrey, May 21. 1793.
"JAMES MATTHEWS."

Perhaps

Perhaps it might have been moſt prudent, notwithſtanding theſe affronts; in the French Convention to have abſtained from declaring war, and to have thrown the whole odium of aggreſſion upon their adverſaries. Yet when we reflect that it was aſſerted in the Britiſh ſenate, "that the two nations were already in a ſtate of war," which aſſertion was ſuffered to paſs without any contradiction on the part of adminiſtration; that an order had been iſſued for prohibiting the ſupply of corn to France, while her enemies were allowed a free commerce in that article; that acts had paſſed in the Britiſh parliament, directly violating the commercial treaty; that the ambaſſador was diſmiſſed with ignominy [78], and the door, apparently, cloſed againſt all fair and open negociation, it cannot much ſurpriſe us that the French ſhould conceive that every hope of accommodation was at an end; and, as the poſſeſſion of Holland muſt have greatly facilitated their ſucceſs, that they ſhould endeavour to anticipate the hoſtile intentions of Great Britain. On the firſt of February, therefore, upon the motion of Briſſot, the National Convention paſſed the following decree:

"The National Convention, after having heard the report of their committee of "general defence, on the conduct of the Engliſh government;

"Conſidering that the king of England has perſiſted, eſpecially ſince the revolution "of the tenth of Auguſt, 1792, to give proofs of his being ill-diſpoſed towards the "French nation, and of his attachment to the coalition of crowned heads;

"That, at the period aforeſaid, he ordered his ambaſſador at Paris to withdraw, becauſe "he would not acknowledge the proviſional executive council, created by the legiſlative "aſſembly;

"That, the cabinet of Saint James's has ceaſed, ſince the ſame period, to correſpond "with the French ambaſſador at London, on pretext of the ſuſpenſion of the heretofore "king of the French;

"That, ſince the opening of the National Convention, it has refuſed to reſume the "uſual correſpondence between the two ſtates, and to acknowledge the powers of this "Convention;

"That, it has refuſed to acknowledge the ambaſſador of the French republic, although "provided with letters of credence in its name;

"That, it has endeavoured to impede the different purchaſes of corn, arms, and other "commodities ordered in England, either by French citizens, or the agents of the Re-"public;

"That, it has cauſed to be ſtopped ſeveral boats and ſhips laden with grain for France, "contrary to the treaty of 1786, while exportation to other foreign countries was free;

"That, in order ſtill more effectually to obſtruct the commercial operations of

[78] By an article of the commercial treaty, the diſmiſſion of an ambaſſador from either court is to be conſidered as a declaration of war.

" the Republic in England, it obtained an act of parliament, prohibiting the circulation " of aſſignats;

" That, in violation of the fourth article of the treaty of 1789, it obtained another " act, in the month of January laſt, which ſubjects all French citizens, reſiding in, or " coming into England, to the moſt inquiſitorial, vexatious, and dangerous forms;

" That, at the ſame time, and contrary to the firſt article of the peace of 1783, it " granted protection and pecuniary aid not only to the emigrants, but even to the chiefs " of the rebels, who have already fought againſt France; that it has maintained with " them a daily correſpondence, evidently directed againſt the French revolution; that " it has alſo received the chiefs of the rebels of the French Weſt India colonies;

" That, in the ſame ſpirit, without any provocation, and when all the maritime powers " are at peace with England, the cabinet of Saint James's has ordered a conſiderable na- " val armament, and an augmentation of the land force;

" That, this armament was ordered at a moment when the Engliſh miniſter was bit- " terly perſecuting thoſe who ſupported the principles of the French revolution in Eng- " land, and was employing all poſſible means, both in parliament and out of it, to cover " the French republic with ignominy, and to draw upon it the execration of the Engliſh " nation, and of all Europe;

" That the object of this armament, intended againſt France, was not even diſguiſed " in the Engliſh parliament;

" That, although the proviſional executive council of France has employed every " meaſure for preſerving peace and fraternity with the Engliſh nation, and has replied " to calumnies and violation of treaties, only by remonſtrances founded on the principles " of juſtice, and expreſſed with the dignity of free men, the Engliſh miniſter has perſe- " vered in his ſyſtem of malevolence and hoſtility, continued the armaments, and ſent " a ſquadron to the Scheldt, to interrupt the operations of the French in Belgium;

" That, on the news of the execution of Louis, he carried his outrages to the " French republic to ſuch a length, as to order the ambaſſador of France to quit the " Britiſh territory within eight days;

" That, the king of England has manifeſted his attachment to the cauſe of that trai- " tor, and his deſign of ſupporting it, by different reſolutions adopted at the moment of " his death, both by nominating generals of his land army, and by applying to par- " liament for a conſiderable addition of land and ſea forces, and putting ſhips of war in " commiſſion;

" That his ſecret coalition with the enemies of France, and particularly with the " emperor and Pruſſia, is confirmed by a treaty concluded with the firſt, in the month " of January; that he has drawn into the ſame coalition the ſtadtholder of Holland; " that that prince, whoſe ſervile obſequiouſneſs to the orders of the courts of Saint James's " and Berlin is but too well known, has, in the courſe of the French revolution, and " notwithſtanding the neutrality which he profeſſed, treated with diſdain the agents of " France, received the emigrants, haraſſed the French patriots, counteracted their ope- " rations,

" rations, releaſed, in oppoſition to eſtabliſhed uſage, and notwithſtanding the demand of " the French miniſter, perſons who had been guilty of forging aſſignats; that, in the " mean time, with a view to concur in the hoſtile deſigns of the court of London, he " gave orders for a naval armament, named an admiral, appointed Dutch ſhips to join " the Engliſh fleet, opened a loan to defray the expences of the war, put a ſtop to ex- " portations to France, while he favoured ſending ſupplies of proviſion to the Pruſſian " and Auſtrian magazines:

"Conſidering, in fine, that all theſe circumſtances no longer leave to the French re- " public any hopes of obtaining, by means of amicable negociation, the redreſs of their " grievances, and that all the acts of the Britiſh court, and of the ſtadtholder of the " United Provinces, are acts of hoſtility, equivalent to a declaration of war, the Na- " tional Convention decrees as follows:

" Art. 1. The National Convention declares, in the name of the French nation, " that, conſidering the multiplied acts of hoſtility and aggreſſion of the above-mention- " ed powers, the French nation is at war with the king of England and the ſtadtholder " of the United Provinces.

" 2. The National Convention charges the proviſional executive council to call forth " ſuch forces as may appear to them neceſſary for repelling their aggreſſion, and for main- " taining the independence, the dignity, and the intereſts of the French republic.

" 3. The National Convention authorizes the proviſional executive council to diſ- " poſe of the naval forces of the republic in ſuch a manner as the intereſts of the ſtate " may appear to them to require; and it revokes all particular diſpoſitions ordered in this " reſpect by preceding decrees."

During the winter, general Dumourier had propoſed to the executive council to take poſſeſſion of Maeſtricht, without which, he alledged, he could neither defend the Meuſe, nor the territory of Liege. He purpoſed to take and hold the place without entering into further hoſtilities with the Dutch, and engaging, by manifeſto, to reſtore it at the end of the war. The place was not then provided with a proper garriſon; and Dumourier being at that time in great force in the neighbourhood of Liege, there was every probability that he would have ſucceeded. The executive council, however, declined the propoſal, and expreſsly commanded the general to preſerve the ſtricteſt neutrality towards the United Provinces. But, as hoſtilities had actually commenced, the poſſeſſion of Holland was an object of the utmoſt importance to the French, and muſt, indeed have been deciſive of the war in their favour. Had Dumourier continued faithful, there is little doubt but that the project might have been attended with ſucceſs. Both parties were probably deceived in the commencement of the war: the French flattered themſelves with the immediate capture of Holland; while the allies might look with confidence to no leſs an object than the immediate ſubjugation of France.

Circumſtanced

Circumſtanced as Dumourier was at this period, it is difficult to aſcertain what might be his plan of the campaign. He has himſelf intimated that it was long his fixed intention to effect an eſcape into ſome other country; and, with ſuch a deſign predominant in his mind, there is no probability that he would be very earneſt in promoting the ſucceſs of his expedition. The general himſelf has in his Memoirs ſtated two plans; the firſt of which was propoſed by the refugee Hollanders, who had formed a ſmall revolutionary committee at Antwerp, and who recommended an irruption into Zealand; the other was the plan which the general himſelf gives, as that which he really meant to purſue, while he appeared to favour that of the Batavian committee; and this was, to advance with a body of troops poſted at Mardyck, and maſking Breda and Gertruydenberg on the right, and Bergen-op-Zoom, Steenberg, Klundert, and Williamſtadt on the left, to effect a paſſage over an arm of the ſea to Dort, and thus penetrate into the heart of Holland.

In the mean time general Miranda was ordered to advance with a part of his army before Maeſtricht, but was inſtructed by Dumourier not to attempt a regular ſiege at ſo unfavourable a ſeaſon, but to aſſault the place with bombs and red-hot balls; and, after receiving intelligence that the commander in chief had paſſed Mardyck, to leave the continuance of the ſiege to general Valence, who was expected from Paris, and march with the utmoſt expedition to Nimeguen, and in paſſing the duchy of Cleves endeavour to intercept the Pruſſians, ſhould they have anticipated his arrival there. Venloo was at the ſame time to be attacked by general Champmorin, an experienced engineer.

It will remain for our military readers to determine, whether, as ſo much of the ſucceſs of Dumourier's expedition depended on the rapidity of his movements, and the ſurpriſing of Holland at once by the invaſion of a conſiderable force, it was adviſable or prudent to divide his army into many detachments, or to waſte any part of his time or force in beſieging places which did not lie directly in his route. Maeſtricht was inveſted early in February, by general Miranda, with twelve thouſand men on the banks of the Meuſe, and ſix thouſand on the right; and by the twenty-third of that month the works were all completed. On the following day the French general ſummoned the prince of Heſſe, who commanded there, but his anſwer was a direct refuſal to capitulate. The French then commenced a heavy fire from their batteries; and, according to the account of the general, the town was on fire in ſeveral places. While the French were conſtructing their works, the garriſon made two ſallies, but with little ſucceſs.

In the mean time Dumourier aſſembled his army in the vicinity of Antwerp. Previous to his entering the Dutch territories, he publiſhed a manifeſto, addreſſed to the Batavians, as he thought proper to term them, exhorting them, in extravagant terms, to emancipate themſelves at once from what he called the tyrannical yoke of the

the ſtadtholder[79]. The French army under Dumourier conſiſted of twenty-one battalions, only two of which, however, were troops of the line; he eſtimates them himſelf at about thirteen thouſand ſeven hundred men, including cavalry and light troops. This army entered the Dutch territories on the ſeventeenth of February, but it was not till the twenty-ſecond that the general was enabled to proceed from Antwerp to join it. His firſt movement was to block up Breda, by means of his right diviſion, under general d'Arçon; and colonel Le Clerc, with the left, was ordered at the ſame time to block up Bergen-op-Zoom. The governors of thoſe places abandoned all their outworks; and Breda, at the time of its attack, was in a ſtate of inundation.

On the twenty-third of February, count Byland, the governor of Breda, was ſummoned by the French commander to ſurrender; and on his refuſal, general d'Arçon, without opening the trenches, mounted two batteries, with four mortars and four howitzers, very near the town, on the ſide of the village of Hage. The bombardment continued for ſome hours, but ceaſed at night. On the ſucceeding day the French renewed the attack with great ſpirit; and one of Dumourier's aides-du-camp being diſpatched to renew the ſummons, with aſſurances that the general was preparing to bring up his whole force, the governor was terrified into a capitulation. The garriſon was allowed the honours of war; and only twenty men were loſt on both ſides.

The fort of Klundert was taken by general Dumourier on the twenty-ſixth. It was defended with great valour by lieutenant-colonel Weſtphalien; but his garriſon amounted to only one hundred and fifty men. Dumourier next diſpatched general Berneron to the attack of Williamſtadt, and general d'Arçon to Gertruydenberg, and on the fourth of March the latter place ſurrendered on capitulation.

At this place ended the triumphs of Dumourier. The ſieges of Williamſtadt and Bergen-op-Zoom were however vigorouſly preſſed by generals Berneron and Le Clerc; and the commander in chief, by means of a number of craft which he procured at Gertruydenberg, was preparing at Mardyck a naval equipment to tranſport his little army to Dort. He was interrupted in his career, if we may credit his own account, by the unfortunate change which took place in the Netherlands; but ſo confidently was the arrival of Dumourier expected in Holland by the republican party there, that, it is poſitively aſſerted, an hotel was actually fitting up at Utrecht for his reception.

While theſe affairs were tranſacting, the committee appointed by the National Convention for the reviſal of the conſtitution, were ſedulouſly employed in the completion of their taſk. On the fifteenth of February, the new conſtitution was preſented to the

79 See Appendix.

Convention by Condorcet, who was generally ſuppoſed to have had the principal ſhare in its compoſition. The features which particularly diſtinguiſhed it from the former conſtitution, beſides the abolition of royalty, were as follow: The electoral aſſemblies were aboliſhed, and the members of the legiſlature were to be appointed immediately by the primary aſſemblies. The executive council, or in other words the miniſters, were to be elected by the people at large; and only to be diſmiſſed on the verdict of a ſpecial jury, on the proſecution of the National Aſſembly. To prevent too frequent elections, a number of ſupplementary candidates for each department of office were however to be elected at the ſame time with the actual functionaries. The office of miniſter of juſtice was to be ſuppreſſed; and the home adminiſtration divided into three departments. The adminiſtration of diſtricts, and the ſmall municipalities, were alſo ſuppreſſed.

As this conſtitution was never decreed, and was almoſt immediately ſupplanted by another, it would be utterly ſuperfluous minutely to criticiſe its principles or inſtitutes. Perhaps a more impracticable ſcheme of government was never invented by man; and it will remain on record a ſtrong proof how inconſiſtent the ſtudies of the metaphyſician are with the principles of common ſenſe, and how little conducive to any of the uſeful purpoſes of human life.

The next important buſineſs in which the Convention was engaged, was a rupture with Spain. We have already cenſured the arrogant and inſolent manner in which that monarch's truly liberal application in favour of Louis was treated. Pride, however exerciſed, is always diſadvantageous to the character of individuals, nor is it leſs prejudicial to the intereſt of nations. After ſuch an event, it may well be ſuppoſed that the king of Spain could not be very cordially diſpoſed towards the French nation; and, preſſed by the other combined powers, it is not improbable that he meditated hoſtilities. The Convention, however, with that ſingular precipitancy which characterized all their meaſures, determined to anticipate his declaration, and on the ſeventh of March paſſed a decree of war againſt his Moſt Catholic majeſty, couched in the following terms:

" The National Convention, after having heard the report of its committee of gene-
" ral defence, with reſpect to the conduct of Spain towards France, conſidering,
" That, the king of Spain, ever ſince the nineteenth of July, 1792, in all commu-
" nications with his own government, has conſtantly ſpoken with diſreſpect of the ſo-
" vereignty of the French people, and has always perſiſted in conſidering Louis Capet
" as ſovereign of the nation:
" That, by an edict of the twentieth of July, 1791, he has expoſed the French in his
" dominions to infinite vexations; has condemned them to arbitrary impriſonment and
" unjuſt exile; has ſubjected them to injuries and perſecution, for which they have in
" vain ſought redreſs, and by the ſame edict has compelled them ſolemnly to renounce
" their country; and his governors and his troops have unremittingly favoured the re-
" volt

" volt of the negroes in Saint Domingo, by furniſhing them with neceſſaries, and ex-
" changing with them victuals, arms, and ammunition, by refuſing an aſylum to the
" French who fled, and even, in many inſtances, giving up Frenchmen, who had claim-
" ed their hoſpitality, to the negroes, by whom they were immediately maſſacred;

" That on the tenth of Auguſt, 1792, he ordered his ambaſſador to withdraw from
" Paris, chooſing not to acknowledge the proviſionary executive council appointed by
" the legiſlative aſſembly;

" That, he has not thought fit to renew the cuſtomary correſpondence between the
" two courts, ever ſince the appointment of the National Convention;

" That he has refuſed to acknowledge the ambaſſador of the French republic, though
" confirmed by letters of credence from the National Convention;

" That, inſtead of furniſhing to France the contingent of ſuccours ſtipulated by the
" ſeveral treaties, he has cauſed the raiſing of armaments both by ſea and land, which
" can have no other deſtination than to combat the independence of that nation, and
" join the powers combined againſt her;

" That, while he was moſt eagerly preparing this naval armament, he hypocritically
" repreſented it as only a neceſſary precaution with a view to England, whoſe probity he
" pretended to ſuſpect, though he was at the ſame time, in contempt of all treaties, mak-
" ing an alliance with her; that while he was arming his frontiers, he gave open pro-
" tection, as well as ſuccours in money, to the emigrants, and the chiefs of the armies
" in rebellion againſt France;

" That, in ſpite of a conſtant endeavour on the part of the French proviſionary
" council, to preſerve, by every means in their power, conſiſtent with the dignity of
" Republicans, peace and fraternity with the Spaniſh nation, the Spaniſh miniſter, on
" the contrary, has purſued one ſyſtem of diſſimulation, malevolence, and hoſtility, has
" continued arming both by ſea and land, and has ſent a numerous train of artillery to
" both the extremities of the Spaniſh frontiers towards France;

" That, when required to explain the preciſe object of his armaments, his anſwers
" have conſtantly been evaſive and dilatory;

" That, he has uniformly manifeſted an attachment to the cauſe of Louis, and a de-
" ſign to ſupport it by arms, if he could effect nothing by his mediation;

" That, upon the news of the death of Louis, he took every opportunity to inſult the
" French republic, refuſing its ambaſſador any anſwer, and inſtantly breaking off all
" communication with him;

" That, he poſitively refuſed to receive two official notes from the executive council of
" the fourth of January, in anſwer to his own of the ſeventeenth of December, thereby
" refuſing to bind himſelf to the obſervance of a ſtrict neutrality towards France, to
" diſarm, and to name commiſſioners to concert together about the diſbanding the re-
" ſpective forces;

" That, ſince his refuſal, he has collected together the chiefs of the emigrants; has
" connected himſelf more cloſely than ever with the court of England, actually at war

" with the French republic; and that he ſtirred up, and now countenances, public " preachings, and perſecutions, againſt the French in his dominions.

" Conſidering, finally, that all theſe circumſtances, taken together, leave the republic " no longer any hope of obtaining, by means of friendly negociations, the redreſs of " thoſe grievances; and that all the acts of the court of Madrid are true acts of hoſti- " lity, in concert with the coaleſced powers, which acts are equivalent to a declaration " of war;

" The National Convention decrees, That, in conſequence of the multiplied acts of " hoſtility and aggreſſion, above enumerated, the French republic is at war with the " king of Spain."

Before we review the reverſe of fortune which the French nation experienced in the Netherlands, it may be proper to advert to the unfortunate expedition which was undertaken againſt Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia. A French fleet, under the command of admiral Truguet, which had ſailed from Toulon, anchored before the town, and commenced a vigorous cannonade againſt it on the twenty-fourth of January; but as all the tranſports with the land forces were not yet arrived, the admiral ordered the firing to ceaſe on the twenty-ninth. The volunteers, however, being impatient to land, after uſing every argument to convince them how dangerous it muſt be to make an attempt without a ſufficient force, M. Truguet at length conſented, and gave orders for their landing on the fourteenth of February. Four ſhips and two bomb-ketches were poſted before the town, and nearly the ſame force was placed between the town and a ſmall mountain defended by batteries: another came to anchor before the town to batter it, and three ſhips and three frigates were employed in covering the landing of the troops. Of all theſe ſhips the Themiſtocles alone did execution; but ſhe was ſet on fire by a red-hot ball, and the captain was wounded in the leg, and died four days after. In the night the Themiſtocles was obliged to retire. The Patriot, which kept up a continual fire for three days and three nights, expended all her ammunition, and had eight men wounded, ſome of them dangerouſly. The Juno frigate had only ſeven wounded.

The deſcent was effected under the command of general Caſa-Bianca, with fifteen hundred troops of the line, and three thouſand national volunteers; another deſcent was to be made at ſome diſtance, and a certain ſignal was agreed on. The ſame ſignal was obſerved in the iſland, and the troops heard the following words pronounced through a ſpeaking trumpet: "*Citizens, come on ſhore; we have put to flight the enemy.*" The troops, however, ſuſpected the deluſion, eſpecially as they could obſerve with their glaſſes that the invitation came from perſons in the Sardinian uniform. The ſecond deſcent therefore was countermanded. Caſa-Bianca, however, formed a camp at the diſtance of half a league from the town, with fifteen pieces of cannon and ſome mortars; but the troops were ſeized with an inſtantaneous panic, they miſtook the word of command, and the patroles fired upon each other: the ſoldiers imagined themſelves too weak in number,

er, and requeſted to be re-embarked, and ſome of them without orders began to retire towards the ſhore. In this diſagreeable ſituation the general was compelled to re-embark his troops, and it was with great difficulty that he was able even to ſave his cannon. When the troops returned on board, Truguet immediately ſet ſail. The Leopard, a ſhip of the line, ran on ſhore, but the crew were ſaved. A tartan, which ran on ſhore alſo, was burnt by the Sardinians.

This failure of the attack upon Sardinia was a trivial misfortune in compariſon with the haſty retreat and final defection of general Dumourier in the Netherlands. Although the French force had been conſiderably reduced, partly by the return of the volunteers and national guards, but principally by the groſs neglect of the miniſters, yet, as they were ſtill numerous, general Miranda continued to preſs the ſiege of Maeſtricht with a conſiderable force; while general La Noue, with the covering army, was encamped at Herve. The head-quarters of general Valence were at Liege, while his out-poſts extended to Aix-la-Chapelle, and to the banks of the Roer. On the firſt of March, general Clairfait, having paſſed the Roer in the night, attacked the French poſts as well on the ſide of Durn as on that of Juliers, and compelled them to retreat as far as Alderhaven, with the loſs of two thouſand men, twelve pieces of cannon, thirteen ammunition waggons, and the military cheſt. The following day the archduke attacked ſeveral French batteries, and took nine pieces of cannon.

On the third, the prince of Saxe-Cobourg obtained a ſignal victory over the French, and drove them from Aix-la-Chapelle even to the vicinity of Liege, with the loſs of four thouſand killed, ſixteen hundred priſoners, and twenty pieces of cannon. The French force ſeems indeed at this period to have been too much divided to make an effectual reſiſtance; and their officers appear not ſufficiently informed of the motions of the enemy. The defeat of the third was the ſignal for raiſing the ſiege of Maeſtricht. On the fourth, Miranda learned that the enemy was advancing with more than thirty-five thouſand men towards Wick, with the evident intention of throwing ſuccours into Maeſtricht. The general, therefore, had ſcarcely time to withdraw the body of three thouſand men, which were poſted there, under the command of general Leveneur, before they were attacked by the advanced guard of the enemy. The bombardment was however continued in the uſual manner, and Maeſtricht ſuffered conſiderably from the conflagration. At twelve o'clock at night Miranda gave orders for a general retreat, having ſent before him all the artillery, which happily arrived at Tongres, being covered with a rear-guard of four thouſand men, whom the allies were unable to diſcompoſe. On the ſucceeding day the French were again attacked at Tongres, and forced to retreat to Hans and Saint Tron, where Miranda and Valence formed a junction; the former having evacuated Liege, and abandoned it to the enemy. They were alſo joined by troops under generals Iſler, Lamorliere, and Champmorin; and after remaining there till the eighth,

to

to refreſh, and having repulſed the advanced guard of the enemy, who attempted to diſlodge them, they moved on that day towards Tirlemont.

In this critical ſituation of affairs general Dumourier ought to have abandoned his enterpriſe againſt Holland, and moved with his whole force to the ſupport of the flying generals. On the contrary, he left his army under the command of general De Flers, "whom"—he ſays—"he knew to be incapable of diſcharging the truſt," with orders to take up his quarters at Dort. The army in Holland was totally diſpirited by the departure of the general; the Dutch navy in the mean time was reinforced, and the Pruſſians advanced by the way of Bois-le-Duc. Inſtead of proceeding to Dort, De Flers was compelled to throw himſelf into Breda, with ſix battalions and two hundred cavalry, and the reſt of the army retired to Antwerp.

The ſatisfaction expreſſed by the army in Liege on being re-joined by their former victorious commander is ſcarcely to be deſcribed; order and confidence ſeemed to be at once eſtabliſhed; and the hopes of the ſoldiery anticipated a renewal of the glories of Jemappe. The ſtrength and vigour, however, of the French army were gone, and their commander was no longer the ſame Dumourier, who had triumphantly over-run the Netherlands in the preceding year.

On the fifteenth of March the Auſtrians attacked Tirlemont, in which the French had only four hundred men, and which they carried after an obſtinate reſiſtance, the town being large, and incapable of defence. On the following day, however, they were again driven from that place by Dumourier, and compelled to retreat to Saint Tron. The firſt attempts were attended with ſucceſs; and the Auſtrian advanced poſts were forced to retire to Saint Tron through Tirlemont, which they had already paſſed. On the eighteenth a general engagement took place at Neerwinden; the French army being covered on the left by Dormael, and on the right by Landen. The action continued, with great obſtinacy on both ſides, from ſeven in the morning till five in the evening, when the French were obliged to fall back, and the Auſtrian cavalry coming up, put them entirely to flight. The loſs in each army was great. The French diſplayed conſiderable courage and addreſs, but were overpowered by numbers, and perhaps by the treachery of their own commanders, as well as by the ſuperior ſkill and diſcipline of their enemies. Dumourier himſelf, in a letter to general Duval, ſays of this battle, that he attacked the enemy in the famous plain of Neerwinden, and fought the whole day with his right wing and center. The left wing, which was commanded by general Miranda, he aſſerts, not only fought ill, but abandoned him, and fled beyond Tirlemont. In his Memoirs the general aſſerts, that general La Marche committed the firſt error of the day. He entered the plain of Landen, according to his inſtructions; but finding no enemy there, he made a movement to the left, to fall upon the village of Oberwinde, and thence was thrown into confuſion by the ſecond column. General Valence, who commanded the French

French cavalry, was wounded, and obliged to retire to Tirlemont, but they were ſtill victorious over the Auſtrian horſe. He repeats the charge againſt general Miranda, of having retreated while his troops were quite freſh, and attributes this defection to a jealouſy of general Valence.

Miranda, however, in a confidential letter to Petion, dated the twenty-firſt of March, very directly intimates his ſuſpicion of treachery in the commander in chief. He ſays that Dumourier, who had never failed to conſult him upon every other occaſion, did not even mention the arrangements for the battle of Neerwinden to him. "At eleven at night," —ſays he—"my orders were delivered in writing, and I learnt in a converſation with "him, that we were to offer battle to an enemy fifty-one thouſand ſtrong, very advan- "tageouſly poſted, and a formidable train of artillery, with a force inferior to theirs, "and with every diſadvantage of ſituation and encampment—all this was to be effected "without having previouſly reconnoitred the ground, or the particular poſition of the "enemy. Miranda proceeds to aſſert, that he made a vigorous attack in five different columns, three of which were led on by himſelf; and that at laſt his troops, after fighting a conſiderable time with various ſucceſs, were obliged to give way to ſuperior force: and that they did not abandon the field in a cowardly manner, the loſs which this diviſion ſuffered may be cited as a proof, ſince it amounted to not leſs than two thouſand in killed and wounded. The whole of the loſs Dumourier ſtates at more than three thouſand, and that of the Imperialiſts at fourteen hundred. The French alſo loſt a great part of their cannon.

The battle of Neerwinden was fatal to the French; for, beſides the loſs above ſtated, the general obſerves, that upwards of ſix thouſand men immediately deſerted, and proceeded towards Bruſſels and France. The retreat of the French was, however, made in good order, and they continued ſkirmiſhing till they reached Godſenhoven, about a league ſouth of Tirlemont. Here the French formed in order of battle, and the two armies reſted the whole night upon their arms. On the nineteenth little was attempted, and on the night of the twentieth Dumourier took poſſeſſion of the heights of Cumptich, behind Tirlemont, from which place he had time to withdraw his magazines.

As the general, however, if we may truſt his own account, clearly perceived that he could not long maintain himſelf in this poſition, and that it afforded no protection either to Louvain or Bruſſels, he availed himſelf of the twentieth, while the Auſtrians ſtill remained before Tirlemont, to paſs the Welpe, and encamp near Bauterſem, having his right at Op and Neerwelpe, and his left on the heights, and in the woods in the front of Zuellenberg. Here he was attacked by the advanced guard of the enemy, who were however repulſed. While the general was engaged in repelling this aſſault, Danton and La Croix arrived in the camp, as commiſſioners from the Convention; and after receiving

ing ſome explanation from him, relative to a letter which he had written to the Convention on the affairs of Belgium, they returned.

On the twenty-firſt Dumourier judged it proper to take poſt nearer Louvain, and on the following day he was attacked by the enemy. The action was bloody, and laſted the whole day; but the Imperialiſts were compelled to retreat with great loſs. On the evening preceding this action, general Dumourier ſent colonel Montjoye to the head quarters of the prince of Cobourg, to treat reſpecting the wounded and the priſoners. "He there"—continues Dumourier—"ſaw colonel Mack, an officer of uncommon "merit, who obſerved to colonel Montjoye, that it might be equally advantageous to "both parties to agree to a ſuſpenſion of arms." Dumourier, who had deeply conſidered the ſituation of his army, ſent Montjoye again to colonel Mack on the twenty-ſecond, to demand if he would come to Louvain, and make the ſame propoſition to Dumourier. Colonel Mack came in the evening, and the following articles were verbally agreed to: firſt, That the Imperialiſts ſhould not again attack the French army in great force, nor general Dumourier again offer battle to the Imperialiſts. Secondly, that on the faith of this tacit armiſtice, the French ſhould retire to Bruſſels ſlowly and in good order, without any oppoſition from the enemy. And laſtly, that Dumourier and colonel Mack ſhould have another interview after the evacuation of Bruſſels, in order to ſettle further articles that might then be mutually deemed neceſſary.

Either diſtruſtful of Dumourier, however, or from other motives, the Imperialiſts, under general Clairfait, attacked an advanced guard of the French, poſted at Pellenberk; in conſequence of which the latter were obliged to abandon Louvain, and general Dumourier tranſported his wounded, and the flour for his army, in boats to Mechlin. The French army effected their retreat towards Bruſſels in the night, otherwiſe, Dumourier himſelf ſtates, to the honour of his new allies, "That, notwithſtanding the "verbal ſtipulations agreed to by colonel Mack, they would probably have ſeized upon "this opportunity to deſtroy, or entirely diſperſe, the French army."

Dumourier, it appears, continued faithfully to obſerve, on his part, the terms of this agreement; and he alſo allows that the prince of Cobourg ſo far adhered to them, that he remained three days at Louvain, ſending only ſmall detachments to hang on the rear-guard of the French. On the twenty-fifth general Dumourier, with his army, paſſed through Bruſſels. The citadel of Antwerp was the only fortified place he was able to keep, which he garriſoned with two thouſand men, and ſix months proviſions, in order to preſerve a communication with the troops which had been left in Breda and Gertruydenberg. His deſign, he ſays, was to have formed a ſtrong line without the territory of France, to the left by Namur, Mons, Tournay, Courtray, Antwerp, Breda, and Gertruydenberg, till he could recruit his forces; but the line in one part was broken by the neceſſary evacuation of Namur.

On

On the twenty-ſeventh the general arrived at Ath, where he received orders from the Convention to arreſt the colonel of the ſeventy-third regiment of infantry, and general Miranda. On the ſame day colonel Mack arrived at Ath. A further agreement was then entered into between that officer and Dumourier; the terms of which were—"That "the French army ſhould remain ſome time longer in the poſſeſſion of Mons, Tour- "nay, and Courtray, without being haraſſed by the Imperial army; that general Du- "mourier, who *did not conceal from colonel Mack his deſign of marching againſt Paris*, "ſhould, when their deſigns were ripe for execution, regulate the motions of the Im- "perialiſts, who ſhould only act as auxiliaries in the execution of their plan; that in "the caſe of Dumourier's having no need of aſſiſtance, which was to be greatly de- "ſired by both parties, the Imperialiſts ſhould not advance farther than the frontier of "France, and that the total evacuation of Belgium ſhould be the price of this conde- "ſcenſion; but if Dumourier could not effect the re-eſtabliſhment of a limited mon- "archy (not a counter-revolution,) he himſelf ſhould indicate the number and the kind "of troops which the Imperialiſts ſhould furniſh, to aid in the project, and which "ſhould be entirely under Dumourier's direction."—Dumourier made colonel Mack acquainted with his deſign of marching the following day to Tournay, with the march of general Neuilly to Mons, and of the army of Holland to Courtray. It was finally de- cided, that in order to combine the operations of the Imperial troops under the prince of Cobourg, and thoſe under the prince of Hohenloe, at the time when Dumourier ſhould march to Paris, Condé ſhould be put into the hands of the Auſtrians as a pledge; that the Auſtrians ſhould garriſon the town, but without any pretenſions to the ſovereignty; and on the condition that it ſhould be reſtored to France at the concluſion of the war, and after an indemnity ſhould have been ſettled between the two parties; but that all the other towns belonging to France ſhould, in the caſe of the conſtitutional party need- ing the aſſiſtance of the Imperialiſts, receive garriſons, one half of which ſhould be French troops, and the other half Imperialiſts, under the orders of the French. Gene- ral Valence, general Thouvenot, the duke de Chartres, and colonel Montjoye, aſſiſted at this conference.

Dumourier arrived on the twenty-eighth at Tournay; and there he learned that gene- ral Neuilly's diviſion had abandoned Mons, and thrown themſelves into Condé and Va- lenciennes. Here he found madame Sillery and madame d'Orleans, whom, he ſays, he had never till then ſeen. From hence he addreſſed a letter to Bournonville, dated the twenty-eighth of March, in which he gave an account of the retreat of a part of the army, under generals Neuilly and Ferrand, who, by the deſertion of a great number of volunteers, were obliged to evacuate the city of Mons during the night. General Ma- raſſe, military commander of Antwerp, capitulated, and by that method, though not the moſt honourable, yet indiſpenſably neceſſary, ſaved a body of ten thouſand men. He added, that colonels Saint Clair and Thouvenot were attacked without means of de- fence; that the military convoys were detained at Bruges; that he had diſpatched ſome

troops in order to liberate thoſe convoys; and that he had ſent forces to garriſon Saint Omer, Cambray, and all the places on the line from Dunkirk to Givet. At this period Dumourier deſcribed the army as in a ſtate of the utmoſt diſorder, and as not having proviſions for more than ten days. He ſaid that the pretended ſuccours of men from the departments of the north conſiſted only of old men and boys, who, ſo far from being uſeful, ſerved only to conſume the proviſions, and increaſe the confuſion. He declared, that if order and diſcipline were not reſtored—that if fifty authorities, each more abſurd than the other, continued to direct all political and military operations, France would be loſt; and he added, that with a ſmall number of brave men, he would bury himſelf under the ruins of his country. He affirmed, that it was impoſſible for him to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy, who, without amuſing themſelves with ſieges, might, with an army of twenty thouſand cavalry, lay waſte and reduce to aſhes all that part of the country which lies in the vicinity of the metropolis. He concluded this melancholy repreſentation with beſtowing eulogiums on the clemency and moderation of the Auſtrians, who, he obſerved, were entitled to the more praiſe, as from the examples of cruelty and outrage which the French had exhibited, a very different conduct on their part might have been expected. "I have always affirmed,"—ſays he—"and I repeat, that a *repub-* "*lic* can only be founded on virtue, and that *freedom* can be maintained only by order "and wiſdom." The frequent reproachful addreſſes to the Convention from the general, were at length conſtrued by them into inſult and treaſon. He had been too much accuſtomed to the ſtratagems of war, and the fineſſe of political tranſactions, not to be previouſly informed of the deſign of the Convention to order him a priſoner to their bar.

Three commiſſioners from the executive power had been diſpatched, under the pretence of conferring with the general concerning the affairs of Belgium, but really with a view of ſounding his intentions. They found him at Tournay, in company with madame Sillery, young Egalité, and Valence, and ſurrounded with deputations from the diſtrict of Cambray. The interview was violent: Dumourier expreſſed himſelf in terms of invective againſt the Jacobins. "They will ruin France,"—ſaid he—"but I "will ſave it, though they ſhould call me a Cæſar, a Cromwell, or a Monk." The commiſſioners carried the converſation no farther: they departed, and returned next day, determined to diſſemble, in order the better to diſcover the extent of his views. The general then became more explicit; he ſaid that the Convention were a herd of ruffians, whom he held in abhorrence; that the volunteers were poltroons; but that all their efforts would be vain. "As for the reſt,"—added he—"there ſtill remains a "party. If the queen and her children are threatened, I will march to Paris—it is my "fixed intention—and the Convention will not exiſt three weeks longer." The commiſſioners aſked him by what means he would replace the Convention? His anſwer was, "The means are already formed." They aſked him, whether he did not wiſh to have the laſt conſtitution? He replied, that it was a fooliſh one; he expected a better from Condorcet:

Condorcet: the firſt conſtitution, with all its imperfections, was preferable. When they aſked him whether he wiſhed to have a king, he replied, "We muſt have one." He alſo told them, that he was employed to make peace for France; that he had already entered into a negociation with the prince of Cobourg for an exchange of priſoners, and for the purpoſe of withdrawing from Holland thoſe eighteen battalions, which were on the point of being cut off. When they informed him that thoſe negociations with Cobourg, and the peace which he wiſhed to procure for France, would not change republicans into royaliſts, he repeated the aſſertion that he would be in Paris in three weeks; and obſerved, that ſince the battle of Jemappe, he had wept over his ſucceſs in ſo bad a cauſe. Dubuiſſon, one of the commiſſioners, then propoſed to communicate to him the plan of a counter-revolution: but he ſaid that his own was better; that he would make the conqueſt of Belgium for himſelf, which he would rule under the protection of the houſe of Auſtria.

The converſation of Dumourier with theſe commiſſioners was no ſooner made public in Paris, than the ſuſpicions of thoſe who entertained apprehenſions of his treachery were converted into certainty. The general himſelf had been previouſly ordered to the bar of the Convention; he was to be ſuperſeded by Bournonville, the miniſter of war; and four commiſſioners were ſent to the army of the north, with powers to ſuſpend and arreſt all generals and military officers whom they ſhould ſuſpect, and bring them to the bar.

As the commiſſioners wiſhed to proceed with caution, they halted at Liſle; and diſpatched a ſummons to the general to appear in that city, and anſwer the charges againſt him. The general, however, had already arranged his plan; the Rubicon was paſſed; and he returned only for anſwer, that he could not leave the army for a moment, while the enemy was cutting him off from every retreat—and that he would only enter Liſle to purge it of thoſe traitors who infeſted it.

On the twenty-ninth of March, Dumourier learned that Antwerp had been abandoned by the troops which he had ſtationed there; and that they had effected their retreat to the territories of France. On the following day, he reſolved to raiſe the camp at Tournay, and occupy that of Maulde. In the mean time he ſent orders through colonel Mack to the garriſons of Breda and Gertruydenberg to capitulate, on condition of being allowed to march back to France. He alſo ordered general Miaczinſki, who was at Orchies, to march with his diviſion to Liſle, and arreſt the commiſſioners of the Convention; but that general, imprudently divulging the object of his miſſion, no ſooner entered the city than the gates were ſhut upon him; he was ſent to Paris, and brought to the ſcaffold. By the patriotiſm of generals Ferrand and Ecuyer, Dumourier was alſo fruſtrated in an attempt to render himſelf maſter of Condé and Valenciennes.

The attempt to arreſt an able general at the head of his army was bold at leaſt, and indeed did not argue a ſuperior degree of wiſdom in the agents of the Convention. The commiſſioners, nevertheleſs, proceeded, on the firſt of April, to Saint Amand, the head quarters of Dumourier, and, being admitted to his preſence, explained to him the object of their miſſion. After a conference of ſome hours, the general obſerved, ſmiling, "That he valued his head too much to ſubmit it to an *arbitrary tribunal*;" and finding that he could not perſuade them to favour his intentions, he gave the ſignal for a body of ſoldiers who were in waiting, and ordered the miniſter of war, Bournonville (who was ſent to ſuperſede him) and the commiſſioners, Camus, Blancal, La Marque, and Quinette, immediately to be conveyed to general Clairfait's head quarters at Tournay, as hoſtages for the ſafety of the royal family.

Dumourier, notwithſtanding his ſplendid talents, appears, however, to have been groſſly miſtaken with regard to the diſpoſition of his army. However they might be diſpoſed to reſent the affront which was ſo imprudently offered to their general, in ordering him to appear as a criminal at Paris; yet when he came to propoſe to them the reſtoration of royalty, in the perſon of the prince, and to turn their arms againſt their country, the prejudices or the patriotiſm of Frenchmen aſſumed their wonted influence, and they conſidered it as their duty to diſobey. The general loſt no time in diſpatching colonel Montjoye to acquaint colonel Mack with the arreſt of the commiſſioners, and to appoint the time and place for a conference to conclude the terms of their treaty. During the night he compoſed a manifeſto, addreſſed to his army, which he digeſted and put in order the following day.

On the morning of the third he went to the camp, and addreſſed the troops, who, he ſays, appeared to approve his conduct. He then proceeded to Saint Amand, in which place was the corps of artillery, who alſo expreſſed their ſatisfaction. At Saint Amand general Dumourier thought it prudent to ſleep, for the purpoſe of marking his confidence in the troops there.—The whole of the third, he ſays, paſſed with as much ſucceſs as he could expect; except that murmurs were heard among ſome of the battalions of the volunteers.

On the ſucceeding day he left general Thouvenot at Saint Amand, and departed himſelf for Condé; but he had not approached that fortreſs within half a league, before he was met by an officer diſpatched by general Neuilly to inform him that the garriſon was in the greateſt fermentation, and that it would not be ſafe for him to enter the place. He ſent back the officer with an order to general Neuilly, to ſend the eighteenth regiment of cavalry to eſcort him. He had juſt before overtaken a column of volunteers marching towards Condé, who, however, did not then attempt to moleſt him. While they were yet in ſight it was that general Neuilly's meſſenger arrived; and he had

had ſcarcely delivered his meſſage to the officer, when the head of the column quitted the high road, and ran towards him with ſhouts and menaces, and a univerſal exclamation of "Stop, ſtop!" The general now perceiving himſelf in the moſt imminent danger, mounted a horſe belonging to a domeſtic of the duke de Chartres, and eſcaped through a dreadful diſcharge of muſketry, which the whole column poured upon him and his aſſociates.

Finding it impoſſible to gain the camp of Maulde, the general proceeded along the Scheldt, and paſſed the ferry near the village of Wikers, on the Imperial territory. From this place he continued his route on foot to Bury, where in the evening he met colonel Mack, and paſſed the night in digeſting the proclamation of the prince of Cobourg, which appeared on the fifth, with that of general Dumourier. It was alſo agreed in this conference, that as ſoon as the general ſhould be maſter of Condé, he ſhould deliver it to the Auſtrians, to ſerve as a magazine and place of arms, in caſe of aid being demanded by Dumourier.

The proclamation of Dumourier contained a recapitulation of his ſervices to the French republic; a ſtatement of the cruel neglect which his army had experienced in the preceding winter, and of the outrages practiſed by the Jacobins towards the generals of the republic, and particularly towards himſelf; the reaſons which induced him to arreſt the commiſſioners; and a glowing picture of the evils to be apprehended from a continuance of anarchy in France. It concluded with an exhortation to the French, to reſtore the conſtitution of 1789, 1790, and 1791; and a declaration on oath that he bore arms only for the reſtoration of that conſtitution; and that as ſoon as he had effected that purpoſe, he would for ever abandon every public function, and in ſolitude conſole himſelf with having contributed to the happineſs of his fellow citizens.

The manifeſto of the prince of Saxe-Cobourg, which accompanied the preceding, reflected great honour on that general; and it can never be ſufficiently regretted, that the terms which it held forth were ever departed from by the allied powers. It paſſed high encomiums on the diſintereſted and patriotic views of general Dumourier. It announced that the allied powers were no longer to be conſidered as principals, but merely as auxiliaries in the war; that they had no other object but merely to co-operate with general Dumourier in giving to France her conſtitutional king, and *the conſtitution ſhe formed for herſelf*. On his word of honour he pledged himſelf, that he would not come upon the French territory to make conqueſts, but ſolely for the ends above ſpecified. The prince declared further, that any ſtrong places which ſhould be put into his hands ſhould be conſidered as ſacred depoſits, to be delivered up as ſoon as the conſtitutional government ſhould be eſtabliſhed in France, or as ſoon as general Dumourier ſhould demand them.

On the fifth of April, at day-break, general Dumourier proceeded, with an eſcort of fifty Imperial dragoons, to the advanced guard of his camp at Maulde. He harangued the troops; but though there was no open oppoſition, he obſerved ſome indications of that ſpirit, and ſeveral factious groupes aſſembled in different parts. His next deſign was to go to Saint Amand; but as he was entering the city he was met by an aid-de-camp, who informed him, that during the night the corps of artillery, excited by ſome emiſſaries from Valenciennes, had riſen upon their general, and were marching to that fortreſs. The money, however, and the equipages of the officers, which remained in the city without a guard, he commanded to be conducted to Rumegies.

The deſertion of the corps of artillery was the ſignal for general revolt. General Lamorliere, on whom Dumourier had placed ſome dependence, immediately took his departure for Valenciennes. The general was himſelf at Rumegies, when he heard of the defection of the troops in camp. Nothing was now left but to provide for his perſonal ſafety. He mounted his horſe, attended by general and colonel Thouvenot, the duke de Chartres, colonel Montjoye, and a few others of his ſtaff. He was followed in the courſe of the day by about ſeven hundred horſe and eight hundred infantry; theſe were the whole that could be prevailed on, by the utmoſt ſolicitations of their officers, to deſert to the enemy, and ſeveral of theſe afterwards returned.

The military cheſt which Dumourier had removed, was recovered by a party of French chaſſeurs, and brought to Valenciennes. At Bury general Dumourier found colonel Mack, and proceeded with him to Mons. It was agreed that the Imperialiſts ſhould immediately lay ſiege to Condé. The rank of feld-zeugmeiſter [general of artillery] was conferred on Dumourier; but he did not long enjoy the new office conferred upon him; for, as it was the price of treachery, he was ever regarded with a ſuſpicious eye, which compelled him very ſoon to lay it down, and attempt to withdraw to ſome place of retirement. In this, however, the fugitive general was fruſtrated, not being permitted to acquire even a temporary reſidence in any of the places to which he retreated for that purpoſe, except under reſtrictions the moſt mortifying and humiliating—a ſalutary leſſon to mankind, be their ſtation or rank in life what it may, never to deviate from the path of integrity, to wander in the mazes of duplicity and deceit [79].

Had the combined powers made a prudent uſe of this opportunity; had they offered reaſonable terms at this criſis to the French; had they extended the olive-branch, and

[79] It has been confidently aſſerted that Dumourier is at preſent confined in an Auſtrian priſon; but this intelligence we have reaſon to think is not ſtrictly accurate, having lately ſeen accounts which mention his being permitted to reſide in one of the cantons of Switzerland.

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ſaid to them—"Model your internal government as you pleaſe, but eſtabliſh once more "the ancient boundary of the Netherlands; reſtore your other conqueſts; act with "liberality; ſet free the queen and the royal family; do juſtice to the unfortunate emi- "grants, and allow them at leaſt a moiety of their property, and we will withdraw our "forces:" had they addreſſed the nation in theſe terms, there can hardly be a doubt but a ſtop would have been put to the effuſion of human blood, and France might ere this have had a monarchy again, or at leaſt a regular and eſtabliſhed government.

A congreſs of the repreſentatives of the combined powers was aſſembled at Antwerp on the eighth of April. At this congreſs were preſent the prince of Orange and his two ſons, and his excellency Vander Spiegel; the duke of York and lord Auckland on the part of Great Britain; the prince of Saxe Cobourg, counts Metternich, Starenberg, and Mercy Dargenteau, with the Pruſſian, Spaniſh, and Neapolitan envoys. On their deciſion the fate of nations and the peace of Europe depended. The particulars of what paſſed on this important occaſion have never yet tranſpired—We only know that it was reſolved to commence a plan of active operations againſt France.

The ſituation of France at this moment was ſingularly critical and dangerous. By the defection of Dumourier the whole army of the north was diſſolved, and in part diſband- ed; while that of the allies lay upon the frontier, numerous, well-diſciplined, and victo- rious. On the ſide of the Rhine, the Pruſſians advanced in immenſe force, and threatened the ſiege of Mentz, even before the works for its defence were completed. But how- ever formidable the attack from that quarter might appear, it was perhaps leſs to be dreaded than thoſe alarming internal commotions which took place about this period. To effect completely the ſubverſion of republican government in France, it was a part of the great plan to excite by a bold and inſtantaneous effort the royaliſt party, who lay concealed in different parts of the country, but chiefly in the ancient provinces of Brit- tany and Poitou, now diſtinguiſhed by the names of the departments of La Vendée and La Loire. Notwithſtanding the ſevere decrees of the Convention, immenſe numbers of the emigrants had ſecretly reſorted thither in the winter of 1792; and the vicinity of theſe departments to the ſea afforded a fair proſpect of freſh ſupplies of men and military ſtores, as well as of the co-operation of the naval powers.

It appeared like a concerted plan, that this inſurrection ſhould break out almoſt at the inſtant of Dumourier's defection; as if by two ſuch tremendous exploſions the new re- public was at once to be overwhelmed in ruin. The firſt diſturbances were conſidered by the Convention as merely the reſult of a repugnance in the people to the modes which had been adopted for recruiting the army; but before the latter end of March the inſur- gents aſſumed a more formidable appearance as to numbers, and their proceedings evinced the rebellion to be the reſult of previous arrangement. They were diſtinguiſhed by white caps, and other counter-revolutionary enſigns, and their watch-words were "*Vive*

"*le*

"*le Roi! Vivent les Anglois!*" They profeſſed to act by the authority of Monſieur, the regent of France; and in ſeveral rencounters with the national guards were victorious, particularly in an action which took place near Chantanay, which was immediately ſucceeded by the plunder of that city.

On the twenty-third of March the Convention was informed that the inſurgents had made themſelves maſters of the diſtricts of Cholet, Montaigne, and Cliſſon, and that they had defeated general Marcé, who had been ſent to quell them. The city of Nantz was at the ſame time in a ſtate of ſiege, and the number of rebels encamped before it were eſtimated at not leſs than forty thouſand. In the beginning of April general Berruyere was appointed to command againſt the rebels. Notwithſtanding the efforts of the Convention, however, before the end of that month they poſſeſſed themſelves of an extent of fifty leagues of country, and had defeated the republicans in two pitched battles, in which they took an immenſe quantity of artillery and military ſtores, and a number of priſoners. To reſiſt with ſucceſs the force of theſe combined misfortunes required no common reſources, and no trifling ſhare of ſpirit and of energy. The Convention, on receiving the intelligence of the defection of Dumourier, and the arreſt of the commiſſioners, decreed a permanent ſitting; they offered a large reward for the fugitive general, and decreed that all who appeared connected with him ſhould be put under arreſt.

The commiſſioners, in the mean time, who had been ſent to the army, omitted no means of reſtoring order, and invigorating the ſpirit of the French army. The ſtandard of the republic was no ſooner ſet up, than the battalions which had diſperſed from the camp of Maulde reſorted to it; and general Dampierre, who had evinced his patriotiſm by his reſiſtance to the orders of Dumourier, was proviſionally appointed by the commiſſioners to the chief command. In leſs than a week Dampierre had reſtored order and diſcipline to the diſorganized troops, and was enabled to lead them to action, if not to victory.

On the thirteenth of April the advanced poſts of the French army under that general were attacked in ſix different points, but the aſſailants were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. Dampierre at the ſame time was enabled to reſume the camp of Famars. On the fourteenth and fifteenth the advanced guard was again aſſailed by the enemy: on the former of thoſe days they were compelled, by ſuperior numbers, to give way, but on the ſucceeding day they were victorious. The firing continued from four in the morning till eight in the evening with great violence.

On the twenty-third the Auſtrians again attacked the French near Maubeuge, but after a conflict of ten hours, were repulſed with conſiderable loſs; and on the firſt of May general Dampierre attempted to diſlodge the enemy from ſeveral villages, of which they

they were in poſſeſſion, but in his turn experienced a repulſe. On this occaſion the Auſtrians had ſix hundred killed and two thouſand wounded, and the French had three hundred killed and ſix hundred wounded.

An action of a more ſerious nature took place on the eighth of May. Dampierre on that day advanced to diſlodge the enemy, who were poſted in the woods of Rheme and Vicoigne; but the ardour of the general having prompted him to too great an expoſure of his perſon, his thigh was carried off by a cannon-ball, and he expired the following day, leaving the command in the hands of general La Marche. In this action the Auſtrians loſt in killed and wounded five hundred men, and the Pruſſians three hundred: of the Engliſh troops, who were engaged, and who ſuffered greatly, no official return was made. The loſs of the French was eſtimated at four thouſand. From this period to the twenty-third nothing of importance occurred. On that day it was determined by the allies to attempt to diſlodge the French from their fortified camp on the heights of Famars, which covered and protected the town of Valenciennes. At day-break the Britiſh and Hanoverians aſſembled, under the command of the duke of York, and the Auſtrians and German auxiliaries under that of the prince of Cobourg and general Clairfait. A thick fog prevented for ſome time the advance of the troops; and they ſoon experienced a tremendous fire from the entrenchments of the French. The conteſt, as Sir James Murray ſtates, was very ſevere, and in the field the French were defeated. The duke of York then advanced within a ſmall diſtance of the works; but obſerving, from the diſpoſition of the French, that they could not be carried without conſiderable loſs, he determined to defer the attack till next morning at day-break. In the courſe of the night, however, the French, apprehenſive of the conſequences, and probably much weakened by the action, abandoned their camp, and withdrew partly into Valenciennes, while another party retired by Denain, towards Bouchain and Cambray. No official return was made of the loſs of the allies; but it muſt have been conſiderable on both ſides.

The ſucceſs of the twenty-third enabled the allies to lay formal ſiege to Valenciennes. Condé had been inveſted from the beginning of April, and the communication entirely cut off between that place and Valenciennes. To re-eſtabliſh that communication was the object of general Dampierre on the eighth, when he received the fatal wound that deprived him of life.

While theſe affairs were tranſacting in the north, but little of importance occurred in other parts. In the beginning of May general Cuſtine, who commanded the army of the Rhine, formed a deſign of cutting off a body of the enemy of ſeven or eight thouſand men, who had advanced as far as Rheinzabern; but, to enſure ſucceſs it was neceſſary to amuſe the Pruſſians in all parts, and to deſtroy the effect of the cavalry and infantry which they had ſtationed near Landau. Had he been to retain the command,

he ſaid, he ſhould have deferred that enterpriſe till the commencement of June, and then the army, better exerciſed, would have been in a condition to execute it completely; but reflecting that he was about to depart and take upon him the command of the army of the North, he determined to hazard an action, in order to prevent the Pruſſians taking advantage of their good poſition. He therefore ſent orders to general Houchard to attack Limberg and Calberg in the rear with the army of the Moſelle, which Pulli ſhould keep in check, and attack with the reſt of the corps des Vaſages, a Pruſſian corps who had advanced; and while general Sulek, with nine battalions and ſome cavalry, ſhould advance towards Anweiler to moleſt the enemy. The ſame day the garriſon of Landau had orders to occupy the banks of the canal of Anweiler, the vineyards and village of Nuſderff, with ſeveral other poſts, and to give the Pruſſians reaſon to apprehend that they would be attacked in the rear, in caſe they ſhould attempt any movements. He alſo cauſed a report to be ſpread in the Pruſſian army, that the cavalry of the army of the Moſelle had arrived, as well as part of the artillery of Straſbourg. In the mean time general Ferrier, who commanded forty battalions, was ordered only to ſhew himſelf to the enemy till he ſhould be certain that the engagement had commenced, and then to attack them in the wood of Rheinzabern, and the Auſtrians who were in it beyond the village. Notwithſtanding theſe orders, Cuſtine obſerves, that he did not ſee his troops appear till eleven o'clock, at which time general Diretmann had commanded a retreat, becauſe the troops were fatigued, and could neither procure proviſions nor drink. The general himſelf began to march, at eight o'clock in the evening, with twenty-ſix battalions and eight regiments, to the heights near Inſheim; but ſeveral unavoidable delays prevented him from arriving at that place till five in the morning. The advanced guard, under the command of general Landremont, kept back the enemy, and prevented them from quitting the foreſt of Germerſheim. While general Landremont was thus engaging the Auſtrian army, and preventing them from advancing, the main army extended itſelf to the heights of Rulſheim, and proceeded as far as that village. Cuſtine charged two diviſions of dragoons with vigour, who fled, after ſuſtaining conſiderable loſs. Among the number of the dead were three officers. The general obſerved, that had it not been for the infatuation of a battalion, who miſtook the French cavalry for that of the enemy, this day would have terminated happily for the troops of the republic; they anſwered all attempts to rally them only by diſcharges, and it was with great difficulty they could be prevailed upon to reſume their ranks. The general was informed that this event was occaſioned by the commander, who began the cry of treachery. He was arreſted, and, it was ſaid, deſtroyed himſelf. "This day, which ought to have been ſo "memorable,"—added Cuſtine—"terminated by the taking of one piece of cannon, "and a very great number of priſoners." The Pruſſians were ſoon after enabled to form the ſiege of Mentz.

At this fatal period a degree of treachery ſeems to have pervaded every part of the French territory. On the ſecond of April the popular ſociety of Toulon denounced the

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Jones Sculp.

M. DE. LA CROIX.

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the Corſican general Paoli as a traitor, and his ſubſequent conduct has proved that the accuſation was well founded. Paoli was cited to appear at the bar of the Convention, but excuſed himſelf; and the perſons who were ſent to arreſt him declared that the ſervice was too dangerous to be attempted. At the ſame time charges of a ſerious nature were exhibited againſt the ex-miniſter, Bournonville, who was accuſed as an accomplice of Dumourier, although he had been made priſoner, and delivered up to the Auſtrians, by that treacherous commander.

The pauſe which took place at this time in the military tranſactions, affords us leiſure to review the no leſs important proceedings of the Convention. In the month of March the celebrated Revolutionary Tribunal, for judging offences againſt the ſtate, was organized; and it is remarkable that the chairman on this occaſion was the deputy La Croix, who has ſince fallen the victim of this very inſtitution. The plan on which this tribunal was formed is as follows:

" 1. The revolutionary tribunal ſhall take cognizance of every enterpriſe, plot, and " attempt againſt the liberty and ſovereignty of the people, and the unity, indiviſibility, " and external as well as internal ſafety of the republic; of every plan tending to eſ- " tabliſh royalty, and of every crime relating to the fabrication of forged aſſignats.

" 2. This tribunal ſhall conſiſt of ſix judges, divided into two ſections. Three mem- " bers in each ſection ſhall be ſufficient to examine facts denounced.

" 3. The judges ſhall be choſen by the National Convention, by the nominal appeal, " and by a relative majority.

" 4. To this tribunal ſhall belong a public accuſer and two aſſiſtants, named by the " Convention in like manner as the judges. A commiſſion of ſix ſhall alſo be appoint- " ed to draw up the decrees of accuſation which may be paſſed by the Convention.

" 5. The jurors ſhall be twelve in number, and three ſubſtitutes. They ſhall be " taken from the department of Paris, until the firſt of May next; an epoch when the " electoral bodies muſt renew their jurors.

" 6. Crimes againſt the general ſafety, aſſigned heretofore to the cognizance of mu- " nicipalities, ſhall in future be judged by the revolutionary tribunal.

" 7. There ſhall be no appeal from their ſentence.

" 8. Sentence paſſed in the abſence of the accuſed, ſhall have the ſame effect as if " they were preſent.

" 9. Perſons accuſed who ſhall not appear within three months ſhall be conſidered as " emigrants, and treated as ſuch."

As the intentions of the parties which divided the Convention had been groſly miſrepreſented, and as ſome of the moſt indigent and deſperate of the citizens had underſtood the term *equality*, which was adopted in the declaration of rights, as referring not to an equality of rights, but an equality of property; about the ſame time a decree was propoſed,

on

on the motion of Barrere, and adopted by the Convention, denouncing the puniſhment of death againſt any perſon who ſhould propoſe an Agrarian law, or who ſhould attempt to injure territorial, commercial, or perſonal property. Another decree, which was paſſed on the twenty-ninth of the ſame month, merits our diſapprobation; it was in ſubſtance, that all perſons convicted of compoſing, or printing, writings favouring the reſtoration of monarchy in France, or the diſſolution of the National repreſentation, ſhould be puniſhed with death. All perſons guilty of attempting a counter-revolution were at the ſame time declared outlaws; and on the firſt of April a decree was paſſed aboliſhing the inviolability of the deputies of the Convention, when accuſed of crimes againſt the ſtate.

In every ſtate there will always be found neceſſary an executive authority, with powers ſufficiently ſtrong to prevent frequent inſurrection and conſpiracy, and ſufficiently compact to be able to execute its deſigns with ſecrecy and alacrity. It was evidently among the defects of the firſt conſtitution of France, that no ſuch power exiſted; and ſince the revolution of the tenth of Auguſt, the powers granted to the ordinary miniſters, who formed what is called the executive council, were not adequate to theſe ends. On the ſeventh of April, therefore, a committee of public ſafety, with enlarged powers, was inſtituted; but as the authority delegated to this committee was extenſive, it was judged prudent to limit its duration to a ſingle month. After much debate upon the ſubject, the committee was organized agreeably to the terms of the following decree:

" Art. 1. A committee of public ſafety, conſiſting of nine members, taken from the " Convention, ſhall be formed by open vote.

" 2. This committee ſhall deliberate in ſecret, and ſhall be charged to watch over and " accelerate the actions of the adminiſtration entruſted to the executive council, whoſe " decrees it may ſuſpend, when it thinks them contrary to the public intereſt, being " compelled at the ſame time to give information to the Convention.

" 3. It is authoriſed to purſue, in urgent circumſtances, external and internal mea- " ſures of general defence; and its decrees, ſigned by the majority of its deliberating " members, which ſhall never be leſs than two-thirds, ſhall be executed by the provi- " ſional executive council; and it cannot in any caſe iſſue mandates of arreſt but againſt " executive agents, bound at the ſame time to give immediate information to the Con- " vention.

" 4. The particular agents whom the committee may think proper to employ ſhall " be paid from the public treaſury.

" 5. The national treaſury ſhall, for this purpoſe, keep ready, at the diſpoſal of the " committee, the ſum of one hundred thouſand livres.

" 6. It may divide itſelf into ſections to exerciſe its operations with ſafety.

" 7. It ſhall make a general report of its operations, and of the ſituation of the " republic.

" 8. It

" 8. It ſhall keep a journal of its deliberations, which ſhall be ſigned by all the mem-
" bers preſent.
" 9. This committee ſhall be eſtabliſhed only for one month.

The defection of Dumourier, which ſeemed to have been concerted with certain branches of the Bourbon family, contributed at this period to overwhelm the whole of this unhappy race with ignominy and misfortune. A propoſal had been made, it is aſſerted, to the combined powers, to exchange the queen and the other priſoners in the Temple, for the commiſſioners who had been arreſted by Dumourier; and this tranſaction was to ſerve as the baſis for a treaty of peace. On what ground this humane propoſal was fruſtrated, we are not informed; but we cannot avoid thinking that if the allies had proceeded to treat upon theſe terms, much miſery and bloodſhed might have been prevented. As, however, both parties appeared equally averſe to pacific counſels, it was decreed, on the ſeventh of April, that all the members of the Bourbon family, as well as all Auſtrian officers, and other members of the Germanic body who had been taken priſoners, ſhould be detained as hoſtages for the ſafety of the arreſted deputies; and that all the Bourbons ſhould be removed to Marſeilles, except ſuch as were previouſly confined in the Temple: the *ci-devant* duke of Orleans, notwithſtanding his quality as deputy of the Convention, was included in this decree.

On the ninth of the ſame month a decree was alſo paſſed, enjoining that all bargains and contracts ſhould be paid in aſſignats, and not in ſpecie. The reaſon urged for this arrangement was the great depreciation which the paper currency of France had ſuffered. About the ſame time the powers of the commiſſioners ſent to the armies were enlarged. General Cuſtine, commander of the armies of the Rhine and the Moſelle, informed the Convention, about this time, that he had been groſsly inſulted by three of their commiſſioners, and complained that he was accuſed reſpecting a letter which he had written to the duke of Brunſwick. In what manner that general was ſatisfied, we are not informed; but that he was, is evident from his acceptance of the command of the armies of the North, ſoon after their retreat from the camp of Famars. The ſentiment, however, which he appears to have excited on this occaſion proved afterwards fatal to this able and ill-treated officer.

A conſiderable part of the month of April was ſpent in diſcuſſing and digeſting the declaration of rights, which was to ſerve as a preface to the new conſtitution. It was propoſed by Salles, and ſome others, to confine themſelves to the declaration which had been enacted in 1789, by the conſtituent aſſembly; but the majority appeared to incline to a new declaration. On the tenth of May the Convention took poſſeſſion of their new hall in the Thuilleries, and on that day decreed the firſt article of the new conſtitution, viz. "THE FRENCH REPUBLIC IS ONE AND INDIVISIBLE."—In the mean time the diviſions, which had ſo long ſubſiſted between the two leading parties in the

Convention proceeded rapidly to an open and violent rupture. The party of Robeſpierre and Marat had imperceptibly gained on the affections and prejudices of the populace of Paris; and the Jacobin club became gradually under their entire direction. The deſire manifeſted by the Briſſotines or Girondiſts to ſave the life of the king, had not contributed to their popularity; and the multitude, inſtead of attributing it to motives of humanity and juſtice, were eaſily perſuaded that their principles had been corrupted by bribes from thoſe powers whom they ſuppoſed intereſted in the prevention of that cataſtrophe.

The treachery of Dumourier, with whom many of the Girondiſts had been cloſely connected, and whom they had always defended when attacked by his adverſaries, completed the ruin of this declining party. The moſt intimate union had always ſubſiſted between that general and the houſe of Orleans; and ſeveral of the Briſſotines, as well as Briſſot himſelf, had been dependants or domeſtics of that houſe.

The unpopular manners of Roland, who probably was, after all, a man of integrity, and the vanity of others of the faction; their being in poſſeſſion of power, and the inordinate love of it which they manifeſted, excited the diſtruſt and jealouſy of many. We may add to theſe cauſes for the decline of their influence, the manifeſt incapacity which they, and the miniſters appointed by them, had betrayed in the conduct of public affairs; the neglect of the army, and their tardineſs in preſenting the nation with a conſtitution.

It is a melancholy conſideration, that to the lenity of their government may be juſtly aſcribed the immediate ruin of the Girondiſts. Had they in an early ſtage of the conteſt puniſhed with ſeverity their opponents and calumniators, they might certainly have retained their power longer. It is to their honour, indeed, that they did not chuſe to ſecure their power by a violation of juſtice and humanity. Such a conduct is calculated to cover a multitude of errors; and it is more noble to fall thus, than to be victorious by cruelty and violence. In the latter ſtages of the conteſt they did not, it muſt be acknowledged, proceed with the ſame moderation. The oppoſition was then reduced to a conteſt *ad internecionem*; and though it is probable, that, in the firſt inſtance, the diſpute was no more than a party ſtruggle for power and emolument, and that their adverſaries themſelves did not mean an attack upon their lives, and only ſought their ſituations; yet the breach grew by degrees ſo great, that the life of every individual of either party was ſtaked upon the iſſue.

So ſtrong was the impreſſion which the report of the Girondiſts being confederates with Dumourier had made upon the people, that ſo early as the ninth of April a petition was received from one of the ſections of Paris, accuſing Guadet, Vergniaux, Genſonne, and others of the deputies, as accomplices of that perfidious officer, and requeſting they might be puniſhed. On the fifteenth of April a petition was preſented by the commons

commons of the forty-eight ſections of Paris, demanding that Briſſot, Guadet, Vergniaux, Genſonne, Grangeneuve, Buzot, Barbaroux, Salles, Biroteau, Petion, Lanjuinais, Fauchet, Valaze, Laſource, Pontecoulant, Lehardy, Gorſas, Valady, Chambon, Lanthenas, Louvot, &c. be impeached, and expelled the Convention. This petition was followed, on the firſt of May, by a deputation from the fauxbourg of Saint Antoine; the preſident of which, after propoſing a plan for the recruiting of the armies, &c. addreſſed the Convention in theſe words:—"We come,"—ſaid he—"legiſlators, to tell "you ſevere truths—Employing yourſelves for a long time as you have with your per-"ſonal intereſts and paſſions, declare to us what you have done! You have promiſed "*every thing*, and kept your word *in nothing*. Our defenders have been left deſtitute of "every neceſſary; you have engaged to regulate the price of proviſions; to relieve the "neceſſitous; but in no one inſtance have you kept your word!"—He concluded with declaring the fauxbourg in a ſtate of inſurrection; and requeſting that the deputation, to the number of eight thouſand, but unarmed, might be permitted to file through the hall. A warm debate enſued; but the inhabitants compoſed the tumult, by aſſuring them that they wiſhed to defend, not to deſtroy the Convention.

On the other hand the Girondiſts were not inactive; and as much of the diſcontent among the people was ſuppoſed to be excited by the inflammatory journal of which Marat was the conductor, that deputy was denounced, as a ſeditious perſon, by Salles, ſo early as the twenty-ſixth of February. As the Convention however did not think it prudent to purſue him with rigour, ſupported as he was by ſo ſtrong a party, and by that formidable body the Jacobin club, he ſtill continued his attendance in the hall of the legiſlature; and on the firſt of April recriminated on the Girondiſts, and denounced three hundred of the deputies, at the head of whom were Briſſot, Vergniaux, &c. On the twelfth of April he renewed his accuſation, and was ſupported by Robeſpierre. A violent tumult enſued, and the deputies on both ſides of the hall *advanced with drawn ſwords* to aſſault each other: by the authority of the preſident, they were however, with difficulty reconciled.

In the evening ſitting of the ſame day, the Girondiſts recriminated, and Guadet preſented a direct accuſation againſt Marat. As preſident of the Jacobin club, he had ſigned an addreſs, accuſing the Gironde party of being the accomplices of Dumourier; and exhorting the popular ſocieties to unite, and pour in a ſhower of petitions, "for the ex-"pulſion of thoſe unfaithful members who had betrayed their truſt, and who did not vote "for the death of the tyrant." The whole compoſition was in an extravagant and ridiculous ſtyle, and among other exclamations contained theſe words:—"Let us exterми-"nate the conſpirators!" Marat alledged that he had ſigned the addreſs, as preſident, without reading it; but he juſtified the contents. The oppoſite party inſiſted on a decree of accuſation being paſſed againſt him; and on the nominal appeal being demanded,

out of three hundred and thirty-ſix votes, two hundred and thirty-three were for the decree of accuſation, eighty-two againſt it, and twenty-two refuſed to vote. Marat was accordingly committed to the Abbaye priſon.

From this deciſion of the Convention, the predominating influence of the Girondiſts in that aſſembly is ſufficiently apparent: but it was not ſo with the people; and the jury before whom Marat was arraigned, were either afraid to condemn him, or were themſelves of his party; for on the twenty-fourth of April he was unanimouſly acquitted. His party, not content with the acquittal of their favourite, attended him in a body to reſume his ſeat in the Convention. A ſcene of indecent triumph now enſued, and the hall of the legiſlature was once more occupied by the mob of Paris. His opponents having proceeded to this extremity, it was not probable that Marat ſhould deſiſt from hoſtilities; and he was now unfortunately too well aſſured of his own ſtrength to liſten eaſily to moderate counſels.

The Girondiſts, on the other hand, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority in the Convention, could not fail to diſcover their tottering ſituation. It was evident they had loſt the confidence of the Pariſians, and the only chance for ſecuring their authority was an appeal to the people of the more diſtant departments. With this view, on the thirteenth of May, on the pretence of forwarding the new conſtitution, Condorcet propoſed—That a new Convention ſhould be choſen on the firſt of November next enſuing, and that it ſhould meet on the fifteenth of December. The motion was vehemently oppoſed by Thuriot, and others, who inſiſted that the Convention could not abandon its poſt at ſo important a criſis, without manifeſt injury to the republic; that ſuch a meaſure would perſuade the people that the leading perſons of that body had no ſerious deſign of giving them a conſtitution; and that ſuch alarms would lead to the moſt dangerous inteſtine commotions. The propoſal of Condorcet was for theſe reaſons adjourned.

The means propoſed by Condorcet would probably have proved inadequate to the end; and indeed nothing ſhort of convening a legiſlature to meet no longer in Paris, but in ſome other city, could, in this ſtate of affairs, preſerve his party from deſtruction. On the eighteenth of May, therefore, a ſubſtitute deputy to the Convention (one of thoſe who had been elected to ſupply ſuch ſeats as ſhould be vacated by abſence or by death) having been inſulted by ſome women, in his way to the Convention, Guadet embraced the opportunity to inſiſt that the Convention was no longer free in Paris; and that a plot had been formed for effecting its diſſolution, and for placing the whole power of the ſtate in the hands of the anarchiſts. He concluded by propoſing as a decree—"The National Convention breaks and diſſolves all the conſtituted authorities of Paris; orders "all the ſubſtitute deputies to unite at Bourges, without, however, exerciſing any "function till authoriſed by a decree of the Convention." Barrere thought the evil complained of did not require ſo violent a remedy; and on his motion it was decreed, "That

" That a *commiſſion* of *twelve* members, choſen from the Convention, ſhould exa-
" mine all the plans and reſolutions formed by the commons of Paris."

In a debate which took place on the twentieth of May, on a propoſal of the financier Cambon, for " a compulſory loan of a thouſand millions from, rich egotiſts [ſelfiſh per-
" ſons,] the indifferent, and all who may be ſuppoſed intereſted in the ſucceſs of the
" enemies of France," Marat embraced the occaſion to arraign his adverſaries; and propoſed that the Rolandiſts, the Girondiſts, and the Briſſotines, ſhould be ſelected as the lenders. A moſt tumultuous ſcene enſued. Barbaroux, La Riviere, and others of the Gironde party, exclaimed againſt a forced loan as a tyrannical and counter-revolutionary meaſure. The galleries took a moſt indecent part in the debate; which was concluded by Vergniaux moving, that an additional guard ſhould be demanded for the protection of the Convention. On the ſame day a declaration was publiſhed by the preſident Iſnard, condemning in ſtrong terms the indecent ſcene which had juſt been acted, and charging the anarchiſts with being the accomplices of the combined kings.

On the twenty-third ſome deputies from the ſection of Fraternity appeared at the bar to offer proofs of the plots in their ſection againſt liberty and the Convention—They ſaid, it had been agitated, in a meeting held on the preceding Sunday and Monday, at the mayor's houſe, to act over again the dreadful ſcenes of the tenth of Auguſt, which was to be followed by a maſſacre ſimilar to that of the third of September. The mayor, however, had oppoſed theſe proceedings, and threatened to adjourn the aſſembly. Several deputations appeared on the ſame day from different ſections, engaging to protect the Convention; and on the following day, Pache, the mayor of Paris, addreſſed a letter to the preſident, confirming the account of what had paſſed in the ſection of Fraternity; only adding, that the mention of maſſacres had proceeded from none but heated individuals.

In the mean time the city of Paris continued in a ſtate of extreme agitation; and on the twenty-ſeventh the mayor wrote to inform the Convention, that the contending parties were on the point of proceeding to the utmoſt extremities. Marat embraced this opportunity to throw the blame on the commiſſion of twelve, who he inſiſted had provoked the inſurrection of the people; and demanded that the commiſſion ſhould be diſſolved, as the only means of preventing a general inſurrection. The ſection of La Cité at this moment appeared at the bar, and demanded the liberation of its preſident and ſecretary, who had been arreſted by the commiſſion of twelve: the deputation further inſiſted that the commiſſion of twelve ſhould be carried before the revolutionary tribunal.—A moſt tumultuous debate enſued, in which the galleries again took a part; and the preſident and commiſſion of twelve were vehemently threatened by the Mountain party and their adherents in the galleries. The evening ſitting was not leſs diſorderly; indeed, to the diſgrace of that body, thoſe ſcenes were become extremely common. At length the

Convention

Convention, underſtanding that twenty-eight of the ſections of Paris had determined to riſe and inſiſt on the diſmiſſion of the commiſſion of twelve, decreed that this obnoxious commiſſion ſhould be diſſolved; and that Hebert, a deputy of the Convention who had been impriſoned by their authority, ſhould be liberated.

On the ſucceeding day the diſcuſſion was reſumed, and it was then attempted to decide, by the nominal appeal, whether the commiſſion ſhould be diſſolved, agreeably to the vote of the preceding night. A tumult ſtill worſe than thoſe already repreſented enſued; and the preſident, having in vain attempted to reſtore order, reſigned his office; while the Convention exhibited a diſgraceful ſcene, not only of abuſe but of perſonal conteſt. A new preſident was then choſen, and the Jacobin, or Mountain, party having ſucceeded in placing in the chair one of their own adherents, the diſſolution of the commiſſion was again decreed by a majority of forty-two votes; the members who compoſed it were denounced, and thoſe who were impriſoned by their orders were liberated. The ſitting concluded by a conciliatory ſpeech from Barrere, as organ of the committee of public ſafety, in which he repreſented, in lively colours, the dangers which threatened the republic on every ſide—recommended inſtant reinforcements to be ſent to the armies; and a union of thoſe parties who divided the Convention and the republic. By the advice of Barrere the members of the commiſſion in the ſame ſitting gave in their reſignations.

The moderate party in the Convention, at the head of which was Barrere, now endeavoured to divert the attention of the public from theſe diſaſtrous conteſts to objects of real utility; and ſome decrees reſpecting public inſtruction were propoſed and paſſed on the twenty-ſeventh, as well as a plan for the renovation of the military force. Every attempt to reſtore order and tranquillity was, however, in vain. The people had received a deep impreſſion that the public ſafety had been neglected by the Girondiſts, and treachery and fraud were ſuſpected to have been uſed on that occaſion. The conſtituted authorities of Paris were invited to aſſemble, to deliberate on the means of ſaving the country; it was then determined that the barriers ſhould be ſhut; and the council general publiſhed a proclamation, exhorting the citizens to tranquillity.

At four o'clock, however, on the morning of the twenty-firſt, the tocſin was ſounded, the generale was beaten, and the alarm-guns were fired. The citizens repaired to their reſpective ſections, and a profound ſentiment of terror pervaded the whole city. At ſeven o'clock the Convention aſſembled; the mayor and the miniſter of the interior were cited to the bar. The former declared that he had given the neceſſary orders to prevent the alarm-guns being fired, and that he had repaired to the committee of public ſafety to give an account of the ſtate of Paris. He had afterwards gone to the permanent council general of the commune, who had proceeded to ſuſpend the members of the municipality; but who were afterwards reſtored to their functions. The proviſional commune

mune at this moment appeared at the bar; they announced that, having been charged to diſcover a great conſpiracy, they were come to fulfil their miſſion: they were then proceeding to ſtate two reſolutions they had formed, when Guadet roſe to oppoſe this uſurpation of powers, which he averred belonged ſolely to the Convention. He propoſed to annul all that had been done during the night by the revolutionary committees, and to bring before the proper tribunals the council of the commune, as well as thoſe who ſounded the tocſin, beat the generale, and ſhut up the barriers. The propoſal of Guadet was at firſt decreed; but, being warmly oppoſed by Thuriot and La Croix, the decree was afterwards repealed.

While this affair was in agitation, a deputation from the revolutionary committees appeared at the bar, and demanded—1. The ſuppreſſion of the commiſſion of twelve.—2. A revolutionary army of Sans Culottes[80].—3. A decree of accuſation againſt twenty-two deputies, and the members of the above-named commiſſion.—4. A diminution of the price of bread.—5. The diſpatch of commiſſioners to the ſouthern provinces, there to put a ſtop to the counter-revolution. And,—6. The arreſt of Claviere, the miniſter of finance, and Le Brun, the miniſter for foreign affairs.

The department of Paris next appeared, and demanded a decree of accuſation againſt Iſnard, Briſſot, Guadet, Vergniaud, Genſonne, Barbaroux, Roland, Claviere, Le Brun, and ſeveral others. The mayor of Paris was afterwards called to the bar, and declared that the cauſe of the diſturbances was the conduct of the commiſſion of twelve; and that the conſtituted authorities, far from riſing againſt the Convention, were uſing their beſt endeavours to quiet the people.

The morning ſitting of the firſt of June paſſed without any thing extraordinary being tranſacted; except that an addreſs from the Convention to the people, propoſed by Barrere, was adopted by the influence of the Mountain party, in preference to one propoſed by Laſource; and this circumſtance may be conſidered as the firſt mark of the former having relinquiſhed the party of the Girondiſts. At ſix o'clock in the afternoon the tocſin again ſounded, and the generale was beaten. The pretended cauſe of this new diſturbance was, that the Convention had not determined on the petition pre-

[80] This epithet, which is now ſo peculiarly faſhionable in France, took its riſe from the ariſtocratic party uſing it when ſpeaking of the populace, whom they contemptuouſly ſtyled *Sans Culottes* (literally "WITHOUT BREECHES") implying that they were the dregs or loweſt order of the people. It is natural to ſuppoſe that, when the multitude gained the aſcendancy, and the ariſtocrates were in their turn objects of contempt and deriſion, their favourite expreſſion ſhould become the bye-word of their ſucceſsful opponents, and ſhould be uſed on all occaſions as the diſcriminating badge of the party. Accordingly we perceive that no one was ſafe in his perſon who did not aſſume the term *Sans Culotte*, in contradiſtinction to that of *Ariſtocrate*—and little time had elapſed ere this word ſo far loſt its original and ignominious meaning, as to be interpreted to mean *le Peuple Souverain*, the ſovereign people, or *the people* collectively. In which latter acceptation it is now univerſally adopted throughout the republic.

ſented

ſented by the department of Paris on the preceding day. As ſoon as the Convention was aſſembled, a deputation from the department appeared at the bar, and demanded immediate attention to the ſubject of their petition, and that the deputies Duſſaulx, Ducos, and Fonfrede, ſhould be added to the liſt of denounced members. The ſitting concluded with a decree, on the motion of Barrere, that "The committee of public ſafety "ſhould preſent, within three days, the means which ſhould be beſt calculated to deſtroy "the enemies, both external and internal, of the republic; and that the ſame committee "ſhould make a report immediately reſpecting the deputies under accuſation."

On the following day (June the ſecond) the fauxbourgs of Saint Antoine and Saint Marceau were again in motion. An immenſe crowd ſurrounded the hall of the Convention, and were violent in their demand that a decree of accuſation ſhould be paſſed. Several members entered, and complained that they had been inſulted by the mob, and that their deliberations were no longer free. A deputation was then ſent out to addreſs the people; but they were ſcarcely able to obtain a hearing, and were only anſwered by indiſtinct clamours for a decree of accuſation. After the return of the deputation a tumultuous debate enſued. The acclamation that "the Convention is no longer free "in its deliberations" reſounded through the hall. Barrere, in the name of the committee of public ſafety, propoſed that the accuſed deputies ſhould reſign their functions, and that there ſhould be an entire change of miniſtry. With this requiſition ſome of the deputies immediately complied, but others refuſed to abdicate a character with which they had been inveſted by the choice of the people. Laſource demanded, that the armed force ſhould be ordered to withdraw; and Barrere propoſed to march in a body out of the hall among the people. Agreeably to this propoſal the preſident led the way, and the whole Convention proceeded without moleſtation through the midſt of the crowd; and after making the circuit of the Thuilleries returned to the hall. The inſurgents, however, notwithſtanding this fallacious moderation, continued firm to their purpoſe; and the aſſembly before it roſe was obliged to paſs a decree, ordering the following members and miniſters to be arreſted, viz. Genſonne, Vergniaud, Briſſot, Guadet, Gorſas, Petion, Salles, Cambon, Barbaroux, Buzot, Biroteau, Rabaut, Laſource, Lanjuinais, Grangeneuve, Leſage, Louvet, Valaze, Doulcett, Ducos, Lanthenas, Duſſaulx, all the members of the committee of twelve (Fonfrede and Saint Martin excepted), and the miniſters Claviere and Le Brun. On the requeſt of Marat, and ſeveral other deputies, Ducos, Duſſaulx, and Lanthenas were afterwards excepted[81].

After

[81] Such is the moſt perfect narrative we have been able to collect of this important tranſaction, which the triumphant party has dignified with the title of the revolution of the thirty-firſt of May. The deputies who were ordered under arreſt, however, publiſhed an addreſs to the French people, in which they profeſs to develope the cauſes of theſe commotions. Their account differs in ſome reſpects from the preceding, and is as follows:

"A law had been enacted which preſcribed the formation of committees in the different ſections of Paris, deſtined to watch over foreigners and ſuſpicious people. This law was eluded. Inſtead of thoſe committees, others were



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After theſe commotions had ſubſided, the firſt ſtep of the triumphant party was to complete the conſtitution. The Convention, on the twenty-third of June, iſſued a declaration of the Rights of Man, as a preface to their new form of government, which is contained in thirty-five articles. It ſtates, that the end of ſociety is the general hap-

were formed in the moſt illegal manner. Theſe committees created a central committee, compoſed of one member from the committee of each ſection. This central committee, after ſome private deliberation, ſuſpended the conſtituted authorities, and aſſumed the title of the revolutionary council of the department of Paris, and alſo inveſted itſelf with a dictatorial power. An extraordinary committee had been formed in the boſom of the Convention, to denounce the illegal and arbitrary acts of the conſtituted authorities, and to cauſe all perſons to be arreſted who ſhould be denounced as chiefs of conſpiracies. On the twenty-ſeventh of May theſe revolutionary committees, with an armed force, demanded the ſuppreſſion of the committee formed by the Convention. This requeſt was decreed, but on the next day it was deferred till the committee ſhould have made their report. The revolutionary council of Paris refuſed to attend the report. On the thirtieth of May they intimated to the Convention their order to ſuppreſs the extraordinary committee. Amidſt armed petitioners, ſurrounded by cannon, under continual inſults from the galleries, ſome members decreed the ſuppreſſion of it. On the famous thirty-firſt of May the generale was again beaten, the tocſin ſounded, and the alarm-guns fired. At theſe ſignals the citizens flew to arms, and were ordered to aſſemble round the Convention. Some deputations demanded a decree of accuſation againſt thirty-five members of that body. The aſſembly referred this to the committee of public ſafety, enjoining them to deliver in their report within three days. On the firſt of June, at three in the afternoon, the revolutionary council of Paris marched at the head of an armed force to inveſt the national hall. At night they appeared at the bar, and demanded a decree of accuſation againſt the denounced members. The Convention paſſed to the order of the day, and ordered the petitioners to exhibit to the committee of public ſafety the proofs of the crimes imputed to the accuſed members. On the ſecond of June the revolutionary council demanded, for the laſt time, the decree of accuſation againſt the obnoxious members, when the aſſembly again paſſed to the order of the day. The petitioners now gave a ſignal to the ſpectators to leave the hall, and ruſh to arms. About noon the generale was beaten, and the tocſin ſounded; more than an hundred cannon ſurrounded the national hall, and furnaces were formed to heat balls; cannon were pointed towards all the avenues, the gates were ſhut, and the ſentinels ordered to ſtop all the members of the Convention. Many of the deputies were inſulted by the partizans of Marat. The battalions, which ſeveral days before ſhould have marched againſt the royaliſts, ſuddenly arrived, and ſeized on the inner poſts of the hall. Aſſignats and wine were diſtributed amongſt them. In ſhort, the repreſentatives were impriſoned in their own hall. To avert the rage of the people, it was ordered that the committee of public ſafety ſhould make their report. Barrere mounted the tribune, and propoſed, that the denounced members, againſt whom no proof of the imputed crimes had been produced, ſhould be invited to ſuſpend themſelves from their functions. Some of them ſubmitted to this meaſure. At length an end was put to the ſitting; the preſident walked out of the hall at the head of the Convention, and ordered the ſentries to withdraw.

"The Convention reached the middle of the court without meeting any reſiſtance; but being arrived there, the commander of the armed force ordered them to return. The preſident told him, the Convention was not to be dictated to; that it held its authority independent of any other power than the French people, and that they alone had a right to command it. The commander, Henriot, drew his ſword, ranged his cavalry in order of battle, and ordered the cannoniers to point their cannon. His ſoldiers were ready to fire—The preſident turned back, the members followed him, and attempted every outlet in order to eſcape, but every paſſage was cloſed or defended by cannon. At length the aſſembly, unable to retire, reſumed their ſitting; and ſome deputies decreed, that the obnoxious members ſhould be put under arreſt at their own houſes. On the propoſal of Marat, Couthon demanded that Valaze and Louvet ſhould be added to that number: ſome members gave their conſent, for the greater part of them did not take any ſhare in thoſe humiliating deliberations. After the decree was ſigned, a deputation made its appearance, to teſtify its approbation of the decree, and offered an equal number of citizens as hoſtages for the arreſted members."

pineſs—the rights of man are equal liberty, ſafety, and the protection of property—a free people know no other motive of preference in their election to offices than virtue and talents—the law is the protection of liberty, and juſtice its rule—all perſons have a right to aſſemble peaceably for public worſhip, without any prohibition from particular ſects—the law does not acknowledge ſervitude or ſlavery; the contract between maſter and ſervant is only an engagement of attention and gratitude between the man who labours and the man who employs him—every one has a right to diſpoſe of his property, revenues, labour, and induſtry, according to his pleaſure—ſociety is obliged to provide for the ſubſiſtence of the unfortunate, either by procuring them work, or maintaining thoſe who are unable to labour.—The concluding article ſtates, that when the government violates the rights of the people, inſurrection becomes the people's duty.

A few days after the publication of this declaration, the aſſembly announced the completion of the new conſtitution of France, which had been diſcuſſed article by article, and paſſed as the conſtitutional act, within the ſpace of a fortnight. It is thus introduced: "The French republic honours loyalty, courage, age, filial piety, and misfor-"tune. It puts the depoſit of its conſtitution under the guard of all the virtues." It conſiſts of one hundred and twenty-four articles, arranged under general heads, of which the following are the moſt important:

The rights of a citizen are acquired, as to natives, by birth; foreigners acquire them by marrying a French woman, by being domiciliated in France for one year, by maintaining an aged perſon, or adopting a child:—The ſovereignty of the people is next proclaimed:—The primary aſſemblies are compoſed of two hundred citizens at leaſt, and ſix hundred at the moſt, of thoſe who had been inhabitants for ſix months in each canton. The elections are made by ballot or open vote, at the option of each voter. The ſuffrages upon laws are given by Yes or No.—Of the national repreſentation the population is the ſole baſis. There is one deputy for every forty thouſand individuals. Each re-union of primary aſſemblies reſulting from a population of from thirty-nine thouſand to forty-one thouſand ſouls, nominates directly one deputy. The French nation aſſemble every year on the firſt of May, for the election. The primary aſſemblies are formed upon extraordinary occaſions, on the demand of a fifth from the citizens who have a right to vote in them; but the extraordinary aſſemblies only deliberate when more than half the citizens are preſent.—Electoral aſſemblies are formed by the citizens united in primary aſſemblies, who name one elector for every two hundred citizens, and ſo in proportion.—The legiſlative body holds its ſeſſion for a year, and its firſt meeting is on the firſt of July. Its members cannot be tried for the opinions they have delivered in the National Aſſembly.—The functions of the legiſlative body are to propoſe laws, and paſs decrees, ſuperintend public inſtruction, the national domain, and make the declarations of war; to provide for the defence of the territory, and ratify treaties.—The formation of the law is as follows: The plan of a law is preceded by a report; and the diſcuſſion of it cannot take place till

fifteen

fifteen days after the report is made. The plan is printed, and ſent to all the communes of the republic, under this title, "Law propoſed." Forty days after, the law propoſed is ſent to the departments; if in more than half of the departments the tenth of the primary aſſemblies of each have not made any objection to it, the plan is accepted, and it immediately becomes a law.—The executive council is compoſed of twenty-four members, for which the electoral aſſembly of each department nominates one candidate. The legiſlative body chooſes the members of the council from the general liſt. One half of it is renewed by each legiſlature, in the laſt month of the ſeſſion. It nominates, not of its own body, the agents in chief of the general adminiſtration of the republic. The legiſlative body determines the number and the functions of theſe agents.—Civil juſtice is adminiſtered by juſtices of the peace, elected by the citizens, in circuits determined by the law. They conciliate and judge without expence—their number and their competence are determinable by the legiſlature. The juſtices of the peace are elected every year.—In criminal caſes no individual can be tried, but on an examination received by a jury, or decreed by the legiſlative body. The fact and the intention are declared by a jury of judgment. The puniſhment is applied by a criminal tribunal. The criminal judges are elected yearly by the electoral aſſemblies.—The general force of the republic is compoſed of the whole people. All the French are ſoldiers; they are all exerciſed in the uſe of arms. No armed body can deliberate. The public force, employed againſt enemies from without, acts under the orders of the executive council.—National Conventions may be appointed on extraordinary occaſions. If, in a majority of the departments, the tenth of the primary aſſemblies of each, regularly formed, demands the reviſion of the conſtitutional act, the legiſlative body is bound to convoke all the primary aſſemblies of the republic, to know if there be ground for a National Convention.—The National Convention is formed in the ſame manner as the legiſlatures, and unites in itſelf their power.

Some objections of importance ſeem to ſtrike us on an impartial review of this plan of government. The point to be firſt conſidered is, how far it is likely to anſwer the end of a *republican* ſyſtem? In this view, we do not ſee upon what grounds the excellent mode of electing the legiſlature, through the medium of electoral aſſemblies, was laid aſide. Surely no plan could be better deviſed, for the prevention of intrigue, venality, confuſion, and tumult, than this arrangement. Again, as the legiſlative body is to be formed on the baſis of population, it ought to be ſpecified how and when that proportion ſhould be aſcertained; but we apprehend, that a ſtill ſimpler mode would have been, to proceed in the elections according to diſtricts, taking for a guide, as to the number of repreſentatives, the preſent population; and allowing future legiſlatures to alter the number upon certain principles, in proportion as the population might be found to vary. The elections are too frequent; and, however viſionary politicians may flatter themſelves, nothing is more likely to eſtabliſh an ariſtocratical intereſt in republican governments than frequent elections. The choice of repreſentatives, then, from the frequent occur-

rence of the circumſtance, becomes a mere matter of courſe; election dwindles to a kind of *congé d'elire*, and the appointment in time becomes hereditary. The referring every law for confirmation to the primary aſſemblies, is a prepoſterous meaſure. The tacit conſent of the people is given to every law againſt which they do not expreſsly proteſt: for we think the people at large have a right in every government to proteſt againſt a law which they find grievous and oppreſſive; but to refer it directly to them for diſcuſſion is ſurely an abſurdity. The appointment of the executive power is the great difficulty in all democratical ſyſtems. The mode adopted by the French appears too complex—It has, however, one excellence, viz. that miniſters cannot now, as by the firſt conſtitution, be removed on the harangue of ſome demagogue in the aſſembly; and they will therefore be able to act with more energy in their general departments. On the whole, notwithſtanding theſe defects, we think this conſtitution greatly preferable to that maſs of metaphyſical abſurdities, which was preſented to the Convention by Condorcet, under the name of a conſtitution.

Notwithſtanding the promptitude of the Convention in ſatisfying the wiſhes of the people with reſpect to a conſtitution, ſtill the revolution of the thirty-firſt of May appeared only to add to the diſtractions which at this fatal period afflicted the French republic, and ſeemed to proſtrate the genius of the country at the feet of its enemies.

Immediately on the decree of accuſation being paſſed, the conteſt between the two parties became general throughout the departments. Briſſot, and ſome other of the deputies who had been decreed under arreſt, eſcaped to the country, where they endeavoured to kindle the flame of civil war—They were not, however, in general ſucceſsful. Commiſſioners from the oppoſite party were diſpatched to the departments; moſt of the fugitive deputies were captured; and ſuch was the activity of the Mountain, that congratulatory addreſſes were procured even from the moſt diſtant parts of the country. The ſouthern departments only remained attached to the fallen party. The city of Lyons in particular had, from the commencement of the revolution, manifeſted a zeal for monarchy and ariſtocracy; and on the execution of the king an inſurrection had nearly taken place. The revolution of the thirty-firſt of May was, therefore, no ſooner announced in that city, than appearances were renewed of confirmed diſcontent. The oppoſition to the Convention was fomented by Biroteau, one of the deputies who had eſcaped; and in the beginning of July a congreſs of the department was convoked at Lyons, in which it was reſolved to march a conſiderable force for the reduction of Paris; the Mountain party was declared to be outlawed, and the proviſions deſtined for the armies were intercepted. The cities of Marſeilles and Toulon followed the example of Lyons, and entered into that famous confederacy for diſſolving the Convention, which has ſince been diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Fœderaliſm*. The whole department of La Gironde alſo, whoſe deputies, Vergniaud, Genſonne, Grangeneuve, Fonfrede, and Guadet, might be conſidered as leaders of the extruded party, entered warmly into the diſpute; and that of Calvados

Calvados broke out into open revolt. On the twelfth of July the Marſeillois iſſued a manifeſto to the French nation, in which they declare that the preſent ſituation of Paris is equivalent to a declaration of war againſt the whole republic; they denounce Philip Egalité as the cauſe of all the evils that had afflicted and divided France, and exhort the people to join their ſtandard, and aſſiſt in reducing the faction, which, they aſſerted, had uſurped the powers of the republic. The Lyoneſe were more cautious than the Marſeillois; and while they were levying troops, and preparing for a vigorous defence, they were ſtill vehement in their profeſſions of ſubmiſſion to the Convention, and in favour of the indiviſibility of the French republic.

On the eighth of July the committee of public ſafety produced its report concerning the impriſoned members of the Convention. It charged Briſſot, Petion, and ſome others, with having been the conſtant favourers of royalty. It alledged that ſome of them had prepared the throne for the ſon of Louis Capet, and others for the duke of York [82]. Petion, it was ſaid, ſigned the order, on the tenth of Auguſt, to fire on the people from the Thuilleries. Manuel was accuſed of propoſing the honours of royalty to be conceded to the preſident of the Convention; and Roland, in general terms, with perſecuting the republicans. The Mountain party, in this inſtrument, contrived to recriminate, and caſt at leaſt a conſiderable part of the odium of the maſſacres of the ſecond of September upon their adverſaries. Manuel and Petion, it was ſaid, both of them in magiſterial capacities, had been often urged to put a ſtop to theſe maſſacres, but refuſed, and manifeſted apprehenſions leſt they ſhould expoſe their popularity; while Briſſot was accuſed of having aſked, in his gloomy curioſity, if the blood of his enemy, Morande, had not been ſhed.

It was further urged, that the Pruſſian general, Kalkreuth, at the period of the evacuation of Champagne, made propoſals of peace to general Kellermann; that the latter tranſmitted theſe propoſals to the diplomatic committee, and the council; but the impriſoned members were then at the head of affairs, the letters of Kellermann were buried in oblivion, and thus an opportunity was loſt of relieving the republic from one of its moſt powerful enemies. Their connection with Dumourier was not forgotten, and Buzot's propoſal for the baniſhment of the Bourbons was aſſerted to be a contrivance for placing them, and particularly the Orleans branch, out of the reach of danger. Valady was accuſed of being the author of a bill which was poſted up, exhorting the citizens to expel the clubs of the ſections. The whole faction was charged with exciting rebellion and fœderaliſm at Bourdeaux, Marſeilles, Lyons, the North, and Corſica; and with eſtabliſhing a new ſpecies of tyranny under the commiſſion of twelve, who had even pro-

[82] Previous to the revolution of the tenth of Auguſt, 1792, Carra had propoſed in the Jacobin club to offer the crown of France to the duke of York.

ceeded

ceeded to impriſon Hebert, a man inveſted by the people with high magiſterial authority. On theſe charges the Convention declared Buzot, Barbaroux, Gorſas, Lanjuinais, and all who fled from the decree of arreſt, traitors to their country; and alſo that there was ground of accuſation not only againſt the deputies above mentioned, but againſt Genſonne, Guadet, Vergniaud, and Biroteau, as accomplices in theſe conſpiracies.

The ſpirit of party had now arrived at the moſt pernicious and deplorable exceſs, when the conduct of the people is no longer the reſult of reaſon and deliberation, but of a wild enthuſiaſm bordering upon phrenzy. The ſuſceptible minds of women have ever been moſt obnoxious to theſe impreſſions, and they have ever been moſt violent in their attachment to party, in oppoſition to cool reaſon, and even in contempt of perſonal ſafety. A ſtrong example of this was exhibited about the period of which we are treating. An enthuſiaſtic female, of the name of Charlotte Cordé, in the beginning of July, proceeded from Caen in Normandy, in the department of Calvados, to devote her life to what ſhe conſidered as the cauſe of liberty and of her country. It appeared, that ſhe had been in habits of confidence with the fugitive deputies, and that ſhe had brought letters of recommendation from Barbaroux to Duperret, Fauchet, and others of the Girondiſts. Inflamed, probably, by their declamations, ſhe concerted the daring project of delivering her country from thoſe whom in her opinion were its enemies and its tyrants. Among the Mountain party none had been more forward, or rendered themſelves more obnoxious, than Marat. On the twelfth of July, therefore, ſhe wrote to entreat an interview with that deputy, pretending that ſhe had ſomething to communicate of high importance to the ſtate. As ſhe did not however receive an immediate anſwer, ſhe addreſſed a ſecond billet—"Have you received my letter? If you have received it, I reſt "on your politeneſs. It is enough that I am unfortunate to claim your attention."—On the evening of the thirteenth ſhe waited upon him again; and being admitted ſhe entered into converſation with him concerning the conſpiracy which exiſted at Caen, and the conſpirators (Barbaroux, &c.) who had fled thither. Marat anſwered, that the traitors would ſoon be diſcovered, and would one day loſe their heads on a ſcaffold. He had ſcarcely uttered theſe words, when, fired with the expreſſion, or obſerving a favourable opportunity, ſhe plunged a dagger in his breaſt. She walked calmly out of the houſe; and when arreſted, and informed that ſhe would be brought to juſtice, ſhe looked at the officers with a ſmile of contemptuous mockery. She had called in the morning at Legendre's houſe, but he refuſed to ſee her. She ſaid ſhe could not be guilty of two murders, and it was neceſſary to begin with Marat. This heroic, though miſtaken, female, was brought almoſt immediately before the revolutionary tribunal, and ſuffered on the ſcaffold with Roman firmneſs.—Duperret and Fauchet were put under arreſt.

The remains of Marat were, in the mean time, interred with much pomp, and the whole Convention attended his funeral. Of his character, at this period, it is difficult to form a juſt eſtimate. By his own party, he is extolled as the martyr of liberty and patriotiſm,

patriotiſm, as the ſteady and diſintereſted friend of the people; while, by his adverſaries, almoſt every injurious epithet has been heaped upon his memory. By the latter he is repreſented as ſelfiſh, corrupt, ambitious, cruel, and ferocious in the extreme. That neither of theſe ſtatements is correct may be readily conceived. Whatever might be the ambition of Marat, there is ample reaſon to conclude, that avarice was not his predominant vice, ſince he is univerſally believed to have died poor; conſequently the charge of corruption appears to be unfounded. If this is the fact, Marat will appear in the character of an enthuſiaſt; and it will probably be no unfair concluſion to add, that his enthuſiaſm approached to inſanity. With reſpect to talents, Marat ſeems to have been rather a man of activity than of genius: rather quick than profound; and poſſeſſing much penetration, with but little judgment.

In the whole of the diſaſtrous conflicts which have divided France ſince the Revolution, too little regard has been paid to human life; and the ſofter virtues have been totally uncultivated. We have often remarked, that to reject religion, is too commonly to throw off humanity. The gentle and amiable affections are admirably cheriſhed and improved in the heart by pure chriſtianity; and there is reaſon to think, that had the leading patriots been Chriſtians, their cauſe would have been leſs ſullied with human blood. Marat was among the moſt ſavage and inexorable of them; and it ſeems impoſſible to reſpect the memory of a man who appears in ſo many inſtances to have been callous to the dictates of humanity.

The aſſaſſination of Marat, and the rebellion in the department of Calvados, and in the South, gave occaſion to freſh accuſations againſt the Girondiſts. On the fifteenth of July, therefore, Billaud Varennes ſtated a number of new facts relative to the impriſoned deputies. Among theſe, Petion was charged with having been the principal engine of the Orleans' faction; and Briſſot with having been privy to the traitorous projects of Dumourier. Lanjuinais was accuſed of having correſponded with the emigrants; and all of them were ſucceſſively charged with having favoured the revolt in the department of Finiſterre, at Iſere, Lyons, Eure, and Calvados.

No part of the territories of the republic had ſuffered equally with the Weſt India iſlands, from the ſpirit of inſurrection, ſince the commencement of the Revolution; but the accounts have in general been ſo obſcure and confuſed, from the miſrepreſentations of contending factions, that it has been a taſk of no ſmall difficulty to preſent any thing like a regular detail. As far as we have been able to collect, the iſland of Martinico, at the commencement of the year 1793, ſtill continued in an unquiet and divided ſtate. The majority of the white inhabitants were determined royaliſts, while the negroes and people of colour were furious republicans. To the iſland of Saint Domingo two commiſſioners were diſpatched, while the Gironde party was in power, for the purpoſe of reſtoring peace and tranquillity. But theſe commiſſioners, Polverel and Santhonax, have

have rather appeared in the character of apoſtles of diſcord than of peace: they ſeem to have united with the people of colour; and a ſeries of aſſaſſinations, pillage, and arbitrary impriſonment, have compelled the majority of the white coloniſts to take ſhelter in America, or in the Engliſh Weſt India iſlands. Polverel and Santhonax were impeached by a decree of the Convention on the ſixteenth of July.

The iſland of Tobago was taken by a Britiſh ſquadron, under the command of Sir John Laforey, about the beginning of April; and, encouraged by the diſputes which exiſted between the royaliſts and republicans in Martinico, admiral Gardner attempted a deſcent upon that iſland alſo, and diſembarked about three thouſand men. The attempt, however, proved fatal only to the royaliſts, as he found, on his arrival, the republican party too ſtrong, and was obliged to reimbark his troops, even before he could convey away from certain deſtruction the whole of the devoted party who had probably invited them to undertake the expedition.

In Europe the allied powers were chiefly employed, during the remainder of the campaign, in the blockade of Condé, Valenciennes, and Mentz. The town of Condé was inveſted, as we have already ſeen, early in the month of April, by a large body of the allied forces, and the works were completed by the twenty-ſeventh. The town was, however, not provided with a ſufficient quantity of proviſions to ſuſtain a long ſiege; the governor (general Chancel) therefore, about this period, ordered the women and children to quit the place; but the prince of Wirtemberg compelled them again to take refuge in the fortreſs. In a few days after this unſucceſsful attempt, the governor ſent them out a ſecond time; but it is confidently aſſerted that the Auſtrians, after killing many of theſe defenceleſs creatures, even in the act of ſupplicating for mercy, forced the governor, from motives of humanity, once more to receive them. From this period the garriſon appears to have exiſted in a ſtate of extreme diſtreſs (having been compelled to ſubſiſt chiefly upon horſe-fleſh), till the latter end of June, when they attempted to eſtabliſh a redoubt upon the road from Condé to Lacoque, in order to diſlodge the Auſtrians from the latter place. After an obſtinate reſiſtance, they were however forced back into the town, and the work was demoliſhed. From this time to the firſt of July nothing of importance occurred. On that day a negociation was opened for a capitulation; but the governor conceived it neceſſary to diſpatch a meſſenger to the Convention, and another to general Cuſtine, who at this time had aſſumed the command of the northern army; but the terms not proving acceptable, the negociation was broken off. On the tenth of July the garriſon, after enduring all the rigours of famine, were obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. They had originally amounted to four thouſand men, but at the time of the capture were reduced to about fifteen hundred fit for ſervice.

The victory of Famars enabled the allied powers cloſely to inveſt the town of Valenciennes. On a ſummons being ſent to general Ferrand, the governor, he returned a polite

polite but ſpirited anſwer; and from the firſt commencement of the works, the beſiegers experienced a heavy fire from the garriſon. On the firſt of June general Cuſtine arrived to take the command of the armies of the North and the Ardennes, then encamped at Bouchain; but he found himſelf unable to render any effectual relief to Valenciennes. Above fourteen thouſand men of the beſieging army were employed, for the greater part of the ſiege, in erecting works, and repairing the batteries. During the beginning of June a very briſk fire was kept up from the fortreſs; and on the fifth the French attacked the advanced poſts, but were repulſed. In the courſe of the ſiege a difference of opinion exiſted between the Engliſh engineer, colonel Moncrief, and M. Ferraris, the chief engineer of the emperor. The Britiſh officer propoſed batteries to be planted immediately under the walls of the city, inſtead of approaching it by regular parallels. M. Ferraris, contended, that the work of the great Vauban was not to be treated with ſo little reſpect, and his opinion was adopted by the council of war. On the morning of the fourteenth of June the trenches were opened. The Britiſh commander then ſummoned the garriſon; but receiving an unſatisfactory anſwer, the artillery began to play upon the town with great vigour, and in the courſe of the night above five hundred red-hot balls were poured in upon it. Towards the beginning of July the beſiegers were enabled to bring two hundred pieces of heavy artillery to play without intermiſſion on the town, the greater part of which was reduced to aſhes. The ſmallneſs of the garriſon, compared with the extent of the fortifications to be defended, prevented general Ferrand, the commander, from attempting frequent ſorties. In one which the garriſon made on the fifth of July, however, they were very ſucceſsful, killed ſeveral of the enemy, and ſpiked ſome cannon.

The moſt ſingular fact in the hiſtory of this ſiege is, that a conſiderable part of the war was carried on under ground; mines and couuter-mines innumerable having been formed both by the beſiegers and the beſieged. The principal of theſe on the ſide of the former were one under the glacis, and one under the hornwork of the fortreſs; theſe mines were completed and charged on the twenty-fifth of July, and in the night, between nine and ten o'clock, were ſprung, with the moſt complete ſucceſs. The Engliſh and Auſtrians immediately embraced the opportunity to throw themſelves into the covered way, of which they made themſelves maſters. The die was now caſt, and, on the twenty-ſixth, the duke of York again ſummoned the place, which ſurrendered on capitulation the ſucceeding day: the duke of York taking poſſeſſion of it in the name of the emperor of Germany. During the whole of the ſiege general Cuſtine was not able to make any attempt of moment for the relief of the place; and a few ſkirmiſhes only took place between the outpoſts.

An action of a more ſerious nature occurred in the duchy of Luxemburgh, on the ninth of June. The French, under general Laage, attacked the Auſtrians under general Schroeder, near Arlons, and obliged the latter to retreat with great loſs to Luxemburgh.

The eminence on which the Auſtrians were encamped was defended by thirty pieces of cannon, arranged on batteries in the form of ſteps, and defended by eight thouſand men. Theſe the French ſucceſſively carried with incredible intrepidity.

The king of Pruſſia had been from the beginning of April engaged in preparations for the ſiege of Mentz; and indeed from that time the place might be conſidered in a ſtate of blockade, and the numerous garriſon ſubſiſted chiefly upon horſe-fleſh. That monarch was however too much engaged with his new acquiſitions in Poland to form any ſerious attack till the beginning of May. On the fourth of that month his majeſty arrived juſt at the commencement of an attack on the village of Coſtheim, from which, however, they were not able to diſlodge the French. From this period to the beginning of June frequent and bloody ſkirmiſhes took place between the garriſon and the beſieging army, without any thing deciſive. On the fourth of June the French made a deſperate ſortie upon the village of Marienborn, which they carried, and ſpiked ſome pieces of cannon; and on the ninth they attempted a general ſortie on all ſides, but were every where repulſed.

The combined army opened the trenches before Mentz on the nineteenth and twentieth of June. On the morning of the twenty-fourth the garriſon made a ſortie, and ſpiked four pieces of cannon. On the ſame day a large number of women and children were diſmiſſed from the garriſon; but they were fired upon, and great part of them deſtroyed by the Pruſſians: ſome of the women in deſpair threw themſelves with their children into the Main. On the twenty-fifth another ſortie was attempted by the garriſon, but they were repulſed. On the ſeventh of July the ſtrong works of the French at Coſtheim were carried by the allies, which coſt them eight hundred men, and ſeven pieces of cannon. This ſucceſs was followed on the fifteenth by the blowing up of the laboratory in Mentz, and the deſtruction of a magazine of hay and ſtray, by the fire of the beſiegers. Caſſel, which covered Mentz on the oppoſite ſide of the Rhine, was ſet on fire on the ſeventeenth, and ſeveral ammunition-waggons were blown up. On the eighteenth the French army of the Rhine made a grand attempt for the relief of Mentz. They endeavoured to force their way through, not far from Landau, and made their attack in three places at once. They were however repulſed in every part by general Wurmſer. This laſt effort, therefore, proving unſucceſsful, the garriſon capitulated on the twenty-ſecond, the principal condition impoſed on them was, that they ſhould not ſerve for the ſpace of one year againſt the allies. On the eighth of Auguſt the French were driven from the ſtrong poſition which they had taken behind the Scheldt, and which was known by the name of Cæſar's camp: as the French did not make much reſiſtance on this occaſion, the loſs on both ſides was inconſiderable.

With theſe atchievements the ſucceſſes of the allies may be ſaid to have terminated. The protracted ſieges of theſe fortreſſes had given the French time to recover from the conſternation

conſternation into which they had been thrown by the defection of Dumourier. After the reduction of Valenciennes, a grand council of war was held, in which a project of the Britiſh miniſtry for the ſeparation of the army, and for an attack on French Flanders, was ſubmitted to the allies. This propoſal, it is ſaid, was greatly diſapproved by the experienced Auſtrian commanders; and two other plans were ſubmitted to the council by thoſe officers. The firſt of theſe was to penetrate to Paris by the aſſiſtance of the rivers which fall into the Seine, on which the heavy ſtores and artillery might be tranſported. The other, which was that of the prince of Cobourg and general Clairfait, was to take immediate advantage of the alarm which the ſurrender of Valenciennes had occaſioned, and the diſorder of the French armies from the denunciation of their generals, and with forty or fifty thouſand light troops penetrate to Paris, while a debarkation might be made on the ſide of Brittany, to aſſiſt the royaliſts in that quarter. It is evident that both of theſe plans were inconſiſtent with true policy. Whatever number of troops had been detached to Paris would certainly have been ſurrounded and cut off; and as to aſſiſting the royaliſts in Brittany, there is reaſon to believe, that the aid of foreign troops would not have added to the popularity of their cauſe; beſides, that ſuch a circumſtance muſt have rendered their army ſtationary, and conſequently expoſed to the danger of a complete defeat; whereas, it was by occaſionally diſperſing, and aſſembling during the night at a moment's notice, and by taking advantage of the woods and covers, that they were enabled, for a length of time, to haraſs the republicans. That the project of attacking Weſt Flanders was ill conceived, the event has ſufficiently proved.

In conſequence of the preponderating influence of the Engliſh miniſtry in the grand council of war, on the twelfth of Auguſt, the Britiſh, Hanoverians, and the Dutch, with ſome Heſſians and Auſtrians, ſeparated from the main army, and commenced their march for Dunkirk. It has been aſſerted, that in this expedition the duke of York did not entirely rely on the intrepidity of his troops, but that "he had alſo an expectation of "being admitted into the town by a golden key. He had kept up a ſecret correſpond-"ence with the former governor, general Omeron (who has ſince been executed for "treachery,) nor did he till his arrival know that the plan had been diſcovered, and "that general Omeron was removed from his poſt [83]."

On the ſixteenth of Auguſt the duke of York encamped at Turcoin, where a council of war was held on the ſucceeding day; and on the eighteenth the Britiſh marched to a camp, which had been marked out near Menin; and found the Dutch, under the hereditary prince of Orange, engaged in an attack on the French outpoſts, in which his highneſs was repulſed. The Britiſh troops almoſt immediately engaged in the action, and with great difficulty and loſs carried the poſt of Lincelles; the works of which

[83] Plowden's Hiſtory of the Laſt Twenty Months, p. 330.

were

were deſtroyed, and the poſt left unoccupied. On the twenty-ſecond the duke of York marched from Furnes to attack the French camp at Ghivelde, which was abandoned on his approach, and he was almoſt immediately enabled to take the ground which it was his intention to occupy during the ſiege. On the twenty-fourth he attacked the outpoſts of the French, who with ſome loſs were driven into the town. In this action the famous Auſtrian general, Dalton, and ſome other officers of note, were killed. The ſucceeding day the ſiege might be ſaid regularly to commence. A conſiderable naval armament from Great Britain was to have co-operated in the ſiege; but by ſome extraordinary neglect admiral Macbride was not able to ſail ſo early as was expected. In the mean time the hoſtile army was extremely haraſſed by the gun-boats of the French; a ſucceſsful ſortie was effected by the garriſon on the ſixth of September; on the ſame day the covering army of general Freytag was ſurpriſed and totally routed; and that general and prince Adolphus Frederick both taken priſoners, though they were afterwards reſcued. The conſequence of theſe diſaſters was, that as the French were known to be collecting in ſuperior force, the ſiege was raiſed on the ſeventh, after ſeveral ſevere actions, in which the allied forces ſuffered very conſiderably. It is in general well underſtood, that if Houchard, who commanded the republican army on this occaſion, had done his duty, he might have effectually cut off the retreat of the duke of York, and probably have captured almoſt the whole of the allied army. For this groſs neglect the French general was afterwards denounced, and ſuffered by the ſentence of the revolutionary tribunal.

The army of the allies which remained under the prince of Cobourg and general Clairfait, was not in the main more ſucceſsful. On the eighth of Auguſt a detachment of this army attempted to form the ſiege of Cambray; but after remaining for ſome days before the town, the Auſtrian general was obliged to raiſe the ſiege. Bouchain was alſo inveſted, but was afterwards relieved. Queſnoy was the only point in which the allies at this period were victorious. That place ſurrendered on the eleventh of September to general Clairfait; a conſiderable detachment, which had been ſent for its relief, having been previouſly repulſed by the prince of Cobourg.

On the ſide of the Rhine a number of petty actions took place, in which the French were generally ſucceſsful, but no event of importance enſued. On the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt general Landrement aſſumed the command at Weiſſembourg, and continued ſkirmiſhing with the enemy till the concluſion of the month. On the ſeventh of September he attacked the army of the allies in ſeveral points, and drove them back with great loſs; at the poſt of Lauterbourg only he aſſerts that the allies loſt fifteen hundred men. This ſucceſs was followed, on the twelfth, by a general attack, in which the French are ſaid to have killed two thouſand Auſtrians and emigrants, diſmounted a battery, and ſpiked ſeveral pieces of cannon.

The

The French army of the North, after raiſing the ſiege of Dunkirk, took a ſtrong poſi on in the neighbourhood of Maubeuge, where they were immediately blockaded by the whole united force of the allies, collected under the prince of Cobourg. Upon the fifteenth and ſixteenth of October, however, the prince was attacked by general Jourdain[84], who ſucceeded Houchard, with ſuch vigour and effect, that he was compelled, after an immenſe loſs, to abandon his poſition, and repaſs the Sambre. Elated by this ſucceſs, the French immediately made inroads into Maritime Flanders. They attacked the allied forces in ſeveral places at once; took poſſeſſion of Werwick, and obliged general Erbach to abandon Menin, and retreat to Courtray. On the twenty-ſecond they advanced and took Furnes; they then proceeded to Nieuport, which they beſieged and greatly damaged; but the place was ſaved by having recourſe to inundation. It was ſome time before the allied forces were able to ſtop the progreſs of the republicans, and their generals even trembled for the fate of Oſtend. A conſiderable armament from England, however, being at that time preparing for the Weſt Indies, under Sir Charles Grey, their deſtination was altered; and by arriving at the fortunate moment at Oſtend, they probably protracted the criſis when the Low Countries were to become once more ſubject to the dominion of France.

The forces of the Republic were ſtill more eminently ſucceſsful in repelling the attempts of the rebels in the department of La Vendée. General Biron repulſed the army of the inſurgents from Luçon on the twenty-eighth of June; and nearly about the ſame time the city of Nantz was relieved from their incurſions by general Beyſſer. Chatillon was reſcued from them on the third of July by general Weſtermann; but on the following day he was ſurpriſed by the rebels, and compelled to retreat to Parthenay. On Weſtermann's defeat he was ſummoned to Paris to anſwer for his conduct, but was honourably acquitted. The chief command after this circumſtance (general Biron having alſo been ordered to Paris) devolved on general Beyſſer, who in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes put the rebels to flight. In the beginning of Auguſt they were again defeated by general Roſſignol; on the tenth of that month, however, while the citizens were celebrating the civic feaſt, general Charette, the commander in chief of the inſurgents, vigorouſly aſſailed the city of Nantz, but was repulſed with loſs.

In the mean time ſundry violent enormities marked the progreſs of the royaliſts. Their ceremonies and their military diſcipline were a ſtrange compound of ſuperſtition and cruelty; and they are even accuſed of having mingled the ſacramental wine with the blood of their adverſaries, and adminiſtered it to the people. We truſt, however, ſuch an act of ſacrilege muſt have been a calumny. One of their ſtandards, which was

[84] General Jourdain, it it ſaid, had formerly ſerved in the army, in what capacity we know not, but latterly he kept a petty ſhop of toys and haberdaſhery in an obſcure village.

preſented to the National Convention, was white on one ſide, and red on the other; on the red ſide was embroidered the figure of a biſhop in his pontificals; and on the white, the virgin Mary, with the infant Jeſus in her arms. In the latter end of Auguſt they gained a conſiderable advantage over the republicans at Parthenay.

On the ſeventh of September general Roſſignol atchieved a ſignal victory over the inſurgents at Pont de Cé; and, in conjunction with Santerre, routed them again at Douay, Thouars, and Ervaux, on the ſucceeding days. In the latter end of September the garriſon of Mentz was ordered to march into La Vendée, and on the ſixth of October the advanced guard vanquiſhed an army of five-and-twenty thouſand rebels. It would be tedious to enter on a more minute detail of this obſcure and petty war; ſuffice it to ſay, that the unfortunate inſurgents made a moſt vigorous reſiſtance to every effort of the Convention till the middle of October, 1793, when they were completely routed. After being driven from La Vendée, they divided into three bodies: the firſt threw themſelves into the iſland of Noirmoutier, where they remained ſome time in a ſtate of blockade, but were at length ſubdued. The ſecond ſeem to have diſperſed; and the third took the route to Anjou, Maine, and Brittany, where they carried on for a while a deſultory warfare, but were, at length, gradually diſperſed.

The diſaffection of ſome of the other provinces, which immediately followed the revolution, as it is called, of the thirty-firſt of May, was productive of ſtill more ſerious conſequences to the new government. The department of Calvados was the firſt to arm, and a formidable force was collected about the latter end of June in the neighbourhood of Caen, under the command of general Felix Wimpfen, the hero of Thionville, and under the ſuppoſed direction of the fugitive deputies, Petion, Buzot, and Barbaroux. In the beginning of July this body of troops, which was called the Departmental army, had advanced as far as Evreux: but the people were evidently not hearty in the cauſe; for, on the approach of the republican army, under general Sepper, after a ſlight ſkirmiſh with the advanced guard, they retired again into Calvados; and before the end of the month completely diſperſed, and the department returned to its allegiance. Petion, Buzot, Barbaroux, Salles, Valady, Wimpfen, &c. &c. fled; but the majority of them were ſoon after taken, and delivered up to the revolutionary tribunal. Biroteau was executed at Bourdeaux.

The formidable union which took place under the name of *federate republicaniſm*, between the cities of Marſeilles, Lyons, and Toulon, ſtill however continued, and ſeemed to threaten almoſt the diſſolution of all the exiſting authorities. A conſiderable force was diſpatched againſt them under general Cartaux in the latter end of July; and in the beginning of Auguſt the Marſeillois were driven from the department of Vaucluſe, which they had previouſly occupied. On the twenty-fourth the republicans attacked and took the town of Aix; and immediately upon this ſucceſs the Marſeillois opened their

their gates and ſubmitted. But the people of Toulon, and the French vice-admiral Trugoff, entered into a negociation with the Engliſh admiral, lord Hood, who was then cruizing in the Mediterranean, and he took poſſeſſion both of the town and of the ſhipping in the name of Louis the Seventeenth, and under the expreſs and poſitive ſtipulation that he was to aſſiſt in reſtoring the conſtitution of 1789[85].

In the mean time general Kellermann, who commanded the army of the Alps, was diſpatched againſt Lyons. It contained an immenſe and mixed multitude of diſcontented citizens of every claſs; ſome royaliſts, ſome of the firſt emigrants, and a conſiderable number of the Gironde party. The city remained in a ſtate of blockade from the eighth of Auguſt; but the firſt attack was reſiſted with great bravery. On the twenty-ſecond and twenty-third of Auguſt the Lyonneſe are computed to have loſt not leſs than two thouſand men, and a great part of the city was reduced to a heap of ruins. In the month of September, as it appeared that Kellermann had not been ſufficiently active, general Doppet, a young officer, who had juſt exchanged the medicinal art for the ſcience of arms, was appointed to the command; and on the eighth of October the city of Lyons ſurrendered to that general. The chiefs of the rebels had fled, but ſeveral of them were afterwards taken and executed. By a ſubſequent decree of the Convention, the walls and public buildings of Lyons were ordered to be deſtroyed, and the name of the city itſelf to be changed to that of *Ville Affranchie*.

In the beginning of Auguſt, the leaders of the Convention aſſerted that a plot of the Engliſh miniſtry had been diſcovered, the object of which was to corrupt and bribe all the conſtituted authorities in France. A ſeries of decrees was paſſed, chiefly pointed againſt that nation: one of theſe decrees declared every Frenchman a traitor, who ſhould place money in the Engliſh funds; and another ordered that all foreigners, and particularly the Engliſh, ſhould be put under arreſt. A ſubſequent decree, couched in indecent and bombaſtic terms, declared Pitt, the Britiſh miniſter, "*the enemy of the human ſpecies*." About the ſame period an outrage againſt the law of nations was committed by the Auſtrians, who arreſted Maret and Semonville on a neutral territory, while on their progreſs as ambaſſadors to Naples and Conſtantinople.

In a ſeſſion of the Convention on the ſixteenth of Auguſt, the fertile genius of Barrere conceived the extraordinary but energetic project of exhorting the whole people of France to riſe in a maſs to expel all invaders from their terrirory. The plan was afterwards digeſted by the committee of public ſafety. By this decree, not only the valour of the French nation, but induſtry and the arts, were placed in a ſtate of requiſition; and to prevent the evils reſulting from the undiſciplined exertions of a mixed multitude,

[85] For lord Hood's ſummons and addreſs to the people of Toulon, ſee the Appendix.

the new levies were organized with ſingular ability, and central points were eſtabliſhed for their aſſembling. The following is the ſubſtance of the decree, which was paſſed on the twenty-third of Auguſt:

" Art. 1. From this preſent moment till that when all enemies ſhall have been driven " from the territory of the Republic, all Frenchmen ſhall be in permanent readineſs for " the ſervice of the armies. The young men ſhall march to the combat, the married " men ſhall forge arms, and tranſport the proviſions: the women ſhall make tents and " clothes, and wait in the hoſpitals: the children ſhall make lint of old linen: the old " men ſhall cauſe themſelves to be carried to the public ſquares, to excite the courage of " the warriors, to preach hatred againſt the enemies of the republic.

" 2. The national edifices ſhall be converted into ſtore-houſes; the ground of the " cellars ſhall be waſhed with ley, to extract the ſaltpetre [86].

" 3. The muſquets and arms of calibre ſhall be immediately delivered to thoſe who " are to march againſt the enemy: the internal ſervice of the Republic ſhall be per- " formed with fowling-pieces.

" 4. All ſaddle horſes ſhall be given up, to complete the cavalry: the draught horſes " and others, except thoſe employed for the purpoſes of agriculture, ſhall convey the " artillery and proviſions.

" 5. The committee of public welfare is charged to take all neceſſary meaſures to eſ- " tabliſh, without delay, an extraordinary manufacture of arms of all kinds, ſuitable to " the efforts of the French nation. It is authoriſed, in conſequence, to form all the eſ- " tabliſhments, manufactories, and working-places, which ſhall be deemed neceſſary for " the execution of thoſe works; and to ſummon throughout the republic all the artiſts " and workmen who can contribute to their ſucceſs. The ſum of thirty millions ſhall " be at the diſpoſal of the miniſter at war, to be taken out of the four hundred and " twenty-eight millions of livres in aſſignats, which are in reſerve in the cheſt with " three keys. The central eſtabliſhment of this extraordinary manufacture ſhall be " at Paris.

" 6. The repreſentatives of the people ſent into the departments to execute the pre- " ſent law, ſhall have the ſame authority, and ſhall concert meaſures with the commit- " tee of public welfare; they are inveſted with the unlimited powers attributed to the " repreſentatives of the people with the armies.

" 7. No Frenchman ſummoned to ſerve, ſhall be ſuffered to ſend a ſubſtitute. The " public functionaries ſhall remain on their poſt.

" 8. The riſing or movement ſhall be general: the unmarried or widowed citizens,

[85] As the foreign commerce of the French was at this time much deranged, on account of their internal ſituation, as well as their maritime enemies, the importation, from the Eaſt Indies, of this neceſſary article for warlike purpoſes was neceſſarily ſtopped: thus ſituated, they were compelled to ſupply the deficiency by attempting to manufacture it at home, and by allowing great premiums to thoſe who ſhould be moſt ſucceſsful.

" from

" from the age of eighteen to five-and-twenty, ſhall march firſt; they ſhall form, with-
" out delay, in the chief place of their diſtrict; and ſhall daily be exerciſed till the day
" of their departure.

" 9. The repreſentatives of the people ſhall regulate the calls and the marches, ſo
" that the armed citizens may not reach the place of rendezvous before the ſupplies and
" ammunition, and all the mechanical part of the army ſhall have been brought to-
" gether in a competent proportion.

" 10. The general points of rendezvous ſhall be determined by the circumſtances,
" and pointed out by the repreſentatives of the people ſent out to enforce the execution
" of the preſent law, by advice of the generals, in concert with the committee of public
" welfare, and the proviſionary executive council.

" 11. The battalion which ſhall be organized in every diſtrict, ſhall be ranged under
" a banner, with this inſcription—'*The French nation riſen againſt tyrants.*'

" 12. The battalions ſhall be organized according to the eſtabliſhed laws, and their
" pay ſhall be the ſame as that of the battalions now on the frontiers.

" 13. In order to collect a ſufficient quantity of proviſions, the farmers and ſtewards
" of the national lands ſhall ſend into the principal rendezvous of every diſtrict a ſuf-
" ficient quantity of corn, the produce of the ſaid lands.

" 14. The proprietors, farmers, and holders of corn, ſhall be obliged to pay their
" arrears of taxes in the produce of the fields, and alſo two-thirds of the taxes for 1793.

" 15. The National Convention appoints citizens Chabot, Tallien, Carpentier, Re-
" naud, Dartgoytte, Laplanche of Vievre, Mallarme, Legendre, Lanot, Roux-Fuzillac,
" Pagenel, Boiſſet, Tallifer, Baile, Pinet, Fayau, La Croix, and Ingrand, as adjuncts to
" the repreſentatives of the people who are actually in the armies, and in the depart-
" ments, in order to execute, in concert with them, the preſent decree.

" 16. The commiſſioners of the primary aſſemblies are invited to repair, without de-
" lay, into the departments, to fulfil the civic miſſion intruſted to them by the decree of
" the fourteenth of Auguſt, and to receive the commiſſions which ſhall be aſſigned to
" them by the repreſentatives of the people.

" 17. The miniſter at war is charged to take all the meaſures neceſſary for the exe-
" cution of the preſent decree. The ſum of fifty millions ſhall be put at his diſpoſal,
" to be taken out of the four hundred and fifty-eight millions of aſſignats in the cheſt
" with three keys.

" 18. The preſent decree ſhall be ſent into the departments by extraordinary cou-
" riers[87]."

On this forcible decree it is only neceſſary to remark, that, had it not been ſeconded by the enthuſiaſm of the people, it muſt have been nugatory, if not prejudicial. The

[86] Political State of Europe, vol. iv. p. 495, 497.

ſpirit

ſpirit of the people only can give effect to ſuch daring projects, though the genius of the ruling power may certainly direct and regulate the energy on which ſucceſs muſt ultimately depend.

Happy had it been for France, and for mankind, if the heroiſm of the people had been tempered by humanity; but the French have, in all inſtances, appeared too prodigal of blood. That the people experienced great provocations from the treachery of their commanders, and the intrigues of contending factions, candour muſt admit; but the rigour of their puniſhments certainly exceeded, in moſt caſes, the meaſure of the offence; and the haſte and raſhneſs of their adjudications leave at leaſt a doubt, in others, of the juſtice of the ſentence. Among the victims of popular reſentment which fell about this period, we cannot but lament the celebrated general Cuſtine, whoſe former ſervices (whatever might be his preſent demerits) ſhould have ſecured him more lenient treatment. He was called to Paris from the command of the Northern army in the beginning of July, and on the eighteenth arrived in that capital—never to return. On the twenty-ſecond he was committed by a decree of the Convention to the Abbey priſon; and in the beginning of Auguſt was brought before the revolutionary tribunal. The charges againſt him were—That he had maintained a ſecret correſpondence with the enemy—That he had left the garriſon of Mentz unprovided with neceſſaries; in conſequence of which many brave defenders of their country periſhed with hunger, and the whole ſuffered the extreme of famine and miſery, and were at laſt compelled to capitulate—That there exiſted a letter ſigned "Cuſtine," in which he engaged d'Oyſe, commandant of Mentz, to deliver up the place to the Pruſſians[88]—That he had inſulted the national repreſentation, by diſobeying its orders, and by aſſerting publickly in a letter to the miniſter, "That ſuch decrees as he did not approve only ſerved him for papillottes "(curl papers.)"—That, finally, he had not exerted himſelf properly to prevent Valenciennes from falling into the hands of the enemy.—How far theſe charges were ſubſtantiated by evidence we cannot affirm, as we believe no copy of the trial has yet reached England. The unfortunate general, in the criſis of his adverſity, lamented that he appeared forſaken by every friend; and the populace of Paris, accuſtomed to ſights of horror, beheld the ſacrifice of their former defender with calm indifference, or with blind exultation.

The trial and condemnation of the queen immediately followed that of general Cuſtine. In the night between the firſt and ſecond of Auguſt, in conſequence of a decree of the preceding day, two municipal officers repaired to the Tower of the Temple, a little before midnight, to announce to the queen the decree of the Convention, reſpecting her removal to the priſon of the Conciergerie. Her majeſty was in bed—"Muſt I

[88] This, on his examination, Cuſtine affirmed to be an entire falſhood.

"riſe,

" riſe, then?" ſaid ſhe. The officers anſwered in the affirmative. She then begged them to withdraw, that ſhe might dreſs herſelf; with which they complied. When the queen was dreſſed the officers ſearched her, and found five-and-twenty Louis d'ors, which they took from her, beſides her pocket-book. Her majeſty uſed a thouſand entreaties to be permitted either to keep the pocket-book, or for them to ſeal it up, and take an inventory of its contents. After much altercation, the queen recognized one of the municipal officers to be the ſame who ſignified to her laſt year her ſeparation from the princeſs de Lamballe, when the latter was removed from the Temple to the hotel de la Force. " Sir," —ſaid ſhe—" the ſeparation which you announced to me a twelvemonth ago was very " painful; but I find the preſent not leſs melancholy " She begged to be ſuffered to take ſome bed-linen with her—" I could wiſh,"—ſaid ſhe—" not to be left in foul linen, " as it happened to me laſt year, in the houſe of the Feuillans." She then made up a parcel, containing ſome ſhifts, a few caps, and a black ſilk jacket and coat.

The queen afterwards begged to have an interview with her daughter and madame Elizabeth. This was permitted, after ſome heſitation. Madame Elizabeth ſtepped firſt into the apartment, melting in tears, bordering on a ſtate of deſpair, and almoſt deprived of her ſenſes. They locked each other faſt in their arms. When her daughter appeared, ſhe ſaid, " My dear daughter, thou knoweſt thy religion; thou oughteſt to have re- " courſe to its ſolace in every ſituation of life." The queen then deſired to ſee her ſon; but this requeſt was refuſed: the officers ſaid to her, " Your ſon is innocent, and " he will not be hurt."

Her majeſty took the parcel containing her linen under her arm, deſcended the ſtairs, and found a fiacre, or hackney-coach, waiting for her in the court yard. When getting into the carriage, one of the officers offered to help her; but ſhe gently puſhed back his hand, telling him that ſhe wanted no aſſiſtance. She was dreſſed in white lawn, and wore a black girdle: ſhe was conducted to the priſon through a narrow paſſage, very badly lighted, in which the ſudden barking of two maſtiffs threw her into convulſions. The officers were then obliged to carry her to the priſon in their arms; and, being arrived there, ſhe continued ſo very ill, that for the ſpace of an hour her life was deſpaired off. She recovered, however, in the morning.

The cell allotted for her reception was half under ground, only feet eight long, and eight wide. Her couch conſiſted of a hard ſtraw-bed, and very thin covering; her diet, ſoup and boiled meat! All the perſonal graces had deſerted her countenance, which exhibited the picture of diſtreſs and declining life!—On the fifteenth of October ſhe was brought before the revolutionary tribunal, and the following accuſation preſented againſt her:

" Antoine

" Antoine Quentin Fouquier, public accuſer of the criminal revolutionary tribunal, " ſtates: That, by a decree of the Convention of the firſt of Auguſt laſt, Marie An- " toinette, widow of Louis Capet, has been brought before the revolutionary tribunal, " as accuſed of conſpiring againſt France; that, by another decree of the Convention, " of the third of October, it was decreed, that the revolutionary tribunal ſhould occupy " itſelf without delay, and without interruption, on the trial; that the public accuſer " received the papers concerning the widow Capet on the nineteenth and twentieth of " the firſt month of the ſecond decade, commonly called the eleventh and twelfth of " October of the preſent month; that one of the judges of the tribunal immediately " proceeded to the interrogatories of the widow Capet; that an examination being made " of all the pieces tranſmitted by the public accuſer, it appears that, like Meſſaline, " Brunehaut, Fredagonde, and Medicis, who were formerly decorated with the titles of " queens of France, whoſe names have ever been odious, and will never be effaced from " the page of hiſtory—

" Marie Antoinette, widow of Louis Capet, has, ſince her abode in France, been the " ſcourge and blood-ſucker of the French; that even before the happy Revolution " which gave the French people their ſovereignty, ſhe had political correſpondence with " a man called the king of Hungary and Bohemia; that this correſpondence was con- " trary to the intereſts of France; and, not content with acting in concert with the " brothers of Louis Capet, and the infamous and execrable Calonne, at that time mi- " niſter of the finances; of having ſquandered the finances of France (the fruit of the " ſweat of the people) in a dreadful manner, to ſatisfy inordinate pleaſures, and to pay " the agents of her criminal intrigues, it is notorious that ſhe has, at different times, " tranſmitted millions to the emperor, which ſerved him, and ſtill ſupports him, to ſuſ- " tain a war againſt the Republic; and that it is by ſuch exceſſive plunder that ſhe has " at length exhauſted the national treaſury.

" That ſince the Revolution, the widow Capet has not for a moment withheld crimi- " nal intelligence and correſpondence with foreign powers, and in the interior of the " Republic, by agents devoted to her, whom ſhe ſubſidized and cauſed to be paid out of " the treaſury of the *ci-devant* civil liſt; that, at various epochs, ſhe has employed every " manœuvre that ſhe thought conſiſtent with her perfidious views to bring about a coun- " ter-revolution: firſt, having, under pretext of a neceſſary re-union between the *ci-* " *devant* gardes-du-corps and the officers and ſoldiers of the regiment of Flanders, con- " trived a repaſt between theſe two corps, on the firſt of October 1789, which degene- " rated at her deſire into an abſolute orgie: and, during the courſe of which, the agents " of the widow Capet perfectly ſeconded her counter-revolutionary projects, brought the " greater part of the gueſts, in the moment of inebriety, to ſing ſongs expreſſive of " their moſt entire devotion to the throne, and the moſt marked averſion for the peo- " ple; of having excited them inſenſibly to wear the white cockade, and to tread the " national cockade under foot; and of having authorized, by her preſence, all theſe coun- " ter-revolutionary exceſſes, particularly in encouraging the women who accompanied

" her,

" her, to distribute these white cockades among the guests; and having, on the fourth of " the same month, testified the most immoderate joy at what passed during these orgies.

" Secondly, having, in concert with Louis Capet, directed to be distributed very plen- " tifully throughout the kingdom publications of a counter-revolutionary nature, some " of which were pretended to have been published by the conspirators on the other side " of the Rhine; of having even carried her perfidy and dissimulation to such a height, " as to have circulated writings, in which she herself is described in very unfavourable co- " lours, in order to cloak the imposture; thereby to make it be believed by foreign " powers that she was extremely ill treated by Frenchmen, to instigate them to go to " war with France.

" That, in order to carry on her counter-revolutionary designs with more efficacy, she, " by means of agents, caused in Paris, towards the beginning of October, 1789, a fa- " mine, which occasioned a new insurrection; in consequence of which, an innumerable " crowd of citizens set out for Versailles on the fifth of the said month; that this fact " is proved beyond all contradiction, as the next day there was a plenty of every thing, " even after the time that the widow Capet arrived with her family in Paris.

" That, being scarcely arrived in Paris, the widow Capet, fertile in intrigues of every " kind, formed committees, consisting of all the counter-revolutionists and intriguers of " the constituent and legislative assemblies, which held their meetings in the dead of " night; that plots were there formed how to destroy the Rights of Man, and the decrees " already passed, which were to form the basis of the new constitution; that it was at " these committees, or meetings, that the necessary measures were deliberated to obtain " a revision of those decrees which were favourable to the people; that the flight of " Louis Capet, his widow, and his whole family, was impeded, as they travelled under " fictitious names, in the month of June, 1791; that the widow Capet confesses in her " interrogatory, that it was she who opened and locked the door of the apartment, " through which the fugitives passed; that, independent of the confession of the widow " Capet in this respect, it is confirmed by the testimony of Louis Charles Capet, and by " his sister, that de la Fayette favoured all the designs of the widow Capet, in the same " manner as Bailly did while he was mayor of Paris; and that both were present when " the fugitives escaped, and favoured their flight as much as lay in their power. That " the widow Capet, after her return from Varennes, re-commenced her intriguing cote- " ries, at which she herself presided; and that, aided by her favourite La Fayette, the " gates of the Thuilleries were kept locked, which deprived the citizens of the power " of passing backwards and forwards in the courts of the palace; that those only who " had cards were permitted to pass. That this order was given out by La Fayette as a " measure of punishment to the fugitives, though it served only as a trick to prevent " the citizens from knowing what passed at these midnight orgies, and from discovering " the plots against liberty carried on in this infamous abode. That it was at these meet- " ings, that the horrible massacre which took place on the seventeenth of July, 1791, " was planned, when so many zealous patriots were killed in the Champ de Mars; that

" the maſſacre which had previouſly taken place at Nancy, as well as thoſe which have " ſince happened in different parts of the Republic, were ordered and determined on in " theſe ſecret councils; that theſe inſurrections, in which the blood of an immenſe " number of patriots has been ſpilt, were plotted in order the more expeditiouſly and " ſecurely to obtain a reviſion of the decrees paſſed and founded on the Rights of Man, " which were ſo obnoxious to the ambitious and counter-revolutionary views of Louis " Capet and Marie Antoinette: that the conſtitution of 1791 being once accepted, the " widow Capet took every means in her power to deſtroy its energy by her manœuvres; " that ſhe employed agents in different parts of the Republic to effect this object of an- " nihilating liberty, and to make the French once more fall beneath the tyrannic yoke " under which they had languiſhed for ſo many years; that for this purpoſe, the widow " Capet ordered it to be diſcuſſed in theſe midnight meetings, which were truly called " the Auſtrian cabinet, how far it might be poſſible to counteract the laws paſſed in the " legiſlative aſſembly; that it was in conſequence of theſe councils, and her advice, " that Louis Capet was perſuaded to oppoſe his *veto* to the famous and ſalutary decrees " paſſed in the legiſlative aſſembly againſt the *ci-devant* princes, brothers of Louis " Capet, againſt the emigrants, and againſt that horde of refractory and fanatical prieſts " who had ſpread all through France; a *veto* which has proved one of the principal cauſes " of the evils which France has ſince experienced.

" That it was the widow Capet who cauſed perverſe miniſters to be nominated, and " placed her creatures in the armies and public offices, men who were known by the " whole nation to be conſpirators againſt liberty; that it was by her manœuvres, and " thoſe of her agents, as able as they were perfidious, that ſhe got a new guard formed " for Louis Capet, compoſed of ancient officers who had quitted their corps, and had re- " fuſed to take the conſtitutional oath; that ſhe gave appointments to refractory prieſts " and ſtrangers; and in ſhort, to all thoſe who were diſliked by the nation, and who " were worthy of ſerving in the army of Coblentz, whither many of them fled after " their being caſhiered.

" That it was the widow Capet who, in conjunction with a ſcandalous faction, at " that time domineered over the legiſlative aſſembly, and for ſome time over the Con- " vention; who declared war againſt the king of Hungary and Bohemia, her own bro- " ther; that it was through her manœuvres and intrigues, at all times pernicious to " France, that the French were obliged to make their firſt retreat from Flanders.

" That it is the widow Capet, who forwarded to the foreign courts the plans of the " campaign, and the attacks which were agreed upon in the council: ſo that, by means " of this double treaſon, the enemies of France were always informed before-hand of the " movements of the armies of the Republic; from whence it follows, that the widow " Capet is the authoreſs of all thoſe reverſes of fortune, which the armies of the Re- " public have experienced at different times.

" That the widow Capet combined and plotted with her perfidious agents the horri- " ble conſpiracy which broke out on the tenth of Auguſt; which failed only through

" the

" the courageous and incredible efforts of the patriots; that to this end ſhe ſeduced into " her dwelling of the Thuilleries, and even into the ſubterraneous paſſages under it, " Swiſs ſoldiers, who, at the expiration of a decree then paſſed, were no longer to be- " long to the body guard of Louis Capet; that ſhe kept them in a ſtate of drunkenneſs " from the ninth 'till the morning of the tenth, the day appointed for the execution of " this horrible conſpiracy; that for the ſame purpoſe ſhe had re-united on the ninth a " body of thoſe beings known by the name of the *knights of the dagger*, who had fi- " gured away with the ſame infamous deſigns, and in the ſame place, on the twenty- " eighth of February, 1791, and again on the twenty-firſt of June, 1792.

" That the widow Capet, fearing, no doubt, that this conſpiracy might not have the " promiſed effect, went on the evening of the ninth of Auguſt, at half after nine, into " the room where the Swiſs, and others in her intereſt, were buſy making cartridges; " that, in order to excite them the more, ſhe took up the cartridges and bit them.

" That the next day, the tenth of Auguſt, ſhe preſſed and ſolicited Louis Capet to go " to the Thuilleries, at five in the morning, to review the *real* Swiſs guards, and thoſe " who had aſſumed their uniform; and at his return ſhe preſented him with a piſtol, " ſaying—'*This is the moment* TO SHEW YOURSELF;' and on his refuſing, ſhe called " him a coward.

" That, notwithſtanding the widow Capet denies having given any orders to fire on " the people, her conduct on the ninth—her deeds in the room of the Swiſs guards— " the councils ſhe held all the night long—the article of the piſtol, and her words to " Louis Capet; their ſudden retreat from the Thuilleries, and the firing on the people " at the very moment he and ſhe entered the room of the legiſlative aſſembly;—in one " word, all theſe circumſtances united, leave no doubt but that in her councils during the " night, it was reſolved that the people muſt be fired on, and that Louis Capet, and " Marie Antoinette, the female director of that conſpiracy, ſhould themſelves give the " orders to fire.

" That, to the perfidious intrigues and manœuvres of the widow Capet, in confederacy " with that infamous faction of which we have juſt ſpoken, and with all the enemies of the " Republic, France is indebted for the internal war which has diſtreſſed her ſo long; " but the end of which is fortunately not much more diſtant than that of its authors.

" That, at all times, the widow Capet, by the influence ſhe had acquired over Louis " Capet, inſinuated into him that perfidious and dangerous art of diſſimulation, to pro- " miſe, by public acts, the very contrary of what he intended to perform: and that they " both, in their midnight councils, plotted the ruin of that liberty, ſo dear to French- " men—and which they will take care to preſerve—to recover the *plenitude* of the " royal prerogatives.

" That, finally, the widow Capet, in every reſpect immoral, and a *new Agrippina*, is " ſo diſſolute, and ſo familar with all crimes, that forgetting her quality of mother, and " the limits preſcribed by the law of nature, has not heſitated to proſtitute herſelf with " Louis Charles Capet, her ſon: and according to the confeſſion of the latter, ſhe has

" committed indecencies with him, the very idea and name of which ſtrikes the ſoul " with horror."

According to this report, the public accuſer brings the above accuſations againſt Marie Antoinette, qualifying herſelf in her interrogatory by the title of Lorraine and Auſtria, widow of Louis Capet; and ſtates—

" 1. That in conjunction with the brothers of Louis Capet, and the infamous ex-" miniſter Calonne, ſhe ſquandered away, in a moſt horrid manner, the French finances: " ſent innumerable ſums to the emperor, and drained the national treaſury.

" 2. That as well by herſelf, as by the aid of her counter-revolutionary agents, ſhe " kept up a correſpondence with the enemies of the republic, and informed theſe ene-" mies, or cauſed them to be informed, of all the plans of campaigns and attacks reſolved " and determined on in the council.

" That through her intrigues and manœuvres, and thoſe of her agents, ſhe formed " conſpiracies and plots againſt the interior and exterior ſafety of France; and to that " effect kindled a civil war in divers provinces of the Republic; armed one citizen " againſt another, and by theſe means ſpilled the blood of an incalculable number of " citizens, contrary to the ſixth article of the firſt ſection of the penal code, and to the " ſecond article of the ſecond ſection of the ſame code.

" In conſequence of all which charges, the public accuſer requeſts, that an act of the " preſent accuſation be given him by the tribunal; that it be ordained, that on his requi-" ſition, and through the channel of a ſerjeant at arms, Marie Antoinette, qualifying " herſelf by the title of Lorraine and Auſtria, widow of Lowis Capet, actually con-" fined in the priſon called the Conciergerie of the palace, be entered on the regiſters of " the ſaid priſon, there to remain, the ſame as in a houſe of juſtice, and that the ſentence " to be given ſhall be notified to the municipality of Paris, and to the accuſed."

After the preceding act of accuſation had been read (which is in effect ſimilar to what is called an indictment, in England) the interrogatory of the queen began. Of this examination the following is a tranſlation, ſigned by the accuſed, the accuſer, and the clerk of the tribunal.

We, Armand Martial-Joſeph Hamart, preſident of the revolutionary tribunal, eſtabliſhed by the law of the tenth of March, 1793, ordered to be brought before us, from the priſon of the Conciergerie, Marie Antoinette, widow Capet, whom we aſked her names, age, profeſſion, country, and place of abode.——She anſwered, that her name was Marie Antoinette, of Lorraine and Auſtria, thirty-eight years of age, widow of the king of France.

Q. Had you, previouſly to the Revolution, any political connexions with the king of Bohemia and Hungary; and were not thoſe connexions contrary to the intereſts of France, which loaded you with benefits?——*A.* That the king of Bohemia and Hungary was her brother; that the connexions ſhe had with him were only thoſe of conſanguinity,

ſanguinity, but not of a political nature; thoſe connexions could only have been to the advantage of France, to which ſhe was attached by the family into which ſhe married.

Q. It was remarked to her, that, not contented with dilapidating in a ſhocking manner the finances of France, the fruit of the ſweats of the people, for the ſake of her pleaſures and intrigues, in concert with infamous miniſters, ſhe had ſent to the emperor thouſands of millions, to ſerve againſt the nation which foſtered her.——*A.* Never; that ſhe knows that this charge has frequently been made ſubſervient againſt her; that ſhe loved her huſband too much to dilapidate the money of his country; that her brother did not want money from France; and that, from the principles which attached her to this country, ſhe would not have given him any.

Q. Whether ſhe did not employ ſome ſecret agent to correſpond with the foreign powers, chiefly with her brothers; and if Deleſſart was not this principal agent?——*A.* Never in her life.

Q. Obſerved, that her anſwer does not appear exact to us; for it is notorious that there exiſted in the *ci-devant* palace of the Thuilleries ſecret and nocturnal petty councils, over which ſhe herſelf preſided, and in which were diſcuſſed, deliberated upon, and reſolved, the anſwers to be made to the foreign powers, and thoſe to the ſucceſſive conſtituent and legiſlative aſſemblies.——*A.* That the preceding anſwer is very exact; for the rumour of thoſe committees has conſtantly exiſted whenever it was intended to amuſe and deceive the people; that ſhe never knew ſuch a committee; that it has not exiſted.

Q. Obſerved, that it appears however, that when there was a queſtion to know if Louis Capet ſhould ſanction or affix his *veto* to the decree iſſued in the courſe of November, 1791, concerning his brothers, the emigrants, and the refractory and fanatical prieſts, ſhe, in deſpite of the moſt urgent repreſentations of Duranton, then miniſter of juſtice, had brought Louis Capet to the determination of affixing his *veto* to thoſe decrees, the ſanction of which would have prevented the ills which France has ſince ſuffered, and which evidently proves that ſhe aſſiſted at the councils and petty councils.——*A.* That in the month of November, Duranton was not miniſter; that in other reſpects her ſpouſe did not require to be urged to do that which he believed to be his duty; that ſhe was not of the council; and that only there affairs of that deſcription were tranſacted and decided.

Q. Obſerved, that it was ſhe who taught Louis Capet that art of profound diſſimulation by which he had too long deceived the kind French nation, who did not ſuppoſe that perfidy and villany could be carried to ſuch a decree.——*A.* Yes, the people have been deceived—cruelly deceived! but it was neither by her nor her huſband.

Q. By whom, then, has the people been deceived?——*A.* By thoſe who felt it their intereſt; that it had never been theirs to deceive them.

Q. Obſerved, that ſhe was the principal inſtigatrix to the treaſon of Louis Capet: that it was by her advice, and perhaps by her repeated importunities, that he reſolved to fly France, to put himſelf at the head of the furious men who wiſhed to deſolate his country.——*A.* That her huſband did not wiſh to quit France; that ſhe followed him

on

on his journey; that ſhe would have followed him every where; but that if ſhe had known that he wanted to quit his country, ſhe would have employed all poſſible means to diſſuade him; but that he had no ſuch intention.

Q. What, then, was the propoſed end of the journey, known by the name of Varennes?——*A.* To procure himſelf that liberty, which he could not enjoy here in the eyes of any perſon; and to conciliate thence all parties, for the happineſs and tranquillity of France.

Q. Why did you travel at that period by the borrowed title of a Ruſſian baroneſs?——*A.* Becauſe we could not get out of Paris without changing names.

Q. If, among other perſons who favoured her eſcape, La Fayette, Bailly, and Renard the architect, were not of the number?——*A.* That the two former would have been the laſt they would have employed; that the third perſon was then under their orders, but that they never employed him for that purpoſe.

Q. Repreſented, that her anſwer was contradictory to declarations of the perſons who fled with her; and that it reſulted from them, that the carriage of La Fayette, at the moment when all the fugitives came down ſtairs through the apartment of a woman in her ſervice, was in one of the court-yards; and that La Fayette and Bailly were upon the watch, while Renard directed their route.——*A.* That ſhe does not know what declarations might have been made by the perſons who were with her; that all ſhe knows is, that ſhe met, on the ſquare of the Carouſel, the carriage of La Fayette; but that ſhe went on her way, and was far from ſtopping it; that, with regard to Renard, ſhe could aſſure us that he did not direct their march; that ſhe alone opened the door, and made every body go out.

Q. Obſerved, that from this confeſſion of her having opened the door, and let out every body, there remains no doubt, that ſhe directed Louis Capet in all his actions, and made him reſolve to fly.——*A.* That ſhe did not believe that the opening of a door could prove that a perſon directs the actions of another; that her ſpouſe deſiring and thinking himſelf obliged to go out thence with his children, it was her duty to aſſent; and that ſhe was to do every thing to render his going out ſafe.

Q. Obſerved, that ſhe never concealed for a moment her deſire of deſtroying liberty; that ſhe wanted to reign at any rate, and re-aſcend the throne upon the corpſes of the patriots.——*A.* That they did not want to *re-aſcend* the throne; that they were then upon it; that they never had any other deſire but the happineſs of France.—Be it happy!—be it but happy! they would always be contented.

Q. Repreſented, that if ſuch had been her ſentiments, ſhe would have uſed her influence over the mind of her brother, to induce him to break the treaty of Pilnitz, concluded between him and William—a treaty, the ſole end of which has been, and is, to aſſociate with all the powers to annihilate that liberty, which the French ſhall have in deſpite of that coalition, and thoſe treaſons.——*A.* That ſhe only knew of that treaty after it had been concluded; that it had long been of no effect; that it ought to be obſerved. that the foreign powers were not the firſt aggreſſors of France.

Q. You

Q. You have held a correſpondence with the *ci-devant* French princes ſince their quitting France, and with the emigrants; you have conſpired with them againſt the ſafety of the ſtate.——*A.* She never held any correſpondence with any Frenchman abroad; that, with reſpect to her brothers, ſhe might poſſibly have written them one or two inſignificant letters; but ſhe does not believe ſhe has, and recollects having often refuſed to do ſo.

Q. Does ſhe recollect to have ſaid, on the fourth of October, 1789, that ſhe was enchanted with the day of the firſt of that month, a day remarkable for the orgies of the gardes-du-corps and the regiment of Flanders, who, in the moment of inebriety, expreſſed their attachment to their throne, and their averſion for the people, trod the national cockade under foot, and put on the white cockade.——*A.* She does not recollect ſaying any ſuch thing; but that it is poſſible ſhe may have ſaid, that ſhe was touched with the firſt ſentiment that animated this feſtival; that, as to the reſt of the queſtion, drunkenneſs was not neceſſary to make the gardes-du-corps teſtify attachment and devotion to perſons in whoſe ſervice they were. With reſpect to the affair of the cockade, if it exiſted, it could only be the error of a few, who now diſapprove it; but that it was improbable that perſons ſo attached ſhould tread under foot, and wiſh to change, an emblem which the king himſelf then wore.

Q. What intereſt did ſhe take in the ſucceſs of the armies of the Republic?——*A.* The happineſs of France is what ſhe deſires above all things.

Q. Do you think that kings are neceſſary to the happineſs of the people?——*A.* An individual could not poſitively decide ſuch a matter.

Q. You regret, without doubt, that your ſon has loſt a throne which he might have aſcended, if the people, at length enlightened upon their true rights, had not themſelves cruſhed that throne?——*A.* She ſhall never regret any thing for her ſon, ſo long as her country ſhall be happy.

Q. What is your opinion of the tenth of Auguſt, when the Swiſs, by order of the maſter of the caſtle in the Thuilleries, dared to fire upon the people?——*A.* She was not in the caſtle when they began to fire; ſhe only knows that no order was ever given to fire.

Q. Have you not, during your reſidence in the Temple, been exactly informed of political affairs; and have you not kept up a correſpondence with the enemies of the Republic, by means of ſome municipal officers who were in your ſervice, or by ſome perſon introduced by them into your habitation?——*A.* During the fourteen months ſhe has been confined, ſhe has had neither news nor knowledge of any political affairs, which it was impoſſible for her to receive; that, ſince the beginning of October, pen, paper, and pencil, had been taken from her; that ſhe has never addreſſed any municipal officer, which there is reaſon to believe would have been ineffectual; and that ſhe has ſeen none others than them.

Q. Your anſwer is contradictory to the declarations made by the perſons who dwelt in the ſame place.——*A.* Not many perſons lived in the Temple, and thoſe who declare any thing of the kind dare not prove it.

Q. While ſhe was at the Conciergerie, were not ſeveral perſons introduced into her apartment?

apartment? Did not one of them drop a carnation, in which was a writing; and was it not ſhe who took up this carnation, after repeated ſigns had been made to her by the ſame perſon?——*A.* Different perſons entered her chamber, but always accompanied by the adminiſtrators of the police; ſhe did not know them at all; there was one whom ſhe thought ſhe recollected: it is true a carnation was dropped, as ſhe had before declared, but that ſhe paid ſo little attention to the circumſtances, that, but for the ſigns, ſhe ſhould not have taken it up; and that ſhe did ſo, fearing only that the perſon who threw it down might be expoſed if it were found.

Q. Did you not recollect this perſon as having been at the caſtle of the Thuilleries on the twentieth of June; and as having been one of thoſe who remained with you on that day?——*A.* Yes.

Q. Did you not recollect this ſame perſon to have been at the Thuilleries on the tenth of Auguſt?——*A.* No.

Q. Do you know his name?——*A.* No, ſhe does not recollect having ever known it.

Q. Obſerved, it is ſtrange that you ſhould not know his name, for the perſon ſaid, that you had rendered him great ſervices; which is ſeldom the caſe without knowing the perſon who is the object in a manner more or leſs particular.——*A.* It is poſſible, that thoſe who have rendered ſervices may forget them, and that thoſe who have received them may recollect them.

Q. Has ſhe replied to the billet found in the carnation?——*A.* She endeavoured with a pin; not with a view to anſwer it, but to engage him not to come there, in caſe he ſhould again preſent himſelf.

Q. Did ſhe make a particular motion at the time this perſon preſented himſelf?——*A.* Not having ſeen any known face for thirteen months, ſhe was a little ſtartled at firſt, from the idea of danger incurred by coming into her chamber: afterwards ſhe thought he might be employed ſomewhere, and then was eaſy.

Q. What do you mean by the two laſt expreſſions?——*A.* As ſeveral people whom ſhe did not know came to her with the adminiſtrators, ſhe thought that this perſon might be employed in ſome place at the ſections, or elſewhere; and, in that caſe, did not run any danger.

Q. Did the adminiſtrators of the police often bring people with them?——*A.* They were almoſt always accompanied by one, two, or three unknown perſons.

Q. Has ſhe any thing to add upon theſe different anſwers—has ſhe no counſel?——*A.* No: becauſe ſhe knows not any.

Q. Does ſhe wiſh us to name her one or two counſellors?——*A.* She does.

After which two advocates belonging to the office were named: they are the citizens Trouſon Ducoudray, and Chauveau Delagarde.

On the following day, October the fifteenth, the examination of witneſſes commenced.

The

The firſt witneſs called was, *Laurent le Cointre*, formerly chief of the diviſion of the national guard of Verſailles, and at preſent a member of the National Convention. He related the occurrences of the fifth and ſixth of October; and, from his relation, it appeared that the *ci-devant* gardes-du-corps, or life-guards, were the firſt aggreſſors. Le Cointre ſpoke alſo, though not as an ocular witneſs, of the nocturnal orgies of the firſt of October, at Verſailles, by the late king's life-guards in the hall of the opera. "Marie Antoinette,"—ſaid he—"repaired to that banquet; ſhe applauded the conduct of the "life-guards: ſhe alſo viſited the regiment of Naſſau, and the chaſſeurs of Trois "Evechés, who were quartered in the orangerie of the gardens of Verſailles."——*Queen.* I repaired, I muſt own, with my huſband and his children, to the hall of the opera-houſe; but I did not ſee that the national cockade was trod under foot. It is falſe that I ever ſpoke to the ſoldiers of the regiment of Naſſau, or to the chaſſeurs of Trois Evechés.

Preſident. What did you ſay to the life-guards when you appeared at that orgie?——*Queen.* I applauded that banquet, becauſe it was to have produced the union of the life-guards with the national guards.

Public Accuſer. Have you not holden ſecret councils at the houſe of the *ci-devant* ducheſs of Polignac—councils at which the *ci-devant* French princes aſſiſted, and in which, after having diſcuſſed the fate of the empire, you gave yourſelf up to the infamous pleaſures of debauchery?——*Queen.* All ſtate affairs were diſcuſſed in council, and no where elſe. I have no knowledge of the reſt of this aſſertion.

Public Accuſer. Were not Thouret, Barentin, and d'Eſpremenil, the authors of the articles of the declaration of the twenty-third of June?——*Queen.* The miniſters in place alone compoſed the council at that time.

Judge. Did not your huſband communicate his deſigns to you, when he inveſted the hall of the repreſentatives of the people with troops?——*Queen.* My huſband repoſed his confidence in me; he communicated to me the ſpeech which he was to have made on that occaſion. He had, in other reſpects, no bad intentions.

Judge. Why did the troops of the line inveſt Paris and Verſailles?——*Queen.* For the ſake of general ſafety.

Judge. What uſe have you made of the immenſe ſums which you have been intruſted with?——*Queen.* No immenſe ſum has been intruſted to me; the accounts of my houſehold will prove what uſe has been made of all I have received.

Judge. How did the family of the Polignacs, who were ſo poor at firſt, grow ſo rich?——*Queen.* That family held offices at court which were very lucrative.

Judge. The repaſt of the gardes-du-corps having taken place with the permiſſion of the king, you muſt neceſſarily have known the cauſe?——*Queen.* It was ſtated that it was in order to effect a re-union with the national guard.

Jean Baptiſte Lapierre, adjutant-general per interim of the fourth diviſion, related the facts relative to what paſſed in the *ci-devant* chateau of the Thuilleries, on the night of

the twentieth of June, 1791, when the deponent was upon guard. He ſaw, during the night, a great number of perſons whom he did not know, continually paſſing and re-paſſing through the courts of the palace.

Preſident to the Queen. When you departed, was it on foot or in a carriage?——*A.* It was on foot.

Q. By what paſſage?——*A.* By the Carouſel.

Rouſſillod, ſurgeon and cannoneer, depoſed, that, on the tenth of Auguſt, 1792, having entered the apartment of the accuſed, in the palace of the Thuilleries, which ſhe had quitted a few hours before, he found under her bed a quantity of bottles, ſome full, others empty, which gave him reaſon to believe that ſhe had given drink either to the Swiſs officers, or to the knights of the poignard, who filled the palace.

Preſident to the Queen. Have you any obſervation to make in oppoſition to the teſtimony of the witneſs?——*A.* I had quitted the palace, and do not know what paſſed there.

Q. Did you give money to ſupply the Swiſs with drink?——*A.* No.

Q. Did not you, as you were going out, ſay to a Swiſs officer, "Drink, my friend, I "recommend myſelf to you?"——*A.* No.

Q. Where did you paſs the night between the ninth and tenth of Auguſt, of which we now talk?——*A.* I paſſed it with my ſiſter Elizabeth in my apartment, and did not go to bed.

Q. Why did you not go to bed?——*A.* Becauſe, at midnight, we heard the tocſin ſound from all quarters, and were informed that we were going to be attacked.

Q. Was it not in your apartment, that the *ci-devant* nobles and Swiſs officers, who were at the chateau, aſſembled; and did they not form the determination to fire upon the people?——*A.* No perſon entered my apartment.

Q. Had you not been, during the night, in queſt of the *ci-devant* king?——*A.* I remained in his apartment till one o'clock in the morning.

Q. You there ſaw all the knights of the poignard, and the etat-major of the Swiſs, who were there?——*A.* I ſaw a great number of perſons.

Q. Were you not preſent with the king at the review which he made in the garden?——*A.* No.

Q. Were you not during that time at your window?——*A.* No.

Q. Had you not a converſation with d'Affry, in which you demanded of him, whether he could depend upon the Swiſs to fire on the people; and, when he anſwered in the negative, did not you employ, by turns, entreaties and menaces?——*A.* I do not think that I ſaw d'Affry on that day.

Q. Did you aſk him whether the Swiſs could be depended upon?——*A.* I never ſpoke to him on the ſubject.

Q. Do

Q. Do you deny, then, that you made uſe of menaces?——*A.* I never did make uſe of any.

The public accuſer obſerved, that d'Affry, after the affair of the tenth of Auguſt, was arreſted and brought before the tribunal on the ſeventeenth; and that he was ſet at liberty, becauſe he had proved, that not having wiſhed to take any ſhare in what was going on at the palace, you had threatened him, which had compelled him to quit it.

Jacques-Rene Hebert, ſubſtitute of the procureur of the commune, depoſed, that as a member of the commune of the tenth of Auguſt, he was charged with different important functions, which afforded him an opportunity to be convinced of the conſpiracy of Antoinette, particularly one day in the Temple, he found a copy of the Ritual belonging to her, in which was one of the counter-revolutionary emblems, repreſenting an inflamed heart pierced with an arrow, on which was written, "*Jeſu, miſerere nobis.*" Another time he found in the chamber of Elizabeth, a hat, which was known to have belonged to Louis Capet, This diſcovery left him no room to doubt that there were among his colleagues ſome men baſe enough to degrade themſelves ſo far as to be the ſervants of tyranny. He recollected that Toulan had one day entered with his hat into the Temple, and had come out bare-headed, ſaying that he had loſt it. He added, that Simon having appriſed him that he had ſomething important to communicate, he went to the Temple, accompanied by the mayor and procureur of the commune; they there received a declaration, on the part of young Capet, to this purport: That at the period of the flight of Louis Capet to Varennes, La Fayette was one of thoſe who had moſt contributed to facilitate it; that they had with this view ſpent the night in the palace; that during their reſidence in the Temple, the priſoners had for a long time been informed of all public tranſactions; a correſpondence was tranſmitted to them in clothes and ſhoes. Young Capet named thirteen perſons as being concerned in carrying on this correſpondence; that one of them having ſhut him up with his ſiſter in a turret of the caſtle, he heard his mother ſay, "I will procure you the means of being informed of the news, by "ſending you every day to cry near the tower, *Le Journal du Soir.*"

To the Queen. What have you to anſwer to the depoſition of the witneſs?——*A.* I have no knowledge of the facts of which Hebert ſpeaks; I know only that the heart he mentions was given to my ſon by his ſiſter; with reſpect to the hat, it was a preſent to my ſiſter by her brother while alive.

Q. Did not citizen Michonis bring along with him into the priſon an individual, who let drop a pink, in which was encloſed a billet?——*A.* The fact is true.

Q. Who was the man who delivered to you this billet?—Did you know him?—What is his name?—What were the contents of the billet?—Did you anſwer it?——*A.* His name I do not recollect.—The contents of this billet were, that he had been thrown into priſon, but had found means to extricate himſelf; that he offered me money; and that he would return the Friday following.—I anſwered, by pricking upon a paper with a pin,

a pin, that my guards never ſuffered me to be out of their ſight, ſo that I had no opportunity to write to, or communicate with, any perſon.

Q. Why were you ſtartled at ſeeing this individual?——*A.* Becauſe I was alarmed at the danger which he ran in getting into my priſon.

The tribunal was going to proceed to hear another witneſs, when one of the jury requeſted the preſident to demand of the accuſed to anſwer with reſpect to the crimes, the proof of which reſted on the declarations of young Capet.——*A.* I remained ſilent on that ſubject, becauſe nature holds all ſuch crimes in abhorrence!—Then turning with an animated air to the people, ſhe added, "I appeal to all mothers who are preſent in this "auditory, is ſuch a crime poſſible?"

Abraham Silly, notary, depoſed, that being on duty in the *ci-devant* palace of the Thuilleries, on the night of the twentieth of June, the accuſed came to him about ſix o'clock in the evening, and ſaid that ſhe wiſhed to walk with her ſon; that he charged the Sieur La Roche to accompany her; that ſome time after, he ſaw La Fayette come five or ſix times to Gouvion; that the latter, about ten o'clock, gave orders to ſhut the gates, except that looking into the court called the "Court of the *ci-devant* princes;" that in the morning Gouvion entered the apartment where the deponent was, and ſaid to him, rubbing his hands with an air of ſeeming ſatisfaction, "*They are gone*;" that he delivered to him a packet, which he carried to the conſtituent aſſembly, for which citizen Beauharnois, the preſident, gave him a receipt.

Preſident. At what hour of the night did La Fayette quit the palace?——*Witneſs.* At midnight, within a few minutes.

Preſident to the Queen. At what hour did you depart?——*A.* I have already ſaid, at three-quarters paſt eleven.

Q. Did you depart along with Louis Capet?——*A.* No, he departed before me.

Q. How did he depart?——*A.* On foot, by the great gate.

Q. And your children?——*A.* They departed an hour before with their governeſs; they waited for us in the ſquare of the Petit Carouſel.

Q. Who were the perſons along with you?——*A.* The three gardes-du-corps who accompanied us, and who returned with us to Paris.

Q. How were they dreſſed?——*A.* In the ſame manner as at their return.

Q. And how were you dreſſed?——*A.* I wore the ſame robe as at my return.

Q. How many perſons were there appriſed of your departure?——*A.* There were only the three gardes-du-corps, at Paris, who were acquainted with it; but on the road Bouillé had placed troops to protect our departure.

Q. You ſaid that your children departed an hour before you, and that the *ci-devant* king departed alone; who then accompanied you?——*A.* One of the gardes-du-corps.

Q. Did you not at your departure meet La Fayette?——*A.* I ſaw, as I was departing, his carriage paſſing along the Carouſel, but I took care not to ſpeak to him.

Q. Why

2. Why did you travel under the name of a Ruſſian baroneſs?——*A.* Becauſe it was impoſſible in any other way to get out of Paris.

2. Who procured you the paſſport?——*A.* It was demanded by a foreign miniſter.

2. Why did you quit Paris?——*A.* Becauſe the king was deſirous to go from it.

Pierre Joſeph Terraſſon, employed in the office of the miniſter of juſtice, depoſed, that upon the return from Varennes, being upon the ſteps of the *ci-devant* palace of the Thuilleries, he ſaw the accuſed come out of the carriage and throw upon the national guards who eſcorted her, and likewiſe upon the other citizens who were in her way as ſhe paſſed along, a moſt vindictive glance; which ſuggeſted to him, the deponent, the idea that ſhe would certainly take an opportunity of revenge; ſome time after the ſcene of the Champ-de-Mars took place. He added, that Duranthon, who was miniſter of juſtice, with whom he had been intimately acquainted at Bourdeaux, as they had there exerciſed together the ſame profeſſion, ſaid to him that the accuſed oppoſed the king's giving his ſanction to different decrees, but that he had repreſented to her that this affair was of more importance than ſhe thought, and that it was even of the utmoſt urgency that theſe decrees ſhould be ſpeedily ſanctioned; that this obſervation made an impreſſion upon the accuſed, upon which the king gave his ſanction.

Preſident to the Queen. Have you any obſervations to make on the evidence of the deponent?——*A.* I have only to ſay, that I never aſſiſted at the council.

Pierre Manuel, a man of letters, depoſed, that he knew the accuſed, but never had any connexion with the family of Capet, except when he was procureur of the commune; that he went ſeveral times to the Temple, to carry into execution the decrees; as to the reſt, he never had any particular converſation with the wife of the *ci-devant* king.

Preſident to the Witneſs. You have been adminiſtrator of police?——*Witneſs.* Yes.

Preſident. Have you any details to give with reſpect to the day of the twentieth of June?——*Witneſs.* On that day I did not quit my poſt, as the people might have been alarmed at not finding one of their principal magiſtrates. I ſpoke with different citizens, but diſcharged no municipal function.

Preſident. Relate what came within your knowledge, with reſpect to what paſſed in the palace in the night between the ninth and tenth of Auguſt?——*Witneſs.* I did not chuſe to quit the poſt where the people had placed me; I remained all night at the bar of the commune.

Preſident. Do you know that the maſter of the palace had given orders to fire upon the people?——*Witneſs.* I knew it from the commandant of the poſt. I immediately iſſued orders to the commandant-general of the armed force, and expreſsly forbade him to fire upon the people.

Preſident. How happens it that you, who have juſt declared, that in the night of the ninth of Auguſt you never quitted the poſt where the people had placed you, have ſince

abandoned the honourable function of a legiſlator, to which their confidence had called you?——*Witneſs.* When I ſaw diſturbances excited in the boſom of the Convention, I retired; I thought that thus I ſhould act better.

Preſident to the Queen. What was the number of prieſts you had in the palace?——*Queen.* We had none about our perſons but the prieſts who ſaid maſs.

Preſident. Had they taken the oaths?——*Queen.* The law allowed the king to chuſe whom he pleaſed.

Rene Millot, a ſervant maid, depoſed, that having, in 1788, lived as ſervant on the Great Common at Verſailles, ſhe aſked one day the *ci-devant* count Coigny, in a moment of good humour, "Will the emperor ſtill continue to wage war againſt the "Turks? Surely that muſt ruin France, on account of the immenſe ſums the queen "ſends her brother for that purpoſe, which muſt at leaſt amount to two hundred mil-"lions?"—"Thou art right enough,"—anſwered the count—"it has coſt already "more than *two hundred millions*, and we are not at the end of it as yet."—I know further, ſays the witneſs, that happening to be, after the twenty-third of June, 1789, in a place where ſome guards of Artois, and ſome officers of huſſars, were preſent, I heard the former ſay, at the time the maſſacre of the French guards was in agitation, *every one muſt be at his poſt, and do his duty.* But that the French guards having been informed of the buſineſs intended againſt them, cried out, "*To arms!*" which defeated the project entirely. I have been informed by divers perſons, that the priſoner had formed a plan to aſſaſſinate the duke of Orleans. The king being acquainted therewith, ordered her to be inſtantly ſearched, and *two piſtols* were found on her. The king, in conſequence, had her confined a priſoner in her own room during a fortnight.——*Queen.* It is poſſible I might have received an order from my huſband to remain a fortnight in my apartment, but it was not for a caſe ſimilar to the above.

Witneſs. I know, further, that, in the beginning of October, 1789, ſome ladies of the court diſtributed white cockades to divers private gentlemen at Verſailles.——*Queen.* I remember having heard that, one or two days after the feaſt of the body guards, ſome women diſtributed theſe cockades; but neither I nor my huſband were the authors of ſimilar diſorders.

Preſident. What ſteps did you purſue to puniſh theſe women, after you were acquainted with this circumſtance?——*Queen.* None at all.

Magdelaine Roſey, wife of Richard, *ci-devant* keeper of the houſe of arreſt in the Conciergerie of the palace, depoſes, that a gen d'arme, named Gilbert, had told her, that the priſoner had received a hint from a private gentleman, brought there by Michonis, adminiſtrator of police, which gentleman had given her a pink, in which a billet was concealed: that, conſidering that the ſaid gentleman might bring her, the witneſs, into trouble,

trouble, ſhe acquainted Michonis thereof, who anſwered, That he would not introduce any other perſons to the widow Capet.

Marie Devaux, wife of Arell, depoſes, that having been with the priſoner during forty-one days at the Conciergerie, and having neither heard nor ſeen any perſon, except a gentleman coming one day with Michonis, who gave the priſoner a billet folded up in a pink; that ſhe ſaw the ſame gentleman call again in the courſe of that day.——*Queen.* He came twice in the ſpace of a quarter of an hour.

Jean Gilbert depoſed to the fact concerning the pink; and added, that the accuſed complained to them (the gens d'armes) of the victuals given to her, but that ſhe would not complain to the adminiſtrators. That, on this account, ſhe called Michonis, who was in the women's court with the perſon who brought the pink; that Michonis having again gone up ſtairs, he heard the accuſed ſay to him, "I ſhall not then ſee you any more." "O, pardon me,"—replied he—"I ſhall always be a municipal officer, and, in that qua-"lity, I ſhall have a right to ſee you."

Charles-Henri d'Eſtaing, formerly a naval and military officer in the ſervice of France, declares, that he has known the accuſed ever ſince ſhe came to France, and that he has even reaſon to complain of her; but that he will, nevertheleſs, tell the truth, which is, that he has nothing to ſay reſpecting the facts alledged in the act of accuſation.

Preſident. Did you know that Louis Capet and his family were to leave Verſailles on the fifth of October?——*A.* No.

Q. Do you know, that the horſes were put to, and taken away, ſeveral times?——*A.* Yes, according to the advice which the court received; but I muſt obſerve, that the national guard would not have ſuffered that departure.

Q. Did not you yourſelf cauſe horſes to be taken out that day, in order that the royal family might eſcape?——*A.* No.

Q. Do you know that carriages were ſtopped at the gate de l'Orangerie?——*A.* Yes.

Q. Were you that day at the palace?——*A.* Yes; and I there heard the counſellors of the court tell the accuſed, that the people of Paris were coming to maſſacre her, and that it was neceſſary ſhe ſhould depart. Upon which ſhe replied, with great firmneſs, "If the Pariſians come hither to aſſaſſinate me, I ſhall fall at the feet of my huſband, "but I will not betake myſelf to flight."——*Queen.* That is true: they wiſhed to prevail on me to depart alone, becauſe, they ſaid, I only was expoſed to danger. I returned the anſwer mentioned by the witneſs.

Q. Have you any knowledge of the entertainments given to the *ci-devant* gardes-du-corps?——*A.* Yes.

Q. Do you know that they then cried out "*Vive le Roi!*" and "*Vive la Famille* "*Royale!*"——*A.* Yes: I know alſo that the accuſed went round the table, leading her ſon in her hand.

To the Queen. Did you not give entertainments alſo to the national guards of Verſailles on their return from Paris, where they had been to fetch muſkets.——*A.* Yes.

To the Witneſs. Were you, on the fifth of October, in your quality of commandant-general, at the head of the national guard?——*A.* I was then at the municipality.

Q. Was it not to obtain an order to accompany Louis Capet in his retreat, and to bring him back afterwards, as you ſaid, to Verſailles?——*A.* When I ſaw the king reſolved to gratify the wiſhes of the national guards at Paris, and that the accuſed appeared even in the balcony of the king's apartment with her ſon, to announce to the people that ſhe was going to ſet out with the king and his family to Paris, I requeſted leave of the municipality to accompany them thither.——The queen acknowledged that ſhe appeared at the balcony, to announce to the people that ſhe was going to ſet out for Paris.

Antoine Simon, heretofore a ſhoe-maker, employed at preſent as the inſtructor of Charles Louis Capet, ſon of the accuſed, declares, that he has known Antoinette ſince the third of Auguſt laſt, when he firſt mounted guard at the Temple.

Preſident. Have you any knowledge of the intrigues which took place at the Temple while the accuſed was there?——*A.* Yes.

Q. Who are the adminiſtrators who were in intelligence with her?——*A.* Little Capet declared to me, that Toulan, Petion, La Fayette, Le Pitre, Bouguot, Michonis, Vincent, Manuel, Le Beuf, Jobert, and Dange, were the perſons for whom his mother had the greateſt predilection; and that the latter had taken him in his arms, and ſaid to him, in the preſence of his mother, "I ſincerely wiſh that you were in the place of "your father."——*Queen.* I have ſeen my ſon play at quoits in the garden with Dange; but I never ſaw the latter take him in his arms.

Q. Do you know that little Capet was treated as a king, eſpecially when at table?——*A.* I know his mother and aunt gave precedency to him at table.

To the Queen. Have you written to Polignac ſince your impriſonment?——*A.* No.

Q. Have you not ſigned orders for receiving money from the treaſurer of the civil liſt?——*A.* No.

Francois Tiſſet, merchant, rue de la Barillerie, employed on the tenth of Auguſt, 1792, in the committee of ſafety of the municipality, depoſes, that, having been charged with a miſſion to the houſe of Septeuil, treaſurer of the *ci-devant* civil liſt, he was accompanied by the armed force of the ſection de la Place Vendôme; that he could not ſeize the perſon of Septeuil, but that among Septeuil's papers were found two orders for the ſum of eighty thouſand livres, ſigned "Marie Antoinette," and a note for two millions, ſigned "Louis," and payable at the rate of one hundred and ten thouſand livres per month, at the houſe of La Porte, of Hambourg; and that there were found alſo a great number of notes of ſeveral payments made to Favras and others; a receipt, ſigned "Bouillé," for the ſum of nine hundred thouſand livres, and another of two hundred thouſand

thouſand livres; which papers were all depoſited in the hands of the commiſſion of twenty-four, which is at preſent diſſolved.

Queen. I deſire that the witneſs will mention the dates of the orders of which he ſpeaks?——*Witneſs.* One of them was dated the tenth of Auguſt, 1792. The date of the other I do not recollect.——*Queen.* I never gave ſuch orders, and how could I give any on the tenth of Auguſt, when we went at eight o'clock in the morning to the National Aſſembly?

Preſident to the Queen. Did you not that day, when in the box of the Logographe, in the legiſlative aſſembly, receive money from thoſe who were around you?——*A.* It was not in the box of the Logographe, but during the three days we remained at the Feuillans, that being without money, as we had not carried any with us, we accepted that which was offered to us.

Q. How much did you receive?——*A.* Twenty-five Louis d'ors, the ſame which were found in my pockets when I was conducted from the Temple to the Conciergerie: conſidering this debt as ſacred, I kept them untouched, in order that I might return them to the perſon from whom I received them, in caſe I ſhould ſee her.

Q. What is the name of that perſon?——*A.* Dame Auguel.

Jean-Frederic Latour du Pin, an officer, and ex-miniſter at war, depoſes, that he knows the accuſed, but declares that he is acquainted with none of the facts ſet forth in the act of accuſation.

Preſident. Were you miniſter on the firſt of October, 1789?——*A.* Yes.

Q. Did you aſſiſt at the council of the *ci-devant* king on the fifth of October, 1789?——*A.* Yes.

Q. Do you know that on that day the royal family intended to ſet out for Rambouillet, in order to proceed afterwards to Metz?——*A.* I know that on that day it was debated in the council whether the king ſhould ſet out or not.

Q. On what grounds did they defend that departure?——*A.* On the crowd of people who had come from Paris to Verſailles, and thoſe who were ſtill expected, and who, it was ſaid, wiſhed to take away the life of the accuſed.

Q. What was the reſult of the deliberation?——*A.* That the royal family ſhould remain.

Q. Where did they propoſe to go?——*A.* To Rambouillet.

Q. You ſay the court intended to go to Rambouillet; was it not rather to Metz?——*A.* No.

Q. In your quality of miniſter, did you not cauſe carriages to be prepared, and did you not order piquets of troops on the road to protect the departure of Louis Capet?——*A.* No.

Q. Was it by order of Antoinette that you ſent your ſon to Nancy to direct the maſſacre of the brave ſoldiers who had incurred the hatred of the court, by ſhewing themſelves patriots?——*A.* I ſent my ſon to Nancy only to execute the decrees of the National.

tional Aſſembly. I did not act, therefore, by order of the court, but becauſe it was then the will of the people.

Q. Was it by the orders of Antoinette that you left the army in that ſtate in which it was found?——*A.* I certainly do not think myſelf liable to reproach on that ſubject, as the French army, at the time I quitted the miniſtry, was on a reſpectable footing.

Q. Did not the accuſed, at the time of your miniſtry, engage you to give her an exact ſtate of the French army?——*A.* Yes,

Q. Did ſhe tell you what uſe ſhe meant to make of it?——*A.* No.

Preſident to the Queen. When you aſked of the witneſs a ſtate of the French army, was it not in order to tranſmit it to the king of Hungary and Bohemia?——*A.* As the ſtate of the French army was well known, I had no occaſion to tranſmit an account of it to him, as he could be ſufficiently informed of it from the public papers.

Q. For what reaſon then did you aſk that ſtate?——*A.* As it was reported that the Aſſembly wiſhed to make changes in the army, I was deſirous to know what regiments were to be diſbanded.

Q. Did you not abuſe the influence you had over your huſband, to give orders for drawing on the public treaſury?——*A.* Never.

Q. Where then did you receive that money with which you cauſed to be built and furniſhed Le Petit Trianon, where you gave entertainments, of which you were always the goddeſs?——*A.* From funds deſtined for that purpoſe.

Q. Was it not at Le Petit Trianon that you were firſt acquainted with the woman La Motte?——*A.* I never ſaw her?

Q. Was ſhe not your victim, in the famous affair of the necklace?——*A.* She could not be ſo, becauſe I did not know her.

Q. You perſiſt, then, to deny that you knew her?——*A.* My plan is not to deny; I have told the truth, and will perſiſt to tell it.

Q. Did not you appoint miniſters, and perſons to fill all places, both civil and military? Had you not a liſt of perſons whom you wiſhed to put into place? Did you not compel different miniſters to admit into vacant places the perſons whom you marked out? Did you not force the miniſters of the finances to give you money, and did you not threaten thoſe who refuſed you?——*A.* No, never.

Jean Baptiſte Olivier Garnerin, ci-devant ſecretary of the commiſſion of twenty-four, depoſed, that having been to number and arrange the papers found at the houſe of Septeuil, he ſaw among them an order for about eighty thouſand livres, ſigned "Antoinette," in favour of the *ci-devant* Polignac, with a note reſpecting Lazaille, and another paper which atteſted, that the accuſed had ſold her diamonds, to tranſmit the produce of them to the French emigrants. The deponent obſerved, that, he then delivered all the ſaid papers into the hands of Valazé, member of the commiſſion charged to draw up the act of accuſation againſt Louis Capet; but that the deponent learned, not without aſtoniſhment,

ment, that Valazé, in the report which he made to the National Convention, did not ſpeak of the papers ſigned "Marie Antoinette."

Preſident to the Queen. Have you any obſervations to make on the depoſition of the witneſs?——*A.* I perſiſt in ſaying that I never gave any ſuch orders.

Q. Do you know the above-named Lazaille?——*A.* Yes, I know him to be an officer of the marine, and have ſeen him at court at Verſailles, as I ſaw others.

The witneſs Tiſſet requeſted the preſident to call upon citizen Garnerin, to declare, if he alſo did not recollect to have ſeen among the papers found at the houſe of Septeuil, invoices of purchaſes in ſugar, coffee, corn, &c. &c. amounting to the ſum of two millions, fifteen thouſand livres of which had been already paid; and if he did not alſo know that their invoices, ſome days after, were not to be found ——*Garnerin.* I have no knowledge of that fact; I, however, know, that throughout all France there were people charged with commiſſions to buy up large quantities of proviſions by foreſtalling, in order to raiſe the price of them, that by theſe means the people might be diſguſted with the revolution and liberty, and induced to call again for their chains.

To the Queen. Do you know any thing of immenſe purchaſes, by foreſtalling the moſt neceſſary articles of proviſion, made by order of the court to ſtarve the people, and to force them to demand back the ancient order of things, ſo favourable to tyrants and their infamous agents, who have kept them under the yoke for fourteen centuries?——*Queen.* I do not know that there were any purchaſes by foreſtalling.

Charles Eleonore Dufriche-Valazé, proprietor, *ci-devant* deputy to the National Convention, depoſed, that among the papers found at the houſe of Septeuil, and which ſerved with others for drawing up the act of accuſation againſt Louis Capet, and in the framing of which he aſſiſted as a member of the commiſſion of twenty-one, he obſerved two which related to the accuſed. The firſt was an order, or rather receipt, ſigned by her for the ſum of fifteen or twenty thouſand livres, as far as he could recollect. The other was a letter, in which the miniſter requeſted the king to communicate to Marie Antoinette the plan of the campaign, which he had the honour to preſent to him.

To the Queen. What have you to anſwer to the depoſition of the witneſs?——*Queen.* I know nothing of either the order or letter to which he alludes.

Public Accuſer. It appears, you find, from the declaration of the witneſs, that miniſters were ſo well acquainted with the influence which you had over Louis Capet, that one of them requeſted him to communicate to you the plan of the campaign preſented to him ſome days before, from which it follows, that you took advantage of his weakneſs to cauſe him to execute bad meaſures.——*Queen.* I never knew in him that weakneſs of which you ſpeak.

Preſident. Do you equally perſiſt in ſaying, that Bailly and La Fayette were not concerned in your flight, on the night of the twentieth and twenty-firſt of June, 1791?——*A.* Yes.

Q. I ſhall

Q. I ſhall obſerve to you, that in thoſe facts you are contradicted by the declaration of your ſon?——*A.* It is eaſy to make a child, only eight years old, ſay any thing that one wiſhes. I deny the fact.

John Baptiſte Michonis, keeper of a coffee-houſe, member of the commons of the tenth of Auguſt, 1792, and adminiſtrator of the police, depoſes that he knows the priſoner, for having, in company with his colleagues, aſſiſted in conveying her, on the ſecond of Auguſt laſt, from the Temple to the Conciergerie.

Preſident to the Witneſs. Did you not procure for ſomebody admiſſion to the priſoner's chamber, ſince ſhe has been in this priſon?——*A.* Pardon me; I procured it for one Giroux, who keeps an academy in the ſuburbs, a painter, and to another of my friends.

Q. You have, no doubt, procured admiſſion for other perſons?——*A.* This is the fact, for I ſhould tell here, and will tell, the whole truth: On Saint Peter's day, dining at the houſe of a Mr. Fontaine, where there was good company, particularly three or four members of the Convention; among others was madame Tilleul, who invited citizen Fontaine to dinner at her country-houſe at Vangirard, on Mary Magdalen's day, adding, "Citizen Michonis will not be one too many." Having aſked her how ſhe could know me, ſhe replied ſhe had ſeen me at the manſion-houſe, where buſineſs had carried her."—On the appointed day I went to Vangirard, and found a numerous party: after dinner, the converſation was on the ſubject of priſons; the Conciergerie was mentioned—ſome one ſaid, "The widow Capet is there: it is ſaid ſhe is much changed; that her hair is be-"come entirely white." I anſwered, That in fact her hair was getting grey, but that ſhe was in good health. A citizen who was there expreſſed a deſire to ſee her; I promiſed to gratify him in that reſpect, and did ſo; on the enſuing day, La Richard, the gaoler's wife, ſaid to me, "Do you know the perſon whom you brought here yeſterday?" Having anſwered, "That I did not know him any other way than having ſeen him at one of my acquaintance's. "Well,"—ſaid ſhe—"it is reported he was a knight of "Saint Louis," giving me at the ſame time a ſmall ſlip of paper, written, or at leaſt pricked, with the point of a pin: I then anſwered her, I ſwear to you, that I never ſhall in future bring any one here.

Preſident to the Witneſs. Did you not inform the priſoner, that your functions were at an end at the commons of Paris?——*A.* Yes; I held that diſcourſe.

Q. What did the priſoner anſwer you?——*A.* She ſaid to me, "We ſhall then ſee "you no more." I anſwered, Madame, I remain a municipal officer, and can ſee you from time to time.

Q. What did he promiſe you, or give you, in order to have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing Antoinette?——*A.* I never received any reward.

Q. While he was in the priſoner's chamber, did you not ſee him make a ſign?——*A.* No.

Dedier

Dedier Jourdheuil, ſerjeant, depoſed, that, in the month of September, 1792, he found a ſtring of papers in the houſe of d'Affry, in which was a letter from Antoinette, that contained theſe words—"Can we truſt the Swiſs? Will they be firm when it may be "neceſſary?"——*Queen.* I never wrote to d'Affry.

The *Public Accuſer* obſerved, that laſt year, being director of the jury of accuſation near the tribunal of the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, he was intruſted with the drawing up of the proceſs againſt d'Affry and Cuzotte; that he perfectly well recollects having ſeen the letter of which the witneſs ſpeaks.

Preſident. On your marriage with Louis Capet, did you not conceive the project of re-uniting Lorraine to Auſtria?——*A.* No.

Q. After the affair of Nancy, did you not write to Bouillé, to congratulate him on his having maſſacred ſeven or eight thouſand patriots in that town?——*A.* I never wrote to him.

Q. Did you not employ yourſelf in ſounding the opinion of the departments, diſtricts, and municipalities?——*A.* No.

The public accuſer obſerved to the priſoner, that there was found upon her ſecretary a paper, which atteſts that fact in the moſt preciſe manner, and in which were found inſcribed the names of Vaublanc and Jancourt.—The ſaid paper being read, the queen perſiſted in ſaying, that ſhe did not recollect that ſhe had ever written any thing of the kind.

Q. Why did you, who had promiſed to bring up your children in the principles of the revolution, teach them nothing but errors; in treating, for inſtance, your ſon with a reſpect which might make it believed that you thought of ſeeing him one day the ſucceſſor of the *ci-devant* king, his father?——*A.* He was too young to ſpeak to on that ſubject. I placed him at the head of the table, to give him myſelf what he wanted.

Q. Have you any thing to add to your defence?——*A.* Yeſterday I did not know the witneſſes: I knew not what they were to depoſe againſt me; and nobody has produced againſt me any poſitive fact. I conclude by obſerving, that I was only the wife of Louis the Sixteenth, and it was requiſite in me to conform myſelf to his will.

The preſident announced, that the interrogatories were cloſed.

The public accuſer now ſpoke: he reminded the jury of the flagitious conduct of the late French court—of its conſtant machinations againſt liberty, which it hated, and the deſtruction of which it ſought to encompaſs at any rate; its efforts to kindle civil war, in order to turn the reſult to its own advantage, by appropriating to itſelf this Machiavelian maxim, *Divide to rule!* Its criminal and culpable connections with the foreign powers with whom the republic is at open war; its habits of intimacy with a villainous faction, which was devoted to it, and ſeconded its deſigns, by exciting in the boſom of the Convention animoſities and diſſention; by employing all poſſible means to ruin Paris, and arming the departments againſt that city; and by inceſſantly calumniating the generous inhabitants of the metropolis, the mother and preſerver of liberty; the maſſacres perpetrated by the orders of that corrupted court in the principal towns of France, particu-

larly at Montauban, Niſmes, Arles, Nancy, in the Champ de Mars, &c. &c. He conſidered Marie Antoinette the avowed enemy of the French nation; as the principal inſtigatrix of the troubles which had taken place in France for theſe four years paſt, and in which thouſands of Frenchmen fell victims.

Chauveau, and Trouſon Ducoudray, officially appointed by the tribunal to defend Antoinette, acquitted themſelves of that duty, and ſolicited the clemency of the jurors. They were heard with the moſt profound ſilence.—The queen was then taken out of the hall.

Herman, preſident of the tribunal, ſummed up the evidence in the following manner: —"Citizens of the jury, the French nation, by its organ, the public accuſer, has accuſed before the national jury, Marie Antoinette of Auſtria, widow of Louis Capet, of having been the accomplice, or rather inſtigatrix, of moſt of the crimes of which the laſt tyrant of France was found guilty—of having herſelf kept up a ſecret underſtanding with powerful foreign nations, eſpecially with the king of Bohemia and Hungary, her brother; with the *ci-devant* emigrant French princes, and traitorous generals; with having furniſhed the enemies of the republic with ſupplies of money, and of having conſpired with them againſt the external and internal ſecurity of the ſtate.

"This trial, citizens of the jury, is not one of thoſe where a ſingle fact, a ſingle crime, is ſubmitted to your conſcience and your knowledge. You have to judge all the political life of the accuſed, ever ſince ſhe came to ſit by the ſide of the laſt king of the French; but you muſt, above all, fix your deliberation upon the manœuvres which ſhe employed to deſtroy riſing liberty, either from within the kingdom, by her cloſe connexions with infamous miniſters, perfidious generals, and faithleſs repreſentatives of the people; or from without the kingdom, by cauſing the negociation of that monſtrous coalition of the deſpots of Europe, which hiſtory holds up to ridicule for impotence—in ſhort, by her correſpondence with the *ci-devant* emigrant French princes, and their *worthy* agents.

"The material proof reſts in the papers ſeized in the abode of Louis Capet, enumerated in the report made to the National Convention, by Gohier, one of its members, in the collection of the juſtificatory pieces of the act of accuſation paſſed againſt Louis Capet by the Convention; laſtly and chiefly, citizens of the jury, in the political events of which you have all been witneſſes and judges. If the ſatellites of Auſtrian deſpotiſm have broke in for a moment on our frontiers, and if they have there committed atrocities, of which the hiſtory of even barbarous nations does not furniſh a parallel example—if our ports, our plains, and our cities, are ſold or given up, is it not evidently the reſult of the manœuvres planned at the Thuilleries, and of which Marie Antoinette was at once the inſtigatrix and the moving principle? Theſe, citi-

"zens

" zens jurors, are the public events which form the maſs of proof that overwhelms " Marie Antoinette.

" All the other details, given either as a hiſtory of the Revolution, or in the pro- " ceedings againſt certain notorious perſonages, and ſome treacherous public functiona- " ries, vaniſh before the charge of high treaſon, which weighs heavily upon Antoinette " of Auſtria, widow of the *ci-devant* king. There is one general obſervation to be at- " tended to—namely, that the accuſed has owned that ſhe had the confidence of Louis " Capet. It is evident, too, from the declaration of Valazé, that Antoinette was con- " ſulted in political affairs, ſince the late king was deſirous that ſhe ſhould be conſulted " upon ſome plan of which the witneſs could not tell the object. One of the wit- " neſſes, whoſe preciſion and ingenuity are remarkable, has informed you that the late " duke of Coigny had told her, in 1788, that Antoinette had ſent the emperor, her " brother, two hundred millions, to enable him to carry on the war which he then waged " againſt the Turks. Since the Revolution, a bill of between ſixty and eighty thou- " ſand livres, ſigned "*Antoinette*," and drawn upon Septeuil, has been given to the wo- " man Polignac, then an emigrant; and a letter from La Porte recommended it to Sep- " teuil, not to leave behind the leaſt trace of that gift. After the tyrant's death, An- " toinette obſerved in the Temple, with regard to her ſon, all the etiquette of the " ancient court. The ſon of Capet was treated as a king: in all domeſtic occurrences " he had the precedence before his mother; at table he ſet at the upper end, and was " ſerved firſt. I ſhall forbear, citizens of the jury, to mention here the interview of " the chevalier de Saint Louis; of the carnation flower left in the apartment of the ac- " cuſed; of the pricked paper given, or rather prepared, for an anſwer. This incident " is a mere gaol intrigue.—I conclude by a general reflection, which I have already had " an opportunity of preſenting: it is the French nation which accuſes Antoinette; all " the political events prove evidence againſt her.

" The queſtions which the tribunal has determined to ſubmit to you are :—

" 1. Is it proved, that there exiſted machinations and private intelligences with power- " ful foreign ſtates, and other external enemies of the Republic; ſuch machinations and " intelligences tending to furniſh ſuccours in money, and to give them ingreſs into the " French territory, for the purpoſe of facilitating the progreſs of their arms?

" 2. Is Marie Antoinette convicted of having co-operated with thoſe machina- " tions, and of having entertained thoſe intelligences?

" 3. Is it proved that there exiſted a plot or conſpiracy to light up a civil war in the " heart of the Republic?

" 4. Is Marie Antoinette convicted of having had a ſhare in that plot, and that " conſpiracy?"

The

The jury, after having deliberated about an hour, returned into the hall, and gave a verdict, *affirming all the charges ſubmitted to them*.—The queen was again brought in.

Preſident. "Antoinette, hear the ſentence of the jury;" which was then read. "You "have heard the queſtions of the public accuſer." Fouquier then demanded that the accuſed ſhould be condemned to die, conformable to the firſt article of the ſecond part of the penal code. The preſident then called upon the queen to declare, whether ſhe had any objection to make to the ſentence of the laws, demanded by the public accuſer? Antoinette bowed her head in token of negative.

Upon the ſame demand being made of her defenders, Trouſon ſaid, "Citizen preſi- "dent, the declaration of the jury being preciſe, and the law formal in this reſpect, I "announce that my profeſſional duty with regard to the widow Capet is terminated[80]."

The preſident gathered the ſuffrages of his colleagues, and pronounced the following ſentence:—"The tribunal, after the unanimous declaration of the jury, in conformity "to the law, condemns the ſaid Marie Antoinette, widow of Louis Capet, to the penal- "ty of DEATH, her goods confiſcated for the benefit of the Republic; and this ſen- "tence ſhall be executed in the Place de la Revolution."

Marie Antoinette, throughout the whole of her trial, preſerved a calm and ſteady countenance, during the firſt hours of which ſhe moved her fingers upon the bar of the chair with an appearance of unconcern, as though ſhe were playing on an inſtrument. When ſhe heard her ſentence read, ſhe did not ſhew the ſmalleſt alteration in her countenance, and left the hall without ſaying a ſingle word to the judges, or to the people; and at half paſt four o'clock in the morning of the ſixteenth of October, was re-conducted to the priſon of the Conciergerie.

At five o'clock, the generale was beaten: at ſeven, the whole armed force was on foot; cannon were planted upon the ſquares, and at the extremities of the bridges, from the palace to the Place de la Revolution. At ten o'clock, numerous patroles paſſed through the ſtreets: at half paſt eleven o'clock, Marie Antoinette was brought out of the priſon,

[80] It is neceſſary here to apprize the reader that the depoſitions of ſeveral of the witneſſes on this important trial have been omitted, as totally irrelevant to the articles of indictment charged againſt the unfortunate and illuſtrious priſoner; but introduced there merely with a view of drawing from them ſome confeſſions whereon to found criminal charges againſt themſelves. The event fully juſtified the idea that it was ſolely for that purpoſe that they were called, as, at the very time of the trial, ſeveral of theſe witneſſes were in a ſtate of arreſt; and many of them did not long ſurvive the ill-fated Marie Antoinette, their own evidence given on the trial being made to anſwer the purpoſe of more ſubſtantial proofs.—It is, indeed, but juſtice to remark, that to be arreſted was but too frequently a certain road to the guillotine, the ſtrict forms required for *legal* conviction being on thoſe occaſions very often diſpenſed with

dreſſed

dreſſed in a white diſhabille. She was conducted to the place of execution like a common malefactor; her hair from behind was entirely cut off, and her hands were tied behind her back; beſides her diſhabille, ſhe wore a very ſmall white cap; her back was turned towards the horſe. On her right hand was ſeated the executioners; upon the left a conſtitutional prieſt, belonging to the metropolitan church of Notre Dame, dreſſed in a grey coat. She was eſcorted by numerous detachments of horſe and foot: Henriot, Ronſin, and Boulanger, generals of the revolutionary army, preceded by the reſt of their ſtaff officers, rode in front.

An immenſe number of people crowded the ſtreets, ſhouting "*Vive la Republique! A bas la tyrannie!*" She ſeldom caſt her eyes upon the populace, and beheld with indifference the great armed force of thirty thouſand men, which lined the ſtreets in double ranks. The ſufferings which ſhe had ſuſtained during her captivity had much altered her appearance, the hair on her forehead appearing as white as ſnow.

The queen addreſſed herſelf during the whole time of the cavalcade to the prieſt. Her ſpirits appeared neither elevated nor depreſſed, and quite inſenſible to the ſhouts of the populace. When ſhe paſſed through the ſtreet called Saint Honoré, ſhe ſometimes looked attentively at the inſcriptions of the words *Liberty* and *Equality* affixed to the outſides of the houſes. Her behaviour was decent and compoſed, and, like her unfortunate huſband, ſhe found in the truths of religion a ſource of conſolation of which the perſecution of her enemies was unable to deprive her; a conſolation which can effectually aſſuage all the evils of adverſity, and can even alleviate the pangs of remorſe. She aſcended the ſcaffold with ſeeming haſte and impatience; and then turned her eyes with great emotion towards the garden of the Thuilleries, the abode of her former greatneſs. At a quarter paſt twelve o'clock, the guillotine ſevered her head from her body. She died in the thirty-eighth year of her age. The executioner exhibited the bleeding head to the ſurrounding multitude from the four corners of the ſcaffold: this was followed by a repetition of the ſhout of "*Vive la Republique!*"

The corpſe was immediately after buried in a grave filled with quick-lime, in the church-yard called De la Madelaine, where Louis the Sixteenth was buried in the ſame manner.

Amidſt theſe ſerious and dreadful events, it is ſomething curious to obſerve the National Convention amuſing themſelves with the formation of a new calendar. The year is, according to this, divided into twelve months of thirty days each, with five intercalary days, which are dedicated to national feſtivity, and called, on that account, *Sans-Culottides*. Each month is divided into decades, and the day of reſt is appointed for every tenth day inſtead of the ſeventh [79].

[79] See Appendix.

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About this period the phrenzy of impiety, which has ever been the curſe of the French people, was carried to its higheſt degree of abſurdity. On the ſeventh of November a moſt indecent ſcene was acted in the Convention: Gobet, the republican biſhop of Paris, with his rand vicars, and other unworthy members of the eccleſiaſtical body, entered the hall with the conſtituted authorities, and ſolemnly reſigned their functions, and the Chriſtian religion. Several eccleſiaſtics, both Catholic and Proteſtant, who were members of the Convention, reſigned at the ſame time; and the celebrated Gregoire was the only man who had the courage to profeſs himſelf a Chriſtian, though the emoluments of his biſhopric, he ſaid, were ready to be devoted to the ſervice of the Republic. By the tumultuous applauſes of the Convention, a number of allegorical divinities, Liberty, Equality, &c. were conſecrated as objects of worſhip. This execrable attempt to revive the abſurdities of paganiſm, did not however ſucceed with the populace. The reſentment of the whole people of Paris was ſtrongly excited by an intolerant decree of the commune, ordering the churches to be ſhut up; and, on the firſt of December, they were obliged to reverſe this order; while Barrere, by a report from the committee of public ſafety, once more proclaimed the freedom of religious worſhip. The party of Hebert and Fabre d'Eglantine, who were at the head of this execrable conſpiracy againſt religion, are generally ſuppoſed to have precipitated their own diſgrace by this proceeding; and the ſhort-lived popularity which Robeſpierre obtained, is principally to be attributed to his taking part with the people in defence of religion.

For the folly and impiety of the ſeventh of November, the Convention made ſome amends on the fifteenth, by aboliſhing for ever that moſt diſgraceful, moſt immoral, and pernicious inſtitution, a lottery.

The campaign of this year terminated favourably for the French, though the diſcomfiture excited by the defeat of the allies was in ſome meaſure compenſated to the Engliſh, by the intelligence that, in the beginning of October, the royaliſts of fort Jeremie, in Saint Domingo, had invited them to take poſſeſſion of that part of the iſland, and that Cape Nicola Mole ſubmitted in a few days after to the Britiſh arms. In the Eaſt Indies alſo Pondicherry, and the other French ſettlements on the coaſt of Coromandel, were taken by the Engliſh. But it was in Europe that the valour of the French nation diſplayed itſelf to the moſt advantage. The decree for riſing in one body acted like an incantation, and ſeemed to produce an army as if by a miracle. It was however ſome time before their numerous forces could be brought into action; and in ſome caſes the treachery of the commanders was ſuppoſed to favour the combined powers. Early in the month of September Landau had been inveſted by the allied armies; but while the French maintained the ſtrong lines at Weiſſembourg, and on the Lauter, there



M: BRISSOT,

from an Original Drawing by

Anthony Pasquin Esq.r

Engravd for C. Lowndes and J. Parsons N.o 21 Paternoster Row Aug.t 2.d 1794

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79 See Appendix.

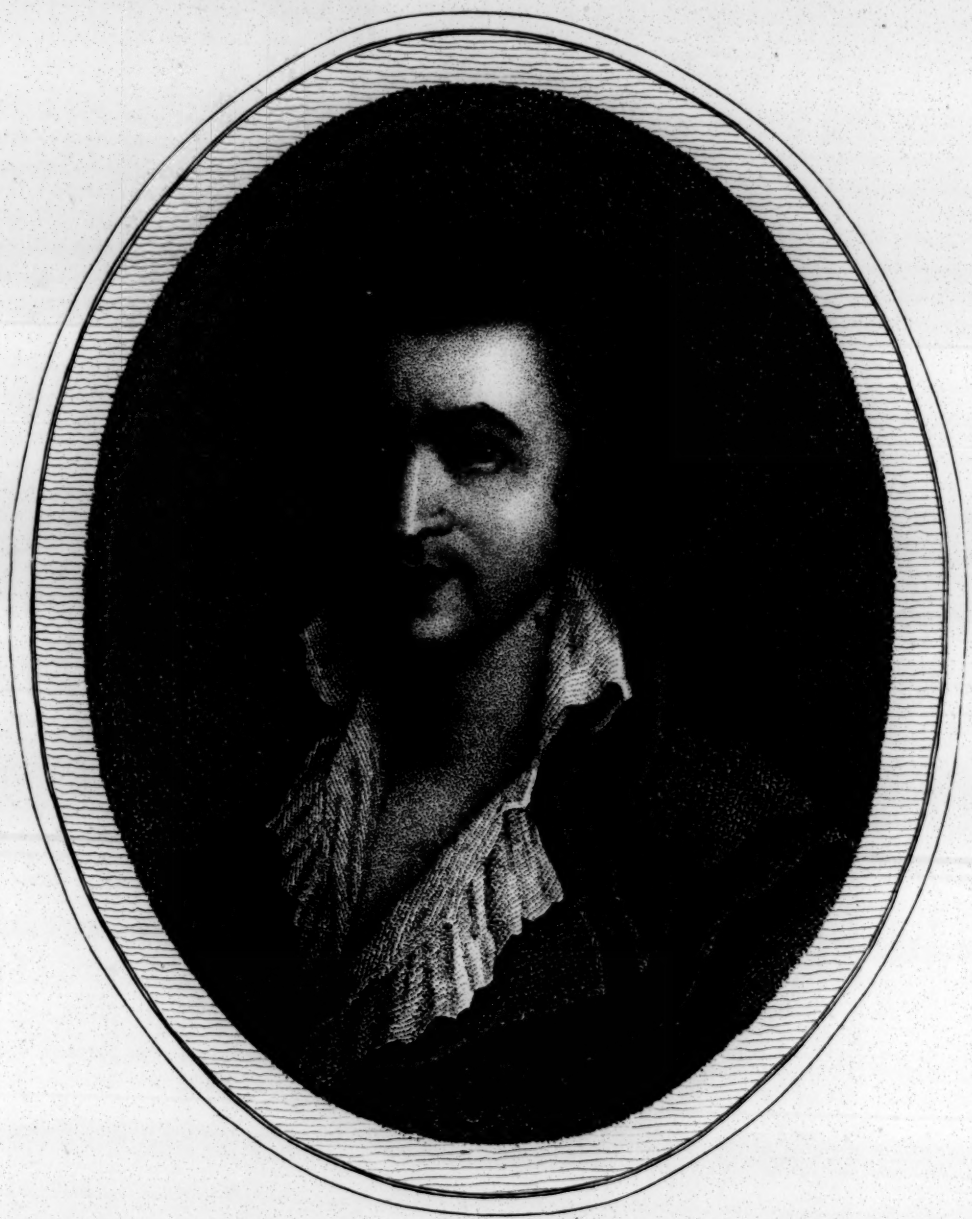
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[illegible]



Jones Sculpt.

M: Fabre D'Eglantine.

Engravd for C. Lowndes and J. Parsons N.o 21 Paternoster Row September 27.th 1794.

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was but little proſpect of ſucceſs. On the thirteenth of October, therefore, the Auſtrian general, Wurmſer, made a grand attack upon the lines of Lauter; and, if we may truſt the French account, their generals permitted the Auſtrians, almoſt without reſiſtance, to force the lines. The whole of the lines, with the town of Lauterburgh, were carried, which Wurmſer himſelf confeſſes might have held out a ſiege of ſeveral days. The French loſt alſo the whole of their artillery.

The town of Weiſſembourg made a more formidable reſiſtance, and it was not carried without the loſs of between ſeven and eight hundred men. The French retreated towards Hagenau, from which they were diſlodged on the eighteenth. The Auſtrian general loſt no time in proceeding towards Straſburg, and on the twenty-fifth again routed the republicans, and was enabled to take poſſeſſion of Wanzenau. On the twenty-ſeventh he was attacked by the French; but they were compelled to retreat with the ſuppoſed loſs of three thouſand men.

In the beginning of November the deputies Saint Juſt and Le Bas were ſent to Straſburgh, to re-organize the diſcomfited troops. They ordered immenſe reinforcements from the neighbouring departments; and to afford a ſalutary example of ſeverity, general Irembert, who was convicted of treachery in the affair of the lines of Weiſſembourg, was ſhot at the head of the army on the ninth. A conſpiracy was alſo detected at Straſburgh, for delivering up that place to the enemy, and the traitors were puniſhed. Theſe ſpirited proceedings were not ſufficient however to ſave Fort Louis (or For Vauban), which fell into the hands of general Wurmſer on the fourteenth of November, not without ſtrong ſuſpicions of treaſon on the part of the commandant. Here however the ſucceſſes of Wurmſer terminated; for on the twenty-firſt of November the Auſtrians were compelled to retreat, and the republican army penetrated to Vautruan, and almoſt to the gates of Hagenau. In the mean time the army of the Moſelle advanced to co-operate with the grand army of the Rhine; and on the ſeventeenth of November the Pruſſians were defeated near Saarbruck with ſome loſs. On the ſucceeding day the Pruſſian camp at Bliescaſtel was ſtormed and taken by the republicans; when they immediately, under the command of general Hoche—who it is ſaid had formerly officiated in the humble capacity of a poſtilion—advanced to Deux Ponts. The poſt of Hornback, and the heights of Milleback, were carried with great bravery by the French, and the Pruſſians were immediately compelled to abandon Deux Ponts.

On the twenty-ninth and thirtieth of November the French were repulſed with conſiderable loſs in two ſpirited attacks made on the duke of Brunſwick's poſts near Lautern; but theſe were more than compenſated by the ſucceſs of the republicans under general Pichegru, on the eighth of December, who carried with fixed bayonets all the redoubts of the allies which covered Hagenau; and on the twenty-ſecond they were driven, with immenſe ſlaughter, from Biſchollers, Duſcheim, and Hagenau, notwithſtanding

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ed from noon till ten o'clock the ſame evening; when the allies, and part of the inhabitants, having ſet fire to the town and ſhipping, precipitated their flight: two chaloupes filled with the fugitives were ſunk by the batteries. The precipitation with which the evacuation was effected, cauſed a great part of the ſhips and property to fall into the hands of the French, and was attended with the moſt melancholy conſequence to the wretched inhabitants. As ſoon as they obſerved the preparation for flight, they crowded to the ſhore, and demanded the protection which had been promiſed them on the faith of the Britiſh crown. A ſcene of confuſion, riot, and plunder enſued; and though great efforts were made to tranſport thouſands of the people to the ſhips, many were left to the vengeance of their enraged countrymen. Numbers plunged into the ſea, and made a vain effort to ſwim on board the ſhips; others were ſeen to ſhoot themſelves on the beach to avoid the ſuperior evil of falling into the hands of the republicans. During all this, the flames were ſpreading in every direction, and the ſhips that had been ſet on fire were threatening every inſtant to explode, and blow all around them into the air. This is but a faint deſcription of the ſcene on ſhore, and it was ſcarcely leſs dreadful on board the ſhips. Loaded with the moſt heterogeneous mixture of all nations, with aged men and infants, as well as women; with the ſick from all the hoſpitals, and with the mangled ſoldiers from the poſts juſt deſerted, their wounds ſtill undreſt; nothing could equal the horrors of the ſight, except the ſtill more appalling cries of diſtraction and agony that filled the ear, for huſbands, fathers, and children, left on ſhore. To increaſe the diſtreſs, they were without ſufficient proviſions for this mixed and helpleſs multitude of human beings; and ſuch as they had were almoſt unfit for uſe.

Of thirty-one ſhips of the line which the Engliſh found at Toulon, thirteen were left behind, nine burnt at Toulon, and one at Leghorn; and four lord Hood had previouſly ſent away to the French ports, Breſt and Rochfort, with five thouſand republican ſeamen, whom his lordſhip did not think it prudent to detain. Great Britain therefore obtained only three ſhips of the line, and five frigates, which were all that lord Hood was able to carry away.

The war on the ſide of Spain was productive of nothing but petty ſkirmiſhes, not worth detailing; and, on the ſide of Savoy, the king of Sardinia appears to have made but a ſlow progreſs in recovering his poſſeſſions. On the twenty-ſeventh of September the Piedmonteſe were repulſed in attempting to penetrate between Mourienne and Briançonnais. The republicans ſaw them fall from the top of the mountains, and carried their redoubts with the bayonet. The city of Cluz was then in the hands of the French, and they were proceeding to Salons. In the mean time an Engliſh veſſel arrived at Nice with a flag of truce, and a proclamation to the inhabitants, exhorting them to accept the royal conſtitution of 1789; but the magiſtrates of Nice replied, that French republicans would never become ſlaves, and that no anſwer would be made to royaliſts except from the mouths of the cannon.

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ed from noon till ten o'clock the ſame evening; when the allies, and part of the inhabitants, having ſet fire to the town and ſhipping, precipitated their flight: two chaloupes filled with the fugitives were ſunk by the batteries. The precipitation with which the evacuation was effected, cauſed a great part of the ſhips and property to fall into the hands of the French, and was attended with the moſt melancholy conſequence to the wretched inhabitants. As ſoon as they obſerved the preparation for flight, they crowded to the ſhore, and demanded the protection which had been promiſed them on the faith of the Britiſh crown. A ſcene of confuſion, riot, and plunder enſued; and though great efforts were made to tranſport thouſands of the people to the ſhips, many were left to the vengeance of their enraged countrymen. Numbers plunged into the ſea, and made a vain effort to ſwim on board the ſhips; others were ſeen to ſhoot themſelves on the beach to avoid the ſuperior evil of falling into the hands of the republicans. During all this, the flames were ſpreading in every direction, and the ſhips that had been ſet on fire were threatening every inſtant to explode, and blow all around them into the air. This is but a faint deſcription of the ſcene on ſhore, and it was ſcarcely leſs dreadful on board the ſhips. Loaded with the moſt heterogeneous mixture of all nations, with aged men and infants, as well as women; with the ſick from all the hoſpitals, and with the mangled ſoldiers from the poſts juſt deſerted, their wounds ſtill undreſt; nothing could equal the horrors of the ſight, except the ſtill more appalling cries of diſtraction and agony that filled the ear, for huſbands, fathers, and children, left on ſhore. To increaſe the diſtreſs, they were without ſufficient proviſions for this mixed and helpleſs multitude of human beings; and ſuch as they had were almoſt unfit for uſe.

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The war on the ſide of Spain was productive of nothing but petty ſkirmiſhes, not worth detailing; and, on the ſide of Savoy, the king of Sardinia appears to have made but a ſlow progreſs in recovering his poſſeſſions. On the twenty-ſeventh of September the Piedmonteſe were repulſed in attempting to penetrate between Mourienne and Briançonnais. The republicans ſaw them fall from the top of the mountains, and carried their redoubts with the bayonet. The city of Cluz was then in the hands of the French, and they were proceeding to Salons. In the mean time an Engliſh veſſel arrived at Nice with a flag of truce, and a proclamation to the inhabitants, exhorting them to accept the royal conſtitution of 1789; but the magiſtrates of Nice replied, that French republicans would never become ſlaves, and that no anſwer would be made to royaliſts except from the mouths of the cannon.

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An expedition had been planned by the Britiſh government for the purpoſe of co-operating with the royaliſt army on the coaſt of Brittany, and the earl of Moira was appointed to the command; but by ſome unforeſeen cauſes the expedition was delayed till the royaliſts were completely ſubdued; and when the fleet and tranſports appeared off the coaſt, they found the French ſo far prepared for their reception, that it would have been raſhneſs in the extreme to have attempted a landing.

As this was the laſt tranſaction of any material conſequence in the year 1793; and as we have already exceeded the bounds of our intended plan; we ſhall here cloſe our hiſtory for the preſent; neither ſhall we trouble the reader with any comment, but leave a plain narration to have its own effect on his mind—only, premiſing, that we have never wilfully deviated from that part of our plan which had IMPARTIALITY for its aim. At the ſame time we think it neceſſary to inform him that from the great patronage beſtowed on the preſent work, it is by no means improbable but that at ſome future, but not very diſtant, period, we may take the liberty of laying before the world an additional volume.

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19 JA 65

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APPENDIX.

No. I.

AN AUTHENTIC COPY OF THE FRENCH CONSTUTION, REVISED AND AMENDED BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY:

AND PRESENTED TO THE KING ON THE THIRD OF SEPTEMBER, 1791.

Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens.

THE repreſentatives of the French people, formed into a National Aſſembly, conſidering that ignorance, forgetfulneſs, or contempt of the Rights of Men, are the ſole cauſes of public grievances, and of the corruption of government, have reſolved to exhibit, in a ſolemn declaration, the natural, unalienable, and ſacred Rights of Man, in order that this declaration, ever preſent to all the Members of the SOCIAL BODY, may inceſſantly remind them of their rights, and of their duties; to the end that the acts of the legiſlative power, and thoſe of the executive power, being able to be every moment compared with the end of all political inſtitutions, may acquire the more reſpect; in order alſo that the remonſtrances of the citizens, founded henceforward on ſimple and inconteſtible principles, may ever tend to maintain the Conſtitution, and to promote the general good. For this reaſon, the National Aſſembly recognizes, and declares in the preſence, and under the auſpices, of the Supreme Being, the following Rights of Men and of citizens:

ART. I. All men are born, and remain, free and equal in rights: ſocial diſtinctions cannot be founded but on common utility.

II. The end of all political aſſociations is the preſervation of the natural and impreſcriptible rights of man; theſe rights are liberty, property, ſecurity, and reſiſtance againſt oppreſſion.

III. The principle of *ſovereignty* reſides eſſentially in the nation: *no body of men*, no *individual*, can exerciſe an authority that does not emanate expreſsly from that ſource.

IV. *Liberty* conſiſts in the power of doing every thing except that which is hurtful to another: hence, the exerciſe of the natural rights of every man, has no other bounds than thoſe that are neceſſary to enſure to the other members of ſociety the enjoyment of the ſame rights: thoſe bounds to be determined by the law only.

V. The law has a right to forbid thoſe actions alone, that are hurtful to ſociety. Whatever is not forbidden by the law cannot be hindered; and no perſon can be conſtrained to do that which the law ordaineth not.

VI. The law is the expreſſion of the general will: all the citizens have a right to concur perſonally, or by their repreſentatives, to the formation of the law: it ought to be the ſame for all, whether it protect or whether it puniſh. All citizens being equal in the eye of the law, are equally admiſſible to public honours, places and offices, according to their capacity, and without any other diſtinction but that of their virtue, or their talents.

VII. No man can be accuſed, arreſted, or detained, except in caſes determined by the law, and according to the forms which the law hath preſcribed. Thoſe who ſolicit, diſpatch, execute, or cauſe to be executed, arbitrary orders, ought to be puniſhed; but every citizen that is ſummoned, or ſeized, in virtue of the law, ought to obey inſtantly; he becomes culpable by reſiſtance.

VIII. The law ought to eſtabliſh ſuch puniſhments only as are ſtrictly and evidently neceſſary; and no perſon can be puniſhed, but in virtue of a law eſtabliſhed and promulgated prior to the offence, and legally applied.

IX. Every man being preſumed innocent till he has been declared guilty, if it ſhall be deemed abſolutely neceſſary to arreſt a man, every kind of rigour employed, not neceſſary to ſecure his perſon, ought to be ſeverely puniſhed by the law.

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X. No perſon ſhall be moleſted for his opinions, even ſuch as are religious, provided that the manifeſtation

feſtation of thoſe opinions does not diſturb the public order eſtabliſhed by the law.

XI. The free communication of thought, and of opinion, is one of the moſt precious rights of man. Every citizen, therefore, may freely ſpeak, write, and publiſh his ſentiments; ſubject, however, to anſwer for the abuſe of that liberty, in caſes determined by the law.

XII. The guarantee of the rights of men and citizens involves a neceſſity of *public force*. This force is then inſtituted for the advantage of all, and not for the particular utility of thoſe to whom it is confided.

XIII. For the maintenance of the public force, and for the expences of adminiſtration, a common contribution is indiſpenſably neceſſary: this contribution ſhould be equally divided amongſt all the citizens, in proportion to their abilities.

XIV. Every citizen has a right, by himſelf, or by his repreſentatives, to decide concerning the neceſſity of the public contribution; to conſent to it freely; to look after the employment of it; to determine the quantity, the diſtribution, the collection, and duration.

XV. Society has a right to demand from every public agent, an account of his adminiſtration.

XVI. That ſociety in which the guarantee of rights is not aſſured, nor the ſeparation of powers determined, has *no conſtitution*.

XVII. Property being a right inviolable and ſacred, no perſon can be deprived of it, except when the public neceſſity, legally aſcertained, ſhall evidently require it, and on condition of a juſt and previous indemnification.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, deſirous of eſtabliſhing the French Conſtitution on the principles which it has juſt now recogniſed and declared, aboliſhes, irrevocably, thoſe inſtitutions which are injurious to liberty and equality of rights.——There is no longer any *nobility*, nor *peerage*, nor *hereditary diſtinctions*, nor *difference of orders*, nor *feudal government*, nor *patrimonial juriſdiction*, nor any of the *titles*, *denominations* and *prerogatives* which are derived from them; nor any of the orders of *chivalry*, *corporations*, or *decorations*, for which proofs of nobility were required; nor any kind of ſuperiority, but that of public functionaries in the exerciſe of their functions.——No public office is henceforth *hereditary* or *purchaſeable*.——No part of the nation, nor any individual, can henceforth poſſeſs any *privilege* or *exception* from the common rights of all Frenchmen.——There are no more *wardenſhips* or *corporations* in profeſſions, arts, or trades.——The law recogniſes no longer any *religious vows*, nor any other engagement which would be contrary to natural rights, or to the Conſtitution.

TITLE I. *Fundamental regulations guaranteed by the Conſtitution.*

THE Conſtitution guarantees, as natural and civil rights,

1. That all the citizens are admiſſible to places and employments, without any other diſtinction than that of *virtue* and *talents*.—2. That all taxes ſhall be equally divided amongſt all the citizens, in proportion to their abilities.—3. That the ſame crimes ſhall be ſubject to the ſame puniſhments, without any diſtinction of perſons.——The Conſtitution in like manner guarantees, as natural and civil rights, liberty to every man to go, ſtay, or depart, without being arreſted, or detained, except according to the forms determined by the Conſtitution.——Liberty to every man to ſpeak, write, print and publiſh his thoughts, without the writings being ſubjected to cenſure or inſpection before their publication, and to exerciſe the religious worſhip to which he is attached.——Liberty to the citizens to aſſemble peaceably, and without arms, in complying with the laws of police.——Liberty to addreſs to the conſtituted authorities petitions ſigned by individuals.——The Legiſlative Power can make no law which would attack or impede the exerciſe of the natural and civil rights expreſſed in the preſent title, and guaranteed by the Conſtitution; but as liberty conſiſts only in the power of doing whatever neither injures the rights of another, nor the public ſafety, the law may eſtabliſh penalties againſt acts, which, attacking either the rights of others, or the public ſafety, would be injurious to ſociety.

The Conſtitution guarantees the inviolability of property, or a juſt and previous indemnity for that of which public neceſſity, legally proved, ſhall require the ſacrifice.——Property, deſtined to the expence of worſhip, and to all ſervices of public utility, belongs to the nation, and ſhall at all times be at its diſpoſal.——The Conſtitution guarantees all the alienations which have been, or which ſhall be made according to the forms eſtabliſhed by the law.——The citizens have a right to elect or chooſe the miniſters of their religions.——There ſhall be created and organiſed, a general eſtabliſhment of *public aid* for the education of deſerted children, to relieve the infirm poor, and to procure work for the healthy poor who have not been able to find it for themſelves.——There ſhall be created and organiſed, *public inſtruction*, common to all citizens, gratuitous with regard to thoſe parts of tuition indiſpenſable for all men, and of which the eſtabliſhments ſhall be gradually diſtributed, in a proportion combined with the diviſion of the kingdom.——There ſhall be eſtabliſhed, *national feſtivals*, to preſerve the remembrance of the French Revolution, to keep up fraternal affection amongſt the citizens, and attachment to the conſtitution, of the country, and the laws.——There ſhall be drawn up, a code of civil laws common to all the kingdom.

TITLE II. *Of the diviſion of the Kingdom, and the ſtate of the Citizens.*

I. THE KINGDOM is *one* and *indiviſible*; its territory is divided into eighty-three departments; every

every department into diſtricts; each diſtrict into cantons.

II. Thoſe are *French Citizens*, Who are born in France, of a French father; Who having been born in France of a foreign father, have fixed their reſidence in the kingdom; Who, having been born in a foreign country, of a French father, have returned to ſettle in France, and have taken the civic oath.——In fine, who having been born in a foreign country, being deſcended, in whatever degree, from a French man or French woman who had left their country from religious motives, come to reſide in France, and take the civic oath.

III. Thoſe who, having been born out of the kingdom, of foreign parents, but reſide in France, become French Citizens, after five years of continued reſidence in the kingdom; if, beſides, they have acquired immoveable property, or married a French woman, or formed an eſtabliſhment of agriculture or commerce, and if they have taken the civic oath.

IV. The legiſlative power may, from important conſiderations, naturalize a foreigner, upon no other condition than that of reſiding in France, and taking the civic oath.

V. The civic oath is, *I ſwear to be faithful to the Nation, the Law, and the King; and to maintain, with all my power, the conſtitution of the kingdom decreed by the National Conſtituent Aſſembly in the years* 1789, 1790, *and* 1791.

VI. The quality of a French Citizen is loſt: 1ſt, By naturalization in a foreign country; 2d, By being condemned to penalties which involve the civic degradation, provided the perſon condemned be not re-inſtated; 3d, By a ſentence of contumacy, provided the ſentence be not annulled; 4th, By an aſſociation with any foreign order of chivalry, or any foreign body, which ſhall ſuppoſe either proofs of nobility, or diſtinction of birth, or require religious vows.

VII. The law regards *marriage* ſolely as a *civil contract*. The legiſlative power ſhall eſtabliſh for all the inhabitants, without diſtinction, the mode by which births, marriages, and deaths, ſhall be aſcertained, and ſhall appoint the public officers, who ſhall receive and preſerve the certificates of them.

VIII. French Citizens, conſidered with reſpect to thoſe local relations which ariſe out of their aſſociation in cities, and in certain diviſions of territory in the country, form the *communities*. The legiſlative power may fix the extent and boundary of each community.

IX. The citizens who compoſe each community, have a right of chooſing, for a time, according to the forms preſcribed by the law, thoſe among them, who, under the name of *muncipal officers*, are charged with the management of the particular affairs of the community. To the municipal officers may be delegated certain functions relative to the general intereſt of the ſtate.

X. The rules which the municipal officers ſhall be bound to follow, in the exerciſe both of the municipal functions and of thoſe which ſhall be delegated to them for the general intereſt, ſhall be fixed by the laws.

TITLE III. *Of the Public Powers.*

I. THE *ſovereignty* is one, indiviſible, inalienable, and impreſcriptible; it belongs to the nation: no ſection of the people, nor any individual, can aſſume to itſelf the exerciſe of it.

II. The Nation, from which alone flow all the powers, cannot exerciſe them but by delegation. The French Conſtitution is *repreſentative*; the repreſentatives are the legiſlative body, and the king.

III. The legiſlative power is delegated to a National Aſſembly, compoſed of temporary repreſentatives freely choſen by the people, to be exerciſed by this Aſſembly, with the ſanction of the King, in manner afterwards determined.

IV. The government is monarchical; the executive power is delegated to the king, to be exerciſed under his authority, by miniſters and other reſponſible agents, in manner afterwards determined.

V. The judical power is delegated to judges choſen for a time by the people.

CHAP. I.

OF THE NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

I. The National Aſſembly, forming the legiſlative body, is permanent, and conſiſts of one chamber only.

II. It ſhall be formed by new elections every two years. Each period of two years ſhall form one legiſlature.

III. The diſpoſitions of the preceding articles ſhall not take place with reſpect to the enſuing legiſlative body, whoſe powers ſhall ceaſe the laſt day of April, 1793.

IV. The renewal of the legiſlative body ſhall be matter of full right.

V. The legiſlative body cannot be diſſolved by the king.

§ 1.—*Number of Repreſentatives---Baſis of Repreſentation.*

I. The number of repreſentatives to the legiſlative body is ſeven hundred and forty-five, on account of the eighty-three departments of which the kingdom is compoſed, and independent of thoſe that may be granted to the colonies.

II. The repreſentatives ſhall be diſtributed among the eighty-three departments, according to the three proportions of *territory*, of *population*, and of *direct contribution*.

III. Of the ſeven hundred and forty five repreſentatives, two hundred and forty-ſeven are attached to the territory. Of theſe each department ſhall

nominate three, except the department of Paris, which ſhall only nominate one.

IV. Two hundred and forty-nine repreſentatives are attributed to the population. The total maſs of the active population of the kingdom is divided into two hundred and forty nine parts, and each department nominates as many deputies as it contains parts of the population.

V. Two hundred and forty-nine repreſentatives are attached to the direct contribution. The ſum total of the direct contribution of the kingdom is likewiſe divided into two hundred and forty-nine parts; and each department nominates as many deputies as it pays parts of the contribution.

§ 2.—*Primary Aſſemblies—Nomination of Electors.*

I. In order to form a National Legiſlative Aſſembly, the active citizens ſhall meet every two years, in primary aſſemblies, in the towns and cantons. The primary aſſemblies ſhall form themſelves, of full right, the ſecond Sunday of March, if they have not been convoked ſooner by the public officers eſtabliſhed by law.

II. To be an active citizen, it is neceſſary, To be born, or to have become a Frenchman; to be twenty-five years of age complete; to have reſided in the city or canton during the time determined by the law; to pay, in any part of the kingdom, a direct contribution, at leaſt equal to the value of three days labour, and to produce the acquittance; not to be in a menial capacity, namely, that of a ſervant receiving wages; to be inſcribed in the municipality of the place of his reſidence, in the liſt of the national guards; to have taken the civic oath.

III. Every ſix years the legiſlative body ſhall fix the *minimum* and the *maximum* of the value of a day's labour, and the adminiſtrators of the departments ſhall determine the rate for every diſtrict.

IV. None ſhall exerciſe the rights of an active citizen in more than one place, nor employ another as his ſubſtitute.

V. Thoſe ſhall be excluded from the rights of an active citizen, who are in a ſtate of accuſation;—Who, after having been conſtituted in a ſtate of failure, or inſolvability, proved by authentic documents, ſhall not produce a general diſcharge from their creditors.

VI. The primary aſſemblies ſhall name electors in proportion to the number of active citizens reſiding in the town or canton. There ſhall be named one elector for a hundred active citizens preſent, or not, in the Aſſembly. There ſhall be named two for one hundred and fifty-one to two hundred and fifty; and ſo on in this proportion.

VII. No man can be named elector, if to the conditions neceſſary in order to be an active citizen, he does not join the following:—In towns of more than ſix thouſand inhabitants, that of being proprietor, or life-renter, of a property valued on the rolls of contribution, at a revenue equal to the local value of two hundred days labour; or of renting a houſe, valued on the ſame rolls, at a revenue equal to the value of one hundred and fifty days labour. In towns below ſix thouſand inhabitants, that of being proprietor, or life-renter, of a property, valued, on the rolls of contribution, at a revenue equal to the local value of one hundred and fifty days labour; or of renting a houſe, valued on the ſame rolls, at a revenue equal to the value of one hundred days labour: and, in the country, that of being proprietor, or life-renter, of a property, valued, on the rolls of contribution, at a revenue equal to the local value of one hundred and fifty days labour; or of being a farmer of lands, valued on the ſame rolls, at the value of four hundred days labour. With reſpect to thoſe who ſhall be at the ſame time proprietors, or life-renters, on one hand, and tackſmen or farmers on the other, their powers on theſe different accounts ſhall be added together, to eſtabliſh their eligibility.

§ 3.—*Electoral Aſſemblies—Nomination of Repreſentatives.*

I. The electors named in each department ſhall convene in order to chooſe that number of repreſentatives, whoſe nomination ſhall belong to their department, and a number of ſubſtitutes equal to the third of the repreſentatives. The electoral aſſemblies ſhall form themſelves, of full right, the laſt Sunday of March, if they have not been convoked ſooner by the public officers appointed by law.

II. The repreſentatives and ſubſtitutes ſhall be choſen by an abſolute majority of votes, and cannot be choſen but from amongſt the active citizens in the department.

III. All the active citizens, whatever be their condition, profeſſion, or contribution, may be choſen repreſentatives of the nation.

IV. Thoſe, however, ſhall be obliged to decide between one or other ſituation——Miniſters, and other agents of the executive power, removeable at pleaſure; commiſſioners of the national treaſury; collectors and receivers of direct contributions; ſuperintendants of the collection or management of indirect contributions and national domains, and thoſe who, under any denomination whatever, are attached to the employs of the military or civil houſehold of the king. The adminiſtrators, ſub-adminiſtrators, municipal officers, and commandants of the national guards, ſhall alſo be obliged to make a choice.

V. The exerciſe of judiciary functions ſhall be incompatible with thoſe of a repreſentative of the nation, during all the continuance of the legiſlature. The judges ſhall be replaced by their ſubſtitutes, and the king ſhall provide, by briefs of commiſſion, for the replacing of his commiſſaries at the tribunals.

VI. The members of the legiſlative body may be re-elected to the next legiſlature; but not afterwards, till after an interval of one legiſlature.

VII. The repreſentatives named in the departments ſhall not be repreſentatives of a particular department,

department, but of the whole nation, and no mandate can be given them.

§ 4.—*Seſſion and Regulation of the Primary and Electoral Aſſemblies.*

I. The functions of the primary and electoral aſſemblies are limited to the right of electing; and as ſoon as the elections are over, they ſhall ſeparate, and ſhall not form themſelves anew, but when they ſhall be convoked; if it be not in the caſe of Sect. ii. Art. 1. and of Sect. iii. Art. 1. above.

II. No active citizen can enter or vote in an aſſembly, if he is armed.

III. Armed force cannot be introduced in the meeting, except at the expreſs deſire of the Aſſembly, unleſs in the caſe of actual violence, when the order of the preſident ſhall be ſufficient to call in the aid of public force.

IV. Every two years, there ſhall be drawn up in each diſtrict, liſts by cantons of the active citizens; and the liſt of each canton ſhall be publiſhed and poſted up two months before the meeting of the primary aſſembly. The proteſts which ſhall be made either againſt the right of citizens named in the liſt, or on the part of thoſe who ſhall affirm that they are unjuſtly omitted, ſhall be carried to the tribunals, to be there ſummarily decided upon.—The liſt ſhall ſerve to regulate the admiſſion of citizens in the next primary aſſembly, in every point that ſhall not have been aſcertained by a ſentence pronounced before the fitting of the aſſembly.

V. The electoral aſſemblies have the right of verifying the qualifications and powers of thoſe who ſhall preſent themſelves there; and their deciſions ſhall be proviſionally executed, with a reſerve for the ſentence of the legiſlative body, at the time of the verification of the powers of deputies.

VI. In no caſe, and under no pretext, ſhall the king, or any agents named by him, interfere in queſtions relative to the regularity of the convocations, the fitting of aſſemblies, the form of elections, or the political rights of citizens—without prejudice, however, to the functions of the commiſſaries of the king, in the caſes determined by law, where queſtions relative to the political rights of citizens ought to be carried to the tribunals.

§ 5.—*Meeting of the Repreſentatives in the National Legiſlative Aſſembly.*

I. The repreſentatives ſhall aſſemble on the firſt Monday of May, in the place of the meeting of the laſt legiſlature.

II. They ſhall form themſelves, proviſionally, into an aſſembly, under the preſidence of the eldeſt, to verify the powers of the repreſentatives preſent.

III. As ſoon as theſe ſhall be verified, to the number of three hundred and ſeventy-three members, they ſhall conſtitute themſelves under the title of the *National Legiſlative Aſſembly*; they ſhall name a preſident, vice-preſident, and ſecretaries, and enter upon the exerciſe of their functions.

IV. During the whole of the month of May, if the number of repreſentatives preſent fall ſhort of three hundred and ſeventy-three, the aſſembly ſhall not perform any legiſlative act. They may iſſue an arret, enjoining the abſent members to attend to their functions within fifteen days at fartheſt, under a penalty of three thouſand livres, if they do not produce an excuſe which ſhall be deemed lawful by the legiſlative body.

V. On the laſt day of May, whatever be the number of members preſent, they ſhall conſtitute themſelves a National Legiſlative Aſſembly.

VI. The repreſentatives ſhall pronounce in a body, in the name of the French people the oath "*to live free, or die.*"—They ſhall then individually take the oath, *to maintain, with all their power, the conſtitution, of the kingdom, decreed by the National Conſtituent Aſſembly during the years of* 1789, 1790, 1791; *to propoſe or aſſent to nothing in the courſe of the legiſlature, which may at all tend to infringe it; and to be, in every reſpect, faithful to the Nation, the Law, and the King.*

VII. The repreſentatives of the nation are inviolable; they cannot be examined, accuſed, or judged at any time with reſpect to what they have ſaid, written, or done, in the exerciſe of their functions of repreſentatives.

VIII. They may for a crime be ſeized in the act, or in virtue of an order of arreſt; but notice ſhall be given of it, without delay, to the legiſlative body; and the proſecution ſhall not be continued, till after the legiſlative body ſhall have decided that there is ground for accuſation.

CHAP. II.

OF THE ROYALTY, THE REGENCY, AND THE MINISTERS.

§ 1.—*Of the Royalty and the King.*

I. THE royalty is indiviſible, and delegated hereditarily to the race on the throne, from male to male, by order of primogeniture, to the perpetual excluſion of women and their deſcendants. Nothing is prejudged reſpecting the effect of renunciations in the race on the throne.

II. The perſon of the king is ſacred and inviolable: his only title is *king of the French.*

III. There is no authority in France ſuperior to the law. The king reigns only by it, and it is only in the name of it that he can require obedience.

IV. The king, on his acceſſion to the throne, or at the period of his majority, ſhall take to the nation, in the preſence of the legiſlative body, the oath, "*To be faithful to the Nation, and to the Law; to employ all the power delegated to him, to maintain the conſtitution decreed by the National Conſtituent Aſſembly, in the years* 1789, 1790, *and* 1791; *and to cauſe the laws to be executed.*" If the legiſlative body ſhall not be aſſembled, the king ſhall cauſe a proclamation to be iſſued, in which ſhall be expreſſed this oath, and a promiſe to repeat it as ſoon as the legiſlative body ſhall aſſemble.

V. If,

V. If, one month after an invitation by the legiſlative body, the king has not taken this oath, or if, after taking it, he ſhall retract, he ſhall be deemed to have abdicated the royalty.

VI. If the king put himſelf at the head of an army, and direct the forces of it againſt the nation; or if he does not oppoſe, by a formal act, any ſuch enterpriſe undertaken in his name, he ſhall be deemed to have abdicated.

VII. If the king, having gone out of the kingdom, do not return, on the invitation of the legiſlative body, and within the delay fixed by the proclamation, which cannot be leſs than two months, he ſhall be deemed to have abdicated. The delay ſhall commence from the day when the proclamation of the legiſlative body ſhall have been publiſhed in the place of its ſitting; and the miniſters ſhall be obliged, under their reſponſibility, to perform all the acts of the executive power, the exerciſe of which ſhall be ſuſpended in the hands of the abſent king.

VIII. After abdication, expreſs or legal, the king ſhall be in the claſs of citizens, and may be accuſed and tried, like them, for acts poſterior to his abdication.

IX. The particular effects which the king poſſeſſes at his acceſſion to the throne, are irrevocably united to the domain of the nation; he has the diſpoſition of thoſe which he acquires on his own private account; if he has not diſpoſed of them, they are in like manner united at the end of the reign.

X. The nation makes proviſion for the ſplendour of the throne by a civil liſt, of which the legiſlative body ſhall fix the ſum at the commencement of each reign, for the whole duration of that reign.

XI. The king ſhall appoint an adminiſtrator of the civil liſt, who ſhall inſtitute all ſuits for the king, and againſt whom all actions for debts of the king ſhall be carried on, and judgments given and executed. Sentences of condemnation, obtained by the creditors of the civil liſt, ſhall be executed againſt the adminiſtrator perſonally, and his private fortune.

XII. The king ſhall have, independent of the honorary guard which ſhall be furniſhed him by the citizens, national guards of the place of his reſidence, a guard paid from the funds of the civil liſt. It ſhall not exceed one thouſand two hundred foot and ſix hundred horſe. The degrees and rules of advancement ſhall be the ſame in it as amongſt the troops of the line. But thoſe who compoſe the king's guards ſhall paſs through all the degrees excluſively amongſt themſelves, and cannot obtain any in the army of the line. The king cannot chuſe his guards, but amongſt thoſe who are at preſent in active ſervice in the troops of the line, or amongſt the citizens who have ſerved a year in the national guards, provided they are reſidents in the kingdom, and that they have previouſly taken the civic oath. The king's guards cannot be ordered or required for any other public ſervice.

§ 2.—*Of the Regency.*

I. The king is a minor till the age of eighteen complete; and during his minority there ſhall be a regent of the kingdom.

II. The regency belongs to the relation of the king who is the next in degree according to the order of ſucceſſion to the throne, and who has attained the age of twenty-five, provided he be a Frenchmen reſident in the kingdom, and not preſumptive heir to any other crown, and have taken the civic oath. Women are excluded from the regency.

III. If a minor king have no relations who unite the above qualities, the regent of the kingdom ſhall be elected as directed in the following articles.

IV. The legiſlative body ſhall not elect the regent.

V. The electors of each diſtrict ſhall aſſemble in the chief place of their diſtrict, after a proclamation, which ſhall be iſſued in the firſt week of the new reign, by the legiſlative body, if convened; and if ſeparated, the miniſter of juſtice ſhall be bound to make that proclamation in the ſame week.

VI. The electors ſhall name in every diſtrict, by individual ſcrutiny, and abſolute plurality of votes, a citizen eligible, and reſident in the diſtrict, to whom they ſhall give, by the proces-verbal of the election, a ſpecial mandate, limited to the ſole function of electing the citizen whom he ſhall judge in his heart and conſcience the moſt worthy of being regent of the kingdom.

VII. The citizens having theſe mandates, elected in the diſtrict, ſhall be bound to aſſemble in the town where the legiſlative body holds his ſeat, the fortieth day at fartheſt, counting from that of the advancement of the minor king to the throne; and they ſhall form there the electoral aſſembly, who ſhall proceed to the nomination of the regent.

VIII. The election of the regent ſhall be made by individual ſcrutiny and abſolute plurality of votes.

IX. The electoral aſſembly cannot employ itſelf, but relative to this election, and ſhall ſeparate as ſoon as the election is finiſhed.—Every other act which it ſhall attempt, is declared unconſtitutional, and of no effect.

X. The electoral aſſembly ſhall make its preſident preſent the proces-verbal of the election to the legiſlative body, who, after having verified the regularity of the election, ſhall make it public over all the kingdom by a proclamation.

XI. The regent exerciſes, till the king's majority, all the functions of royalty, and is not perſonally reſponſible for the acts of his adminiſtration.

XII. The regent cannot begin the exerciſe of his functions, till after taking to the nation, in the preſence of the legiſlative body, an oath, *To be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king; and to employ all the power delegated to the king, and of which the exerciſe is confided to him during the minority of the king, to maintain*

maintain the conſtitution decreed by the National Conſtituent Aſſembly in the years 1789, 1790, *and* 1791, *and to cauſe the laws to be executed.* If the legiſlative body is not aſſembled, the regent ſhall cauſe a proclamation to be iſſued, in which ſhall be expreſſed this oath, and a promiſe to repeat it as ſoon as the legiſlative body ſhall be met.

XIII. As long as the regent is not entered on the exerciſe of his functions, the ſanction of the laws remain ſuſpended; the miniſters continue to perform, under their reſponſibility, all the acts of the executive power.

XIV. As ſoon as the regent ſhall take the oath, the legiſlative body ſhall fix his allowance, which ſhall not be altered during his regency.

XV. If on account of the minority of the relation called to the regency, it has devolved to a more diſtant relation, or been ſettled by election, the regent who ſhall have entered on the exerciſe of it ſhall continue his functions till the majority of the king.

XVI. The regency of the kingdom confers no right over the perſon of the minor king.

XVII. The care of the minor king ſhall be confided to his mother; and if he has no mother, or if ſhe be married again at the time of her ſon's acceſſion to the throne, or if ſhe marry again during the minority, the care of him ſhall be delegated by the legiſlative body. Neither the regent, nor his deſcendants, nor a woman, can be choſen as guardian of the minor king.

XVIII. In caſe of the king's inſanity, notoriouſly admitted, legally proved, and declared by the legiſlative body, after three ſucceſſive deliberations held monthly, there ſhall be a regency as long as ſuch incapacity continues.

§ 3.—*Of the Royal Family.*

I. The preſumptive heir ſhall bear the name of *Prince Royal*. He cannot go out of the kingdom without a decree of the legiſlative body, and the king's conſent. If he is gone out of it, and if, being arrived at eighteen years of age, he do not return to France, after being required by a proclamation of the legiſlative body, he is held to have abdicated the right of ſucceſſion to the throne.

II. If the preſumptive heir be a minor, the relation of full age, and next in order to the regency, is bound to reſide within the kingdom. In caſe of his going out of it, and not returning on the requiſition of the legiſlative body, he ſhall be held to have abdicated his right to the regency.

III. The mother of the minor king, having the care of him, or the guardian elected, if they go out of the kingdom, forfeit their charge. If the mother of the preſumptive heir, a minor, go out of the kingdom, ſhe cannot, even after her return, have the care of her minor ſon, become king, but by a decree of the legiſlative body.

IV. A law ſhall be made to regulate the education of the minor king, and that of the minor heir preſumptive.

V. The members of the royal family called to the eventual ſucceſſion to the throne enjoy the rights of an active citizen, but are not eligible to any places, employs, or functions, in the nomination of the people. Excepting the places of miniſters, they are capable of offices and employs in the nomination of the king; however, they cannot be commanders in chief of any army or fleet, nor fulfil the functions of ambaſſadors, without the conſent of the legiſlative body, granted on the propoſition of the king.

VI. The members of the royal family, called to the eventual ſucceſſion to the throne, ſhall add the denomination of *French Prince* to the name which ſhall have been given them in the civil act, ſtating their birth; and this name can neither be patronymic, nor formed of any of the qualifications aboliſhed by the preſent conſtitution. The denomination of Prince cannot be given to any other individual, and ſhall convey no privilege, nor any exception, to the common rights of all Frenchmen.

VII. The acts by which ſhall be legally ſtated the births, marriages, and deaths of the French princes, ſhall be preſented to the legiſlative body, who ſhall command the depoſit of them in their archives.

VIII. No real appanage (in land) ſhall be granted to the members of the royal family. The younger ſons of the king ſhall receive, at the age of twenty-five, or on their marriage, an annuity, the amount of which ſhall be fixed by the legiſlative body, and which ſhall terminate with the extinction of their male heirs.

§ 4.—*Of Miniſters.*

I. To the king alone belongs the choice and revocation of miniſters.

II. The members of the preſent National Aſſembly, and ſucceeding legiſlatures, the members of the tribunal of annulment, and thoſe who ſhall ſerve in the high jury, cannot be advanced to the miniſtry, nor receive any offices, gifts, penſions, ſalaries, or commiſſions from the executive power, or its agents, during the continuance of their functions, nor during two years after having finiſhed the exerciſe of them. The ſame ſhall be the caſe with reſpect to thoſe who ſhall be only inſcribed in the liſt of the high jury, during all the time that their inſcription ſhall continue.

III No one can enter upon the exerciſe of any employ, either in the bureaux of miniſters, or in thoſe of the adminiſtrations of public power, without having taken the civic oath, and having verified his having taken it.

IV. No order of the king can be executed, if it be not ſigned by him, and counterſigned by the miniſter or comptroller of the department.

V. The miniſters are reſponſible for all the offences committed by them againſt the national ſafety and the conſtitution; for every attack on individual property and liberty; for every waſte of the money allotted for the expences of their department.

VI. In no caſe can the written or verbal order of a king ſhelter a miniſter from reſponſibility.

VII. The miniſters are bound to preſent every year to the legiſlative body, at the opening of the ſeſſion, the ſtate of the expences of their department; to give an account of the employment of the ſums deſtined for that purpoſe, and to mention the abuſes which may have crept into the different parts of the government.

VIII. No miniſter in or out of place can be criminally proſecuted for any tranſaction of his adminiſtration, without a decree of the legiſlative body.

CHAP. III.

OF THE EXERCISE OF THE LEGISLATIVE POWER.

§ 1.—*Powers and Functions of the National Legiſlative Aſſembly.*

I. THE conſtitution delegates excluſively to the legiſlative body, the powers and functions following:—1. To propoſe and decree laws: the king can only invite the legiſlative body to take an object into conſideration.—2. To fix the public expences.—3. To eſtabliſh the public contributions, to determine their nature, quantity, duration, and mode of collection.—4. To divide the direct contribution amongſt the departments of the kingdom, to ſuperintend the employ of all the public revenue, and to demand an account of it.—5. To decree the creation or ſuppreſſion of public offices.—6. To determine the quality, weight, impreſſion, and name of the coin.—7. To permit or prohibit the introduction of foreign troops into the French territories, and of foreign naval forces into the ports of the kingdom.—8. To fix annually, after the propoſition of the king, the number of men and ſhips of which the land and naval armies ſhall be compoſed; the pay and number of individuals of each rank; the rules of admiſſion and promotion; the forms of inrolment and diſcharge; the formation of naval equipments; the admiſſion of foreign troops, or naval forces, into the ſervice of France; and the pay of troops, in caſe of their being diſbanded.—9. To regulate the adminiſtrative government, and the alienation of the national domains.—10. To proſecute before the high national court, the miniſters and principal agents of the executive power, in what relates to their reſponſibility.—11. To accuſe and proſecute before the ſame court, thoſe who ſhall be charged with any attack or conſpiracy againſt the general ſafety of the ſtate, or againſt the conſtitution.—12. To eſtabliſh the laws, according to which marks of honour or decoration, purely perſonal, ſhall be granted to thoſe who have rendered ſervices to the ſtate.—13. The legiſlative body have the right to decree public honours to the memory of great men.

II. War cannot be determined on, but by a decree of the legiſlative body, paſſed on the formal and neceſſary propoſition of the king, and ſanctioned by him. In the caſe of imminent or commenced hoſtilities, of an ally to be ſupported, or a right to be preſerved by force of arms, the king ſhall notify the ſame without delay to the legiſlative body, and ſhall declare the reaſons of it. If the legiſlative body be not ſitting, the king ſhall aſſemble it immediately. If the legiſlative body decide that war ought not to be made, the king ſhall immediately take meaſures to ſtop or prevent all hoſtilities, the miniſters being reſponſible for delays. If the legiſlative body find that the hoſtilities commenced are a palpable aggreſſion on the part of miniſters, or any other agent of the executive power, the author of the aggreſſion ſhall be proſecuted criminally. During the whole courſe of war, the legiſlative body may require the king to negociate peace, and the king is bound to yield to this requiſition. On the immediate concluſion of war, the legiſlative body ſhall fix the time within which the troops levied above the peace eſtabliſhment ſhall be diſcharged, and the army reduced to its ordinary ſtate.

III. It belongs to the legiſlative body to ratify treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce; and no treaty ſhall have effect but by this ratification.

IV. The legiſlative body has the right of determining the place of its ſittings, of continuing them as long as it ſhall think neceſſary, and of adjourning; at the commencement of each reign, if it be not ſitting, it ſhall be bound to meet without delay. It has the right of police in the place of its ſitting, and to ſuch extent around it as ſhall be determined. It has the right of diſcipline over its members; but it can pronounce no heavier puniſhment than cenſure, arreſt for eight days, or impriſonment for three. It has the right of diſpoſing, for its ſafety, and the reſpect that is due to it, of the forces which ſhall be placed, by its conſent, in the city where it ſhall hold its ſittings.

V. The executive power cannot march, or quarter, or ſtation any troops of the line within thirty thouſand toiſes of the legiſlative body, except on its requiſition, or by its authority.

§ 2.—*Holding of the Sittings, and Form of Deliberating.*

I. The deliberations of the legiſlative body ſhall be public, and the proceedings of its ſittings ſhall be printed.

II. The legiſlative body may, however, on any occaſion, form itſelf into a *general committee*. Fifty members ſhall have a right to demand this. During the continuance of the general committee, the aſſiſtants ſhall retire, the chair of the preſident ſhall be vacant, and order ſhall be maintained by the vice-preſident.

III. No legiſlative act can be debated and decreed, except in the following form:

IV. The plan of a decree ſhall be read thrice, at three intervals, the ſhorteſt of which cannot be leſs than eight days.

V. The diſcuſſion ſhall be open after every read-

ing;

ing; nevertheleſs, after the firſt or ſecond reading, the legiſlative body may declare that there is reaſon for adjournment, or that there is no need for deliberation; in this laſt caſe, the plan of the decree may be introduced again in the ſame ſeſſion. Every plan of a decree ſhall be printed and diſtributed before the ſecond reading of it can be commenced.

VI. After the third reading, the preſident ſhall be bound to propoſe it for deliberation; and the legiſlative body ſhall decide, whether they are qualified to paſs a definitive decree, or would rather chooſe to poſtpone their deciſion, in order to gather more ample information on the ſubject.

VII. The legiſlative body cannot deliberate, if the meeting do not conſiſt of at leaſt two hundred members; and no decree ſhall be made except by the abſolute majority of votes.

VIII. No plan of a law, which, after having been ſubmitted to diſcuſſion, ſhall have been rejected after the third reading, can again be introduced the ſame ſeſſion.

IX. The preamble of every definitive decree ſhall announce, firſt the dates of thoſe ſittings at which the three readings of the plan of the decree were made; ſecond, the decree by which it ſhall have been appointed, after the third reading, to decide definitively.

X. The king ſhall refuſe his ſanction to the decrees whoſe preamble ſhall not atteſt the obſervance of the above forms; if any of thoſe decrees be ſanctioned, the miniſters ſhall neither put to it the ſeal, nor promulgate it, and their reſponſibility in this reſpect ſhall continue ſix years.

XI. Excepting from theſe regulations, decrees recogniſed, and declared urgent by a previous deliberation of the legiſlative body; but they may be modified, or revoked, in the courſe of the ſame ſeſſion. The decree by which a matter ſhall have been declared urgent, ſhall announce the reaſons of it, and there ſhall be mention made of this previous decree, in the preamble of the definitive decree.

§ 3.—*Of the Royal Sanction.*

I. The decrees of the legiſlative body are preſented to the king, who may refuſe his aſſent to them.

II. In the caſe of a refuſal of the royal aſſent, that refuſal is only *ſuſpenſive*. When the two legiſlatures which ſhall follow that in which the decree was preſented, ſhall ſucceſſively repreſent the ſame decree in the ſame terms in which it was originally conceived, the king ſhall be deemed to have given his ſanction.

III. The aſſent of the king is expreſſed to each decree, by the following *formula*, ſigned by the king: "*The king conſents, and will cauſe it to be executed.*" The ſuſpenſive refuſal is thus expreſſed: "*The king will examine.*"

IV. The king is bound to expreſs his aſſent or refuſal, to each decree, within two months after it ſhall have been preſented.

V. No decree to which the king has refuſed his aſſent, can be preſented to him by the ſame legiſlature.

VI. The decrees ſanctioned by the king, and thoſe which have been preſented to him by three ſucceſſive legiſlatures, alone have the force of a law, and bear the name and title of *laws*.

VII. There ſhall be, however, executed as laws, without being ſubjected to ſanction, thoſe acts of the legiſlative body which relate to its conſtitution as a deliberating aſſembly; its interior police, and that which it may exerciſe in the external ſpace, which it ſhall have determined; the verification of the powers of the members preſent; the injunctions to abſent members; the convocation of the primary aſſemblies in caſe of delay; the exerciſe of conſtitutional ſuperintendance over the adminiſtrators and municipal officers; queſtions of eligibility, or the validity of elections: Exempting likewiſe from ſanction, acts relative to the reſponſibility of miniſters, and all decrees importing that there is ground for accuſation.

VIII. The decrees of the legiſlative body, concerning the eſtabliſhment, prorogation, and collection of public contributions, ſhall bear the name and title of laws; they ſhall be promulgated and executed without being ſubject to ſanction, except with reſpect to thoſe diſpoſitions which ſhould eſtabliſh other penalties than pecuniary fines and conſtraints. Theſe decrees cannot be paſſed but after the obſervation of the formalities preſcribed by the articles 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9, of Sect. II. of the preſent chapter; and the legiſlative body ſhall not inſert in them any diſpoſitions foreign to their object.

§ 4.—*Connection of the Legiſlative Body with the King.*

I. When the legiſlative body is definitively conſtituted, it ſhall ſend a deputation to inform the king. The king may every year open the ſeſſion, and propoſe the objects, which, during its continuance, he thinks ought to be taken into conſideration: this form, however, is not to be conſidered as *neceſſary* to the activity of the legiſlative body.

II. When the legiſlative body wiſhes to adjourn longer than fifteen days, it is bound to inform the king, by a deputation, at leaſt eight days previous.

III. A week, at leaſt, before the end of each ſeſſion, the legiſlative body ſhall ſend a deputation to the king, to announce to him the day on which it propoſes to terminate its ſittings. The king may come, in order to cloſe the ſeſſion.

IV. If the king find it of importance to the welfare of the ſtate, that the ſeſſion be continued, or that the adjournment be put off, or take place only for a ſhorter time, he may ſend a meſſage to this effect, on which the legiſlative body is bound to deliberate.

V. The king ſhall convoke the legiſlative body, during the interval of its ſeſſion, at all times when the intereſt of the ſtate ſhall appear to him to require it, as well as in thoſe caſes which the legiſlative body

body ſhall have foreſeen and determined, previous to their adjournment.

VI. Whenever the king ſhall viſit the place of meeting of the legiſlative body, he ſhall be received and conducted back by a deputation; he cannot be accompanied into the inner part of the hall by any except the prince royal and the miniſters.

VII. The preſident can in no caſe form part of a deputation.

VIII. The legiſlative body ſhall ceaſe to be a deliberating body whilſt the king ſhall be preſent.

IX. The acts of correſpondence of the king with the legiſlative body ſhall be always counterſigned by a miniſter.

X. The miniſters of the king ſhall have admiſſion into the national legiſlative aſſembly; they ſhall have a place aſſigned to them; they ſhall be heard always when they demand it on objects relative to their adminiſtration, or when they ſhall be required to give information. They ſhall alſo be heard on objects foreign to their adminiſtration, when the national aſſembly ſhall grant them liberty to ſpeak.

CHAP. IV.

OF THE EXERCISE OF THE EXECUTIVE POWER.

I. THE *ſupreme* executive power reſides excluſively in the hands of the king. The king is the ſupreme head of the general adminiſtration of the kingdom: the care of watching over the maintenance of public order and tranquillity is entruſted to him. The king is the ſupreme head of the land and ſea forces. To the king is delegated the care of watching over the exterior ſecurity of the kingdom, and of maintaining its rights and poſſeſſions.

II. The king names ambaſſadors, and the other agents of political negociations. He beſtows the command of armies and fleets, and the ranks of Marſhal of France and Admiral. He names two-thirds of the rear admirals, one half of the lieutenant-generals, camp marſhals, captains of ſhips, and colonels of the national gend'armerie. He names a third of the colonels and lieutenant-colonels, and a ſixth of the lieutenants of ſhips—the whole in conformity to the laws with reſpect to promotion. He appoints, in the civil adminiſtration of the marine, the directors, the comptrollers, the treaſurers of the arſenals, the maſters of the works, the under-maſters of civil buildings, half of the maſters of adminiſtration, and of the under-maſters of conſtruction. He appoints the commiſſaries of the tribunals. He appoints the chief ſuperintendants of the adminiſtration of indirect contributions, and the adminiſtration of national domains. He ſuperintends the coinage of money, and appoints the officers entruſted with this ſuperintendance in the general commiſſion, and the mints. The effigy of the king is ſtruck on all the coinage of the kingdom.

III. The king orders letters-patent, brevets, and commiſſions, to be delivered to all the public offices that ought to receive them.

IV. The king orders a liſt of penſions and gratifications to be made out, for the purpoſe of being preſented to the legiſlative body each ſeſſion, and decreed, if there is reaſon for it.

§ 1.—*Of the Promulgation of Laws.*

I. The executive power is charged with ordering the ſeal of ſtate to be put to laws, and cauſing them to be promulgated. It is equally charged with cauſing to be promulgated and executed, thoſe acts of the legiſlative body which have no need of the ſanction of the king.

II. Two copies of each law ſhall be made, both ſigned by the king, counterſigned by the miniſter of juſtice, and ſealed with the ſeal of ſtate. The one ſhall be depoſited in the archives of the ſeal, and the other ſhall be ſent to the archives of the legiſlative body.

III. The promulgation of laws ſhall be thus expreſſed:——"*N.* [the king's name] *by the grace of God, and the conſtitutional law of the ſtate, king of the French, to all preſent and to come, greeting:—The National Aſſembly has decreed, and we will ordain, as follows:*—[Here a copy of the decree ſhall be inſerted verbatim.] *We command and ordain to all adminiſtrative bodies and courts of juſtice, to cauſe theſe preſents to be tranſcribed on their regiſters, read and publiſhed, and poſted up in their departments and reſpective places of reſort, and executed as a law of the realm; in witneſs of which we have ſigned theſe preſents, to which we have cauſed the ſeal of the ſtate to be affixed.*"

IV. If the king be a minor, laws, proclamations, and other acts proceeding from the royal authority during the regency, ſhall be conceived in theſe terms:——"*N.* [the name of the regent] *regent of the kingdom, in the name of N.* [the king's name] *by the grace of God, and the conſtitutional law of the ſtate, king of the French, &c.*'

V. The executive power is bound to ſend the laws to the adminiſtrative bodies and courts of juſtice; to be certified that they are ſo ſent, and to anſwer for it to the legiſlative body.

VI. The executive power cannot make any law, not even proviſional, but merely proclamations, conformable to the laws, to ordain or enforce the execution.

§ 2.—*Of the Interior Adminiſtration.*

I. There is in each department a ſuperior adminiſtration, and in each diſtrict a ſubordinate adminiſtration.

II. The adminiſtrators have no character of repreſentation. They are agents, choſen for a time by the people, to exerciſe, under the ſuperintendance and the authority of the king, the adminiſtrative functions.

III. They can neither intermeddle in the exerciſe of the legiſlative power, nor ſuſpend the execution of the

the laws, nor assume any authority over judicial proceedings, nor over military regulations or operations.

IV. The administrators are essentially charged with the reparation of the direct taxes, and with the superintendance of the funds arising from all the contributions and public revenues in their territory. It belongs to the legislative power to determine the rules and mode of their functions, both with respect to the objects above mentioned, as well as with respect to all the other parts of the interior administration.

V. The king has the right of annulling such acts of the administrators of department, as are contrary to the law, or the orders he has transmitted to them. He may, in case of obstinate disobedience, or of their endangering, by their acts, the safety or peace of the public, suspend them from their functions.

VI. The administrators of department have also the right of annulling the acts of the sub-administrators of district, contrary to the laws, or to the arrets of administrators of department, or to the orders which the latter shall have given or transmitted. They may likewise, in case of an obstinate disobedience on the part of the sub-administrators, or if the latter endanger, by their acts, the public safety or tranquillity, suspend them from their functions, with the reserve of informing the king, who may remove or confirm the suspension.

VII. The king, if the administrators of department shall not use the power which is delegated to them in the article above, may directly annul the acts of sub-administrators, and suspend them in the same cases.

VIII. Whenever the king shall pronounce or confirm the suspension of administrators, or sub-administrators, he shall inform the legislative body. This body may either remove or confirm the suspension, or even dissolve the culpable administration; and, if there be ground, remit all the administrators, or some of them, to the criminal tribunal, to enforce against them the decree of accusation.

§ 3.—*Of External Connections.*

I. The king alone can keep up foreign political connections, conduct negociations, make preparations of war proportioned to those of the neighbouring states; distribute the land and sea forces, as he shall judge most suitable, and regulate their direction in case of war.

II. Every declaration of war shall be made in these terms: "*By the king of the French, in the name of the Nation.*"

III. It belongs to the king to resolve and sign with all foreign powers, all treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce, and other conventions which he shall judge necessary for the welfare of the state, with a reserve for the ratification of the legislative body.

CHAP. V.

OF THE JUDICIAL POWER.

I. THE judicial power can in no case be exercised, either by the legislative body or the king.

II. Justice shall be gratuitously rendered, by judges chosen for a time by the people, instituted by letters-patent of the king, who cannot refuse to grant them. They cannot be deposed, but for forfeiture duly judged; nor suspended, but for an accusation admitted. The public accusers shall be named by the people.

III. The tribunals cannot either interfere in the exercise of the legislative power, or suspend the execution of the laws, or undertake the administrative functions, or cite before them the administrators, on account of their functions.

IV. The citizens cannot be withdrawn from the judges whom the law assigns to them by any commission, or by any other attributions or avocations than those which are determined by the laws.

V. The right of the citizens to terminate definitively their disputes by way of arbitration, shall receive no infringement from the acts of the legislative power.

VI. The ordinary courts of justice cannot receive any civil action, until it be certified to them that the parties have appeared, or that the pursuer has cited the opposite party to appear before *mediators*, to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation.

VII. There shall be one or more judges of peace in the canton and in the towns. The number of them shall be determined by the legislative power.

VIII. It belongs to the legislative power to regulate the number and extent of jurisdiction of the tribunals, and the number of judges of which each tribunal shall be composed.

IX. In *criminal* matters, no citizen can be tried, but on an accusation received by a jury, or decreed by the legislative body, in the cases where it belongs to it to pursue the accusation. After the admission of the accusation, the fact shall be recognised and declared by a jury.—The accused shall have a right to refuse, as far as twenty jurors, without assigning reasons.—The jury which declares the fact, must consist of twelve members. The application of the law shall be made by judges. The instruction of the process shall be public, and the assistance of counsel cannot be refused. No man acquitted by a lawful jury can be retaken or re-accused of the same offence.

X. No man can be seized, but in order to be conducted before an officer of police: and no man can be arrested or detained, but by virtue of a mandate of an officer of police; of an order for personal arrestation by a tribunal; of a decree of accusation of the legislative body, in cases where it belongs to it to pronounce; or of a sentence of imprisonment or detention for the sake of correction.

XI. Every

XI. Every man ſeized and conducted before an officer of police, ſhall be examined immediately, or in twenty-four hours, at fartheſt. If it reſult from the examination, that there be no ground for blame againſt him, he ſhall be directly ſet at liberty; or if there be ground to ſend him to a houſe of arreſt, he ſhall be conducted there with the leaſt delay poſſible, and that in any caſe cannot exceed three days.

XII. No man arreſted can be detained if he give ſufficient bail, in all caſes where the law permits a man to remain free under bail.

XIII. No man, in the caſes when detention is authoriſed by the law, can be conducted or detained any where, but in thoſe places legally and publickly marked out as houſes of arreſt, of juſtice, or priſons.

XIV. No guard nor jailor can receive or detain any man, but in virtue of a mandate, decree of accuſation, or ſentence, mentioned in the tenth article above, nor without tranſcribing them in his own regiſter.

XV. Every guard or jailor is bound, and no order can releaſe him from the obligation, to produce the perſon detained to the civil officer who ſuperintends the police of the houſe of arreſt, as often as it ſhall be required of him. The production of the perſon detained cannot alſo be refuſed to his relations and friends, who bring an order from a civil officer, who ſhall be bound always to grant it, unleſs the guard or jailor produce an order from a judge, tranſcribed in his regiſter, to keep the perſon arreſted ſecret.

XVI. Every man, whatever be his place or occupation, except thoſe to whom the law confides the right of arreſtation, who ſhall give, ſign, execute, or make to be executed, an order to arreſt a citizen; or whoever, even in the caſes of arreſtation authoriſed by the law, ſhall conduct, receive, or retain a citizen, in a place of detention not publickly and legally marked out; and every guard or jailor who ſhall act in oppoſition to the diſpoſition of the two foregoing articles; ſhall be culpable of the crime of arbitrary detention.

XVII. No man can be taken up, or proſecuted, on account of the writings which he has cauſed to be printed or publiſhed, whatever be their ſubject, if he has not *deſignedly* provoked diſobedience to the law, outrage to the eſtabliſhed powers, and reſiſtance to their acts, or any of the actions declared crimes or offences by the law. The cenſure of all the acts of the eſtabliſhed powers is permitted; but voluntary calumnies againſt the probity of public officers, and againſt the rectitude of their intentions in the exercice of their functions, may be proſecuted by thoſe who are the ſubject of them. Calumnies or injurious ſayings againſt any kind of perſons, relative to the actions of their private life, ſhall be puniſhed by proſecution.

XVIII. No man can be judged, either civilly or criminally, for acts of writing, printing, or publiſhing, except it has been recogniſed and declared by a jury, 1ſt, that there is an offence in the writing denounced; 2d, that the perſon proſecuted is guilty of it.

XIX. There ſhall be, for the whole kingdom, one only tribunal of annulment, eſtabliſhed near the legiſlative body. Its functions ſhall be, to pronounce on demands for annulling judgments given in the laſt reſort by the tribunals; on demands of being remitted from one tribunal to another, for lawful cauſes of ſuſpicion; on regulations reſpecting judges, and ſuits againſt a whole tribunal.

XX. In queſtions of annulment, the tribunal of annulment ſhall never take cognizance of the affair itſelf; but, after having annulled the ſentence which ſhall have been pronounced in a proceſs, and in which the forms have been violated, or which ſhall be in expreſs contradiction to the law, it ſhall remit the original affair to the tribunal which ought to decide on it.

XXI. When, after being twice annulled, a ſentence pronounced by a third tribunal ſhall be attacked on the ſame grounds as at firſt, the queſtion ſhall no more be judged by the tribunal of annulment, without having been ſubmitted to the legiſlative body, who ſhall paſs a decree declarative of the law, to which the tribunal of annulment ſhall be bound to conform.

XXII. Every year, the tribunal of annulment ſhall be bound to ſend to the bar of the legiſlative body a deputation of eight of its members, to preſent a ſtate of the deciſions paſſed; on the margin of each of which ſhall be placed a ſhort account of the affair, and the text of the law which ſhall have determined the deciſion.

XXIII. A high national court, formed of the members of the tribunal of annulment, and of high jurors, ſhall take cognizance of offences committed by the miniſters and principal agents of the executive power, and of thoſe crimes which attack the general ſafety of the ſtate, after the legiſlative body ſhall have paſſed a decree for accuſation. It ſhall not be aſſembled but at the proclamation of the legiſlative body, and at the diſtance of thirty thouſand toiſes at leaſt from the place where the legiſlative body holds its meetings.

XXIV. The orders iſſued for executing the judgments of the tribunals ſhall be conceived in theſe terms:—"*N.* [the name of the king] *by the grace of God, and by the conſtitutional law of the ſtate, king of the French, to all preſent and to come, greeting. The tribunal of ——— has paſſed the following judgment:*—[Here ſhall follow a copy of the judgment, in which ſhall be mentioned the names of the judges.]—*We charge and enjoin all officers, upon the preſent demand, to put the ſaid judgment into execution, our commiſſaries of the tribunals to enforce the ſame, and all the commanders and officers of the public force to be aſſiſting with their force, when it ſhall be legally required: In witneſs of which, the preſent judgment has been ſigned by the preſident of the tribunal, and by the regiſter.*"

XXV. The

XXV. The functions of the king's commiſſaries in the tribunals ſhall be, to require the obſervance of the laws in the judgments to be given, and to cauſe them to be executed after they are paſſed. They ſhall not be public accuſers; but they ſhall be heard on all accuſations, and ſhall require, during proceſs, regularity of forms, and, before judgment, application of the law.

XXVI. The king's commiſſaries in the tribunals ſhall denounce to the director of the jury, either officially, or according to orders given them by the king, offences againſt the individual liberty of citizens, againſt the free circulation of proviſions and other objects of commerce, and againſt the collection of contributions; offences by which the execution of orders given by the king, in the exerciſe of the functions delegated to him, ſhall be diſturbed or impeded; infringements on the laws of nations; oppoſition to the execution of judgments; and to all executive acts proceeding from eſtabliſhed powers.

XXVII. The miniſter of juſtice ſhall denounce to the tribunal of appeal, by means of the king's commiſſary, and without prejudice to the rights of the parties intereſted, the acts in which the judges have exceeded the bounds of their power. The tribunal ſhall annul theſe acts; and if they give ground for forfeiture, the fact ſhall be repreſented to the legiſlative body, which ſhall paſs the decree of accuſation if there be ground, and refer the parties informed againſt to the high national court.

TITLE IV.—*Of the Public Force.*

I. The public force is inſtituted to defend the ſtate againſt external enemies, and to maintain internal order and the execution of the laws.

II. It is compoſed of the land and ſea armies; of the troops ſpecially deſtined for home ſervice; and, ſubſidiarily, of the active citizens, and their children of age to bear arms, regiſtered in the roll of national guards.

III. The national guards do not form a military body, or an inſtitution in the ſtate; they are the citizens themſelves, called to affiſt the public force.

IV. The citizens can never embody themſelves, or act as national guards, but by virtue of a legal requiſition or authority.

V. They are ſubject in this quality to an organization, to be determined by the law. They ſhall be diſtinguiſhed in the whole kingdom by only one form of diſcipline, and one uniform. Diſtinctions of rank and ſubordination ſubſiſt only relatively to the ſervice, and during its continuance.

VI. Officers are choſen for a time, and cannot again be choſen till after a certain interval of ſervice as ſoldiers. None ſhall command the national guard of more than one diſtrict.

VII. All the parts of the public force employed for the ſafety of the ſtate from foreign enemies, ſhall act under the command of the king.

VIII. No body or detachment of troops of the line can act in the internal part of the kingdom without a legal order.

IX. No agent of the public force can enter the houſe of a citizen, if it be not on purpoſe to execute the orders of police and of juſtice, or in caſes formally provided for by the law.

X. The requiſition of the public force, in the internal part of the kingdom, belongs to the civil officers, according to the regulations provided by the legiſlative power.

XI. When any department is throughout in a ſtate of commotion, the king ſhall iſſue, under the reſponſibility of miniſters, the neceſſary orders for the execution of laws, and the re-eſtabliſhment of order; but with the reſerve of informing the legiſlative body, if it be aſſembled, and of convoking it if it be not ſitting.

XII. The public force is *eſſentially obedient*; no armed body can deliberate.

XIII The land and ſea armies, and the troops deſtined to preſerve internal ſecurity, are ſubjected to particular laws, both for the maintenance and diſcipline, and for the manner of judgments, and the nature of puniſhments, on occaſion of military offences.

TITLE V.—*Of Public Contributions.*

I. Public contributions ſhall be debated and fixed every year by the legiſlative body, and cannot continue in force longer than the laſt day of the following ſeſſion, if they are not expreſsly renewed.

II. The funds neceſſary to the diſcharge of the national debt, and the payment of the civil liſt, can, under no pretext, be refuſed or ſuſpended. The ſalaries of the miniſters of the Catholic religion, who are paid, preſerved, elected, or named in virtue of the decrees of the National Conſtituent Aſſembly, form a part of the national debt. The legiſlative body cannot, in any caſe, charge the nation with the payment of the debts of any individual.

III. The accounts at full length of the miniſterial department, ſigned and certified by the miniſters or commiſſioners, ſhall be rendered public, by being printed at the commencement of the ſeſſion of each legiſlature. So ſhall alſo the ſtate of receipts of the different taxes, and all the public revenues. The ſtate of receipt and expenditure ſhall be diſtinguiſhed according to their nature, and ſhall expreſs the ſums received and diſburſed, year by year, in each diſtrict. The private expences of each department, and thoſe relative to the tribunals, the adminiſtrative bodies, and other eſtabliſhments, ſhall alſo be rendered public.

IV. The adminiſtrators of department, and ſub-adminiſtrators, can neither eſtabliſh any public contribution, nor make any diſtribution beyond the time and the ſums fixed by the legiſlative body; nor deliberate, or permit, without being authoriſed by it, any local loan to be charged to the citizens of the department.

V. The

V. The executive power directs and ſuperintends the collection and paying in of contributions, and gives all the neceſſary orders to this effect.

TITLE VI.—*Of the Connection of the French Nation with other Nations.*

I. The French nation renounces the undertaking of any war with a view to make conqueſts, and will never employ its forces againſt the liberty of any people. The conſtitution no longer admits the *Droit d'Aubaine*. Foreigners, whether ſettled in France or not, inherit the property of their parents, whether foreigners or Frenchmen.—They can contract, acquire, and receive property ſituated in France, and diſpoſe of it, as well as any French citizen, in every mode authorized by the laws.—Foreigners in France are ſubject to the ſame criminal laws and regulations of police as French citizens, with a reſerve for conventions agreed on with foreign powers. Their perſons, effects, induſtry, and religion, are equally protected by the law.

TITLE VII.—*Of the Reviſion of Conſtitutional Decrees.*

I. The national conſtituent aſſembly declares, that the nation has an impreſcriptible right to change its conſtitution; and, nevertheleſs, conſidering that it is moſt ſuitable to the national intereſt to make uſe only by means appointed by the conſtitution itſelf, of the right of reforming thoſe articles which experience ſhall demonſtrate the inconvenience of, decrees, that the aſſembly of reviſion ſhall proceed in the following manner:

II. When three following legiſlatures ſhall have declared an uniform wiſh for the change of any conſtitutional article, the reviſion demanded ſhall take place.

III. The enſuing legiſlature (that commencing in 1791) cannot propoſe the reform of any conſtitutional article.

IV. Of the three legiſlatures who ſhall ſucceſſively propoſe any changes, the firſt two ſhall not occupy themſelves relative to that object, but in the laſt two months of their laſt ſeſſion, and the third at the end of its firſt annual ſeſſion, or at the beginning of the ſecond. Their deliberations on that matter ſhall be ſubjected to the ſame forms as the legiſlative acts; but the decrees by which they ſhall have expreſſed their deſires, ſhall not be ſubjected to the ſanction of the king.

V. The fourth legiſlature, augmented by two hundred and forty-nine members choſen in each department, by doubling the ordinary number which it furniſhes for its population, ſhall conſtitute the aſſembly of reviſion. Theſe two hundred and forty-nine members ſhall be elected after the nomination of repreſentatives to the legiſlative body ſhall have been terminated, and there ſhall be formed a ſeparate *proces-verbal* of it. The aſſembly of reviſion ſhall not be compoſed of more than one chamber.

VI. The members of the third legiſlature, who ſhall have demanded a change, cannot be elected in the aſſembly of reviſion.

VII. The members of the aſſembly of reviſion, after having pronounced all at once the oath, "*to live free or die*," ſhall individually ſwear, "*to confine themſelves to decide on the objects which ſhall have been ſubmitted to them by the unanimous wiſh of three preceding legiſlatures; and to maintain, in other reſpects, with all their power, the conſtitution of the kingdom decreed by the National Conſtituent Aſſembly in the years* 1789, 1790, *and* 1791; *and to be in all faithful to the Nation, to the Law, and to the King.*

VIII. The aſſembly of reviſion ſhall be bound to occupy itſelf afterwards, and without delay, in the objects which ſhall have been ſubmitted to its examination; and as ſoon as this taſk is finiſhed, the two hundred and forty nine new members, named over and above, ſhall retire, without taking a part in any caſe in the *legiſlative acts*.

The French colonies and poſſeſſions in Aſia, Africa, and America, although they make a part of the French empire, are not included in the preſent conſtitution.

None of the powers inſtituted by the conſtitution have a right to change it in its whole, or in its parts, excepting the reforms which may be made in it by the mode of reviſion, conformably to the regulations of TITLE VII. above.

The National Conſtituent Aſſembly commits the depoſit of it to the fidelity of the legiſlative body, of the king, and of the judges, to the vigilance of fathers of families, to wives, and to mothers, to the attachment of young citizens, to the courage of all Frenchmen.

The decrees paſſed by the National Aſſembly, which are not included in the act of conſtitution, ſhall be executed as laws; and thoſe anterior laws which it has not altered, ſhall alſo be obſerved ſo long as they ſhall not be revoked or modified by the legiſlative power.

No. II.

NEW DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN.

AGREED TO BY THE CONVENTION, SUNDAY, JUNE 23, 1793.

THE French people, convinced that forgetfulneſs of, and contempt for, the natural rights of man, are the only cauſes of the crimes and misfortunes of the world, have reſolved to expoſe, in a declaration, their ſacred and unalienable rights, in order that all citizens, being able always to compare the acts of the government with the end of every ſocial inſtitution, may never ſuffer themſelves to be oppreſſed and degraded by tyranny; and that the people may always have before their eyes the baſis of their liberty and happineſs; the magiſtrates the rule of their duty; and the legiſlature the object of their miſſion—They acknowledge, therefore, and proclaim, in the preſence of the Supreme Being, the following

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN, AND OF CITIZENS.

Article I. The end of ſociety is common happineſs. Government is inſtituted to ſecure to man the enjoyment of his natural and impreſcriptible rights.

II. Theſe rights are, Equality, Liberty, Safety, and Property.

III. All men are equal by Nature, and before the Law.

IV. The Law is the free and ſolemn expreſſion of the general will. It ought to be the ſame for all, whether it protects or puniſhes. It cannot order but what is juſt and uſeful to ſociety. It cannot forbid but what is hurtful.

V. All citizens are equally admiſſible to public employments. Free people avow no other motives of preference in their elections than virtue and talents.

VI. Liberty is that power which belongs to a man, of doing every thing that does not hurt the rights of another: its principle is nature: its rule juſtice: its protection the law: and its moral limits are defined by this maxim, "Do not to another what you would not wiſh done to yourſelf."

VII The right of manifeſting one's thoughts and opinions, either by the preſs, or in any other manner: the right of aſſembling peaceably, and the free exerciſe of religious worſhip, cannot be forbidden. The neceſſity of announcing theſe rights ſuppoſes either the preſence or the recent remembrance of deſpotiſm.

VIII. Whatever is not forbidden by the law cannot be prevented. No one can be forced to do that which it does not order.

IX. Safety conſiſts in the protection granted by ſociety to each citizen for the preſervation of his perſon, his rights, and his property.

X. The law avenges the abuſes committed againſt public and individual liberty by thoſe in power.

XI. No perſon can be accuſed, arreſted, or confined, but in caſes determined by the law, and according to the forms which it preſcribes. Every citizen ſummoned or ſeized by the authority of the law, ought immediately to obey; he renders himſelf culpable by reſiſtance.

XII. Every act exerciſed againſt a man to which the caſes in the law do not apply, and in which its forms are not obſerved, is arbitrary and tyrannical. Reſpect for the law forbids him to ſubmit to ſuch acts; and if attempts are made to execute them by violence, he has a right to repel force by force.

XIII. Thoſe who ſhall ſolicit, diſpatch, ſign, execute, or cauſe to be executed, arbitrary acts, are culpable, and ought to be puniſhed.

XIV. Every man being ſuppoſed innocent until he has been declared guilty, if it is judged indiſpenſable to arreſt him, all ſeverity not neceſſary to ſecure his perſon ought to be ſtrictly repreſſed by the law.

XV. No one ought to tried and puniſhed until he has been legally ſummoned, and in virtue of a law publiſhed previous to the commiſſion of the crime. A law which ſhould puniſh crimes committed before it exiſted would be tyrannical. The retro active effect given to a law would be a crime.

XVI. The law ought not to decree any puniſhments but ſuch as are ſtrictly and evidently neceſſary: puniſhment ought to be proportioned to the crime, and uſeful to ſociety.

XVII. The right of property is that right which belongs to every citizen to enjoy and diſpoſe of, according to his pleaſure, his property, revenues, labour, and induſtry.

XVIII. No kind of labour, culture, or commerce, can be forbidden to the induſtrious citizen.

XIX. Every man may engage his ſervices and his time, but he cannot ſell himſelf; his perſon is not alienable property. The law does not acknowledge ſervitude; there can exiſt only an engagement of care and gratitude between the man who labours and the man who employs him.

XX. No one can be deprived of the ſmalleſt portion of his property, without his content, except when the public neceſſity, legally aſcertained, evidently requires it, and on condition of a juſt and previous indemnification.

XXI. No contribution can be eſtabliſhed but for general utility, and to relieve the public wants. Every citizen has a right to concur in the eſtabliſhment of contributions, to watch over the uſe made of them, and to call for a ſtatement of their expenditure.

XXII. Public aids are a ſacred debt. The ſociety is obliged to provide for the ſubſiſtence of the unfortunate,

fortunate, either by procuring them employment, or by ſecuring the means of exiſtence to thoſe who are unable to labour.

XXIII. Inſtruction is the want of all, and the ſociety ought to favour, with all its power, the progreſs of public reaſon; and to place inſtruction within the reach of every citizen.

XXIV. The ſocial guarantee conſiſts in the actions of all, to ſecure to each the enjoyment and preſervation of his rights. This guarantee reſt on the National Sovereignty.

XXV. The ſocial guarantee cannot exiſt if the limits of the public functions are not clearly determined by the law, and if the reſponſibility of all public functionaries is not ſecured.

XXVI. The ſovereignty reſides in the people: it is one and indiviſible, impreſcriptible, and unalienable.

XXVII. No portion of the people can exerciſe the power of the whole: but each ſection of the Sovereign aſſembled ought to enjoy the right of expreſſing its will in perfect liberty. Every individual who arrogates to himſelf the ſovereignty, or who uſurps the exerciſe of it, ought to be put to death by free men.

XXVIII. A people have always the right of reviſing, amending, and changing their conſtitution. One generation cannot ſubject to its laws future generations.

XXIX. Every citizen has an equal right of concurring in the formation of the law, and in the nomination of his mandatories or agents.

XXX. Public functions cannot be conſidered as diſtinctions or rewards, but as duties.

XXXI. Crimes committed by the mandatories of the people and their agents, ought never to remain unpuniſhed. No one has a right to pretend to be more inviolable than other citizens.

XXXII. The right of preſenting petitions to the depoſitories of public authority belongs to every individual. The exerciſe of this right cannot, in any caſe, be forbidden, ſuſpended, or limited.

XXXIII. Reſiſtance to oppreſſion is the conſequence of the other rights of man.

XXXIV. Oppreſſion is exerciſed againſt the ſocial body, when even one of its members is oppreſſed. Oppreſſion is exerciſed againſt each member, when the ſocial body is oppreſſed.

XXXV. When the government violates the rights of the people, inſurrection becomes to the people, and to every portion of the people, the moſt ſacred and the moſt indiſpenſable of duties.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL ACT.

Of the Republic.

Art. I. The French Republic is one and indiviſible.

Of the Diviſion of the People.

II. The French people are divided, for the exerciſe of the ſovereignty, into primary aſſemblies of cantons.

III. For the adminiſtration of juſtice they are divided into departments, diſtricts, and municipalities.

Of the State of Citizens.

IV. Every man born and reſident in France, of the age of twenty one years complete; every foreigner aged twenty-one years complete, who has reſided a year in France, who has acquired property, married a French woman, adopted a child, or maintained an aged perſon; in ſhort, every foreigner who ſhall be judged by the legiſlative body to have deſerved well by his humanity, ſhall be admitted to exerciſe the rights of a French Citizen.

V. The exerciſe of the rights of Citizens ſhall be loſt by being naturalized in a foreign country, by accepting functions or favours from a government not popular, and by condemnation to diſgraceful or penal puniſhments.

VI. The exerciſe of the rights of citizens ſhall be ſuſpended by a ſtate of accuſation; and by being declared contumacious, as long as the ſentence is not reverſed.

Of the Sovereignty of the People.

VII. The Sovereign People are the univerſality of the French citizens.

VIII. They ſhall immediately name the deputies.

IX. They ſhall delegate to electors the choice of adminiſtrators, public arbitrators, criminal judges, and judges of appeal.

X. They ſhall deliberate on laws.

Of Primary Aſſemblies.

XI. Primary aſſemblies ſhall be compoſed of citizens who have reſided ſix months in each canton.

XII. They ſhall conſiſt of two hundred citizens at leaſt, or ſix hundred at moſt, called to vote.

XIII. They ſhall be conſtituted by the nomination of a preſident, ſecretaries, and ſcrutineers.

XIV. Their police ſhall belong to them.

XV. No perſon can appear there with arms.

XVI. The elections ſhall be made by ſcrutiny, or openly by the voice of each voter.

XVII. A primary aſſembly cannot in any caſe preſcribe an uniform mode of voting.

XVIII. The ſcrutineers ſhall certify the votes of citizens who, not being able to write, prefer voting by ſcrutiny.

XIX. The ſuffrages on laws ſhall be given by *Yes* or *No*.

XX. The will of the primary aſſembly ſhall be proclaimed as follows: "*The Citizens united in the Primary Aſſembly of to the number of voters, vote* [*for* or *againſt*] *by a majority of* "

Of

Of the National Repreſentation.

XXI. Population is the ſole baſis of the national repreſentation.

XXII. There is one deputy for every forty thouſand individuals.

XXIII. Each re-union of primary aſſemblies reſulting from a population of from thirty-nine to forty-one thouſand ſouls, nominates directly one deputy.

XXIV. The nomination is made by the abſolute majority of ſuffrages.

XXV. Each aſſembly caſts up the ſuffrages, and ſends a commiſſioner for the general caſting up to the place pointed out as the moſt central.

XXVI. If the caſting up does not give an abſolute majority, a ſecond vote is proceeded to, and the votes are taken for the two citizens who had the moſt voices.

XXVII. In caſe of equality of voices, the eldeſt has the preference, either to be on the ballot, or elected. In caſe of equality of age, lot decides.

XXVIII. Every Frenchman, exerciſing the rights of citizen, is eligible through the extent of the Republic.

XXIX. Each deputy belongs to the whole nation.

XXX. In caſe of the non-acceptance, reſignation, forfeiture, or death of a deputy, he is replaced by the primary aſſemblies who nominated him.

XXXI. A deputy who has given in his reſignation cannot quit his poſt but after the admiſſion of his ſucceſſor.

XXXII. The French people aſſemble every year on the firſt day of May for elections.

XXXIII. It proceeds in them, whatever be the number of citizens preſent having a right to vote.

XXXIV. Primary aſſemblies are formed on extraordinary occaſions, on the demand of a fifth of the citizens, who have a right to vote in them.

XXXV. The convocation is made, in this caſe, by the municipality of the ordinary place of meeting.

XXXVI. Theſe extraordinary aſſemblies do not deliberate but when one more than the half of the citizens who have a right to vote in them are preſent.

Of the Electoral Aſſemblies.

XXXVII. The citizens met, in primary aſſemblies, nominate one elector for every two hundred citizens, preſent or not; two for from two hundred and one to four hundred; and three from four hundred and one to ſix hundred.

XXXVIII. The holding of the electoral aſſemblies, and the mode of elections, are the ſame as in the primary aſſemblies.

Of the Legiſlative Body.

XXXIX. The legiſlative body is one, indiviſible, and permanent.

XL. Its ſeſſion is for a year.

XLI. It meets the firſt of July.

XLII. The National Aſſembly cannot be conſtituted if it do not conſiſt of one more than the half of the deputies.

XLIII. The deputies cannot be examined, accuſed, or tried, at any time, for the opinions they have delivered in the legiſlative body.

XLIV. They may, for a criminal act, be ſeized *en flagrant delit*; but a warrant of arreſt, or a warrant ſummoning to appear, cannot be granted againſt them, unleſs authoriſed by the legiſlative body.

Holding of the Sittings of the Legiſlative Body.

XLV. The ſittings of the National Aſſembly are public.

XLVI. The minutes of its ſittings are printed.

XLVII. It cannot deliberate, if it be not compoſed of two hundred members at the leaſt.

XLVIII. It cannot refuſe to hear its members ſpeak in the order in which they have demanded to be heard.

XLIX. It deliberates by a majority of the members preſent.

L. Fifty members have a right to require the nominal appeal.

LI. It has the right of cenſure on the conduct of its members within itſelf.

LII. The police appertains to it in the place of its ſittings, and in the external circuit which it has determined.

Of the Functions of the Legiſlative Body.

LIII. The legiſlative body propoſes laws and paſſes decrees.

LIV. Under the general name of laws are comprehended the acts of the legiſlative body concerning the legiſlation civil and criminal; the general adminiſtration of the revenues, and of the ordinary expences of the Republic; the national domains; the title, the weight, the impreſſion, and the denomination of money; the nature, the amount, and the collection of contributions; the declaration of war; every new general diſtribution of the French territory; the public inſtruction; and the public honours to the memory of great men.

LV. Under the particular name of *decrees* are included the acts of the legiſlative body concerning the annual eſtabliſhment of the land and ſea forces; the permiſſion or the prohibition of the paſſage of foreign troops through the French territory; the introduction of foreign naval forces into the ports of the Republic; the meaſures of general ſafety and tranquillity; the annual and occaſional diſtribution of public ſuccours and works; the orders for the fabrication of money of every kind; the unforeſeen and extraordinary expences; the meaſures local and particular to an adminiſtration, a commune, or any kind of public works; the defence of the territory; the ratification of treaties; the nomination and the removal of commanders in chief of armies; the proſecution of the reſponſibility of members of the [illegible], and the public functionaries; the accuſation of perſons charged with plots againſt the general ſafety of the Republic; all change in the partial diſtribution

distribution of the French territory; and national recompences.

Of the Formation of the Laws.

LVI. The plans of a law are preceded by a report.

LVII. The discussion cannot be opened, and the law cannot be provisionally resolved upon, till fifteen days after the report.

LVIII. The plan is printed, and sent to all the communes of the Republic, under this title: "*Law proposed.*"

LIX. Forty days after the sending of the law proposed, if in more than one half of the departments, the tenth of the primary assemblies of each, regularly formed, have not objected to it, the plan is accepted, and becomes *law*.

LX. If there be an objection, the legislative body convokes the primary assemblies.

Of the Entitling of Laws and Decrees.

LXI. Laws, decrees, judgments, and all public acts are entitled: "*In the name of the French people, the year of the French Republic.*"

Of the Executive Council.

LXII. There is one executive council, composed of four-and-twenty members.

LXIII. The electoral assembly of each department nominates one candidate. The legislative body chooses the members of the council from the general list.

LXIV. One half of it is renewed by each legislature in the last month of the session.

LXV. The council is charged with the direction and superintendance of the general administration. It cannot act but in execution of the laws and decrees of the legislative body.

LXVI. It nominates, not of its own body, the agents in chief of the general administration of the Republic.

LXVII. The legislative body determines the number and the functions of these agents.

LXVIII. These agents do not form a council. They are separated, without any immediate correspondence between them; they exercise no personal authority.

LXIX. The council nominates, not of its own body, the external agents of the Republic.

LXX. It negociates treaties.

LXXI. The members of council, in case of malversation, are accused by the legislative body.

LXXII. The council is responsible for the non-execution of laws and decrees, and for abuses which it does not denounce.

LXIII. It recalls and replaces the agents in its nomination.

LXXIV. It is bound to denounce them, if there be occasion, before the judicial authorities.

Of the Connection of the Executive Council with the Legislative Body.

LXXV. The executive council resides near the legislative body. It has admittance and a separate seat in the place of sittings.

LXXVI. It is heard as often as it has an account to give.

LXXVII. The legislative body calls it into the place of its sittings, in whole or in part, when it thinks fit.

Of the Administrative and Municipal Bodies.

LXXVIII. There is a municipal administration in each commune of the Republic; in each district an intermediate administration; in each department a central administration.

LXXIX. The municipal officers are elected by the assemblies of the commune.

LXXX. The administrators are nominated by the electoral assemblies of department and district.

LXXXI. The municipalities and the administrators are renewed, one half every year.

LXXXII. The administrators and municipal officers have no character of representation; they cannot, in any case, modify the acts of the legislative body, or suspend the execution of them.

LXXXIII. The legislative body determines the functions of the municipal officers and administrators, the rules of their subordination, and the penalties they may incur.

LXXXIV. The sittings of municipalities and administrations are public.

Of Civil Justice.

LXXXV. The code of civil and criminal laws is uniform for all the Republic.

LXXXVI. No infringement can be made of the right which citizens have to cause their differences to be pronounced upon by the arbitrators of their choice.

LXXXVII. The decision of these arbitrators is final, if the citizens have not reserved the right of objecting to them.

LXXXVIII. There are justices of peace elected by the citizens in circuits determined by the law.

LXXXIX. They conciliate and judge without expence.

XC. Their number and their competence are regulated by the legislative body.

XCI. There are public arbitrators elected by the electoral assemblies.

XCII. Their number and their circuits are fixed by the legislative body.

XCIII. They take cognizance of disputes which have not been finally terminated by the private arbitrators or the justices of the peace.

XCIV. They deliberate in public; they give their opinions aloud; they pronounce, in the last resort, on verbal defences, or simple memorials, without

procedures,

procedures, and without expence; they aſſign the reaſons of their deciſions.

XCV. The juſtices of peace and the public arbitrators are elected every year.

Of Criminal Juſtice.

XCVI. In criminal caſes, no citizen can be tried but on an accuſation received by a jury, or decreed by the legiſlative body; the accuſed have counſel, choſen by themſelves, or nominated officially: the proceſs is public; the fact and the intention are declared by a jury of judgment; the puniſhment is applied by a criminal tribunal.

XCVII. The criminal judges are elected every year by the electoral aſſemblies.

the Tribunal of Appeal.

XCVIII. There is one tribunal of appeal for all the Republic.

XCIX. This tribunal does not take cognizance of the merits of the caſe; it pronounces on the violation of forms, and on expreſs contravention of the law.

C. The members of this tribunal are nominated every year by the electoral aſſemblies.

Of Public Contributions.

CI. No citizen is exempted from the honourable obligation of contributing to the public charges.

Of the National Treaſury.

CII. The national treaſury is the central point of the receipts and expences of the Republic.

CIII. It is adminiſtered by accountable agents, nominated by the executive council.

CIV. Theſe agents are ſuperintended by commiſſioners, nominated by the legiſlative body, not of its own members, and reſponſible for abuſes which they do not denounce.

Of Accountability.

CV. The accounts of the agents of the national treaſury, and the adminiſtrators of the public money, are given in annually to reſponſible commiſſioners, nominated by the executive council.

CVI. Theſe verificators are ſuperintended by commiſſioners in the nomination of the legiſlative body, not of its own members, and reſponſible for errors and abuſes which they do not denounce he legiſlative body paſſes the accounts.

Of the Forces of the Republic.

CVII. The general force of the Republic is compoſed of the whole people.

CVIII. The Republic maintains in its pay, even in time of peace, an armed force, by ſea and land.

CIX. All the French are ſoldiers; they are all exerciſed in the uſe of arms.

CX. There is no generaliſſimo.

CXI. Difference of ranks, their diſtinctive marks and ſubordination, ſubſiſt only with relation to ſervice, and during its continuance.

CXII. The public force employed for maintaining order and peace in the interior, does not act but on the requiſition, in writing, of the conſtituted authorities.

CXIII. The public force employed againſt enemies from without, acts under the orders of the executive council.

CXIV. No armed body can deliberate.

Of National Conventions.

CXV. If in one more than the half of the departments, the tenth of the primary aſſemblies of each, regularly formed, demand the reviſion of the conſtitutional act, or the change of ſome of its articles, the legiſlative body is bound to convoke all the primary aſſemblies of the Republic, to know if there be ground for a National Convention.

CXVI. The National Convention is formed in the ſame manner as the legiſlatures, and unites in itſelf their powers.

CXVII. It employs itſelf, with reſpect to the conſtitution, only on the objects which were the cauſe of its convocation.

Of the Correſpondence of the French Republic with Foreign Nations.

CXVIII. The French people is the friend and natural ally of every free people.

CXIX. It does not interfere in the government of other nations. It does not ſuffer other nations to interfere in its own.

CXX. It gives an aſylum to foreigners baniſhed from their country for the cauſe of liberty; it refuſes it to *tyrants*.

CXXI. It does not make peace with an enemy that occupies its territory.

Of the Guarantee of Rights.

CXXII. The conſtitution guarantees to all the French, equality, liberty, ſafety, property, the public debt, the free exerciſe of worſhip, a common inſtruction, public ſuccours, the indefinite liberty of the preſs, the right of petition, the right of meeting in popular ſocieties, the enjoyment of all the rights of man.

CXXIII. The French Republic honours loyalty, courage, age, filial piety, misfortune. It puts the depoſit of its conſtitution under the guard of all the virtues.

CXXIV. The Declaration of Rights, and the Conſtitutional Act, are engraven on tables in the boſom of the legiſlative body, and in the public places.

No. III.

PROCLAMATION OF GENERAL DUMOURIER TO THE BATAVIANS.

BATAVIANS!

THE ſtadtholder, who, according to the principles of republicans, ought only to be your captain general, who ought not to exerciſe, but for your happineſs, the powers with which you have inveſted him, ſubordinate to the will and deciſions of the Republic, holds you in oppreſſion and ſlavery.

You know perfectly well your rights, which, in 1787, you attempted to recover from the ambitious houſe of Orange. At that time you had recourſe to the French nation; but as ſhe herſelf then groaned under the deſpotiſm of a perfidious court, you were made the ſport of the vile intriguers who then governed France.

A handful of Pruſſians, commanded by the very duke of Brunſwick whom I have ſince driven from Champagne, were ſufficient to ſubjugate you once more. Many of you have been the victims of the vengeance of your ****; many others were obliged to take refuge in France; and ſince that time, you loſt all hopes of freedom; till a revolution, the moſt aſtoniſhing the hiſtory of the world offers, ſupported by the moſt glorious ſucceſs, has given you, in Frenchmen, allies at once powerful, generous, and free, who will ſecond your efforts to be free, or will learn to die with you.

Batavians! it is not againſt you that the French nation has declared war: friends to all nations, ſhe has only for enemies all tyrants. The more enemies we have, the more will our principles be propagated: perſuaſion and victory will ſupport the impreſcriptible rights of man; and nations will be weary of exhauſting their blood and treaſures for a ſmall number of individuals, who keep diſcord alive merely to deceive and enſlave the people. We enter Holland as friends to the Dutch, and as irreconcileable enemies to the houſe of Orange. Its yoke appears too inſupportable for your choice to be doubtful. Do not you ſee that this demi-deſpot, who tyranniſes over you, ſacrifices to his perſonal intereſts the beſt intereſts of your Republic? Did he not engage you, in 1782, to break, with a diſgraceful perfidy, your treaty of alliance with us?

Has he not ſince conſtantly favoured the Engliſh commerce at the expence of your own? At this moment, does he not deliver up your moſt important ſettlements, the Cape of Good Hope and the iſland of Ceylon, and all your commerce in India, to the only nation whoſe inceſſant rivalſhip you have reaſon to fear? Do you believe that the Engliſh, inſatiable after power and wealth, will ever reſtore to you theſe important poſſeſſions, which muſt ſecure them the empire of the Indies? No, Batavians! you will never rank among the firſt maritime powers until you are free. Send back to Germany that ambitious houſe, which for an hundred years has ſacrificed you to its pride. Send back the ſiſter of Frederick-William, who has at his command thoſe ferocious Pruſſians, who will awe you as often as you may attempt to break your chains. This calling in of the Pruſſians is conſtantly an inſult to your brave troops. The houſe of Orange juſtly fears leſt the ſpirit of liberty ſhould ſway them. A republican army cannot long ſerve tyranny. Very ſoon the Dutch troops, ſoon the conquerors of the Dogger-bank, will join their colours and their fleets to thoſe of France.

The firſt who ſhall range themſelves under the ſtandard of liberty, ſhall not only be aſſured of the continuance of ſuch employments as they enjoy under the Republic, but of more conſequential ones, and that at the expence of the ſlaves of the houſe of Orange.

am about to viſit you, ſurrounded by the generous martyrs to the revolution of 1787. Their perſeverance, and the ſacrifices they have made, merit your confidence and mine. They form a committee, which will encreaſe in number. This committee will be extremely uſeful in the firſt moments of your revolution; and all its members, who have no other ambition than to be the deliverers of their country, will re-enter into the different claſſes of ſocial order, as ſoon as your National Convention ſhall be aſſembled.

I come into Holland at the head of ſixty thouſand free and victorious Frenchmen: ſixty thouſand more defend the Belgic provinces, and are ready to follow me, ſhould I meet with any reſiſtance. We are not the aggreſſors: the party attached to the houſe of Orange has long carried on againſt us a perfidious and ſecret war. All the plots againſt our liberty have been concerted at the Hague.

We will ſeek at the Hague the authors of our misfortunes: we have no anger and vengeance but againſt them; we will over-run your rich provinces as friends and brothers. You will ſee the difference between the conduct of freemen who ſtretch out to you their hands, and of tyrants who inundate and lay waſte your country.

I promiſe to the peaceable cultivators, whoſe crops are ſacrificed to the fury of tyrants, an indemnity, by the ſale of the ſubſtance of thoſe who ſhall have ordered theſe uſeleſs inundations. I promiſe alſo to deliver into their hands, and to their juſt vengeance, the perſons of thoſe wicked adminiſtrators, magiſtrates, or military commanders, who ſhall have ordered them. To avoid, however, all the deſolations which they occaſion, I exhort the inhabitants of the country, if they have ſentiments of liberty, to oppoſe

theſe

theſe inundations; and I will follow my proclamation, cloſely enough to ſupport the Batavians, and to puniſh the wicked.

Batavians! have confidence in a man whom you know; who has never failed to fulfil what he has promiſed; and who conducts to battle freemen, before whom have fled, and will flee, the Pruſſians, the ſatellites of your tyrants.

The Belgians call me their deliverer: I hope to be ſoon yours.

DUMOURIER,
Commander in chief of the army of the French Republic.

No. IV.

DUMOURIER's LETTER TO THE FRENCH NATION.

SINCE the commencement of the Revolution, I have devoted myſelf to the maintenance of the liberty and honour of the nation.

The ſervices I rendered in the year 1792 are the moſt memorable. Miniſter of foreign affairs during three months, I elevated and ſuſtained the dignity of the French name throughout all Europe. I was calumniated by an odious cabal, by whom I was charged with having plundered ſix millions of livres deſtined for ſecret ſervices. I have proved, that of this ſum I did not expend half a million.

Having quitted the career of politics towards the cloſe of the month of June, I commanded a ſmall army in the department of the North. This department I was ordered to quit with my troops, at the very time the Auſtrians entered in force that part of the Republic: I diſobeyed the order, ſaved the department, and an attempt was made to come on me by ſurprize, for the purpoſe of conveying me to the citadel of Metz, where I was to be condemned by a council of war to ſuffer death.

On the twenty-eighth of Auguſt I took upon me, in Champagne, the command of an army of twenty thouſand men, weak, and without either diſcipline or organization. I arreſted the progreſs of eighty thouſand Pruſſians and Heſſians, and forced them to retreat, after they had ſacrificed the one half of their army. I was then the Saviour of France; and then it was that the moſt wicked of men, the opprobrium of Frenchmen—in a word, *Marat*, began to calumniate me without mercy. With a part of the victorious army of Champagne, and ſome other troops, I entered, on the fifth of November, the Belgic provinces, where I gained the for-ever-memorable battle of Jemappe; and after a ſucceſſion of advantages, entered Liege and Aix-la-Chapelle towards the cloſe of that month. From that moment my deſtruction was reſolved on; and I have been accuſed of aſpiring, now to the title of *Duke of Brabant*, now to the *Stadtholderſhip*, and again to the *Dictatorſhip*. To retard and cruſh my ſucceſſes, the miniſter Pache, ſupported by the criminal faction to whom all our evils are to be aſcribed, ſuffered the victorious army to want every thing, and ſucceeded in diſbanding it by famine and nakedneſs. The conſequence was, that more than fifteen thouſand men were in the hoſpitals, more than twenty-five thouſand deſerted through miſery and diſguſt, and upwards of ten thouſand horſes died of hunger!!!

I tranſmitted to the National Convention very ſtrenuous remonſtrances, which I followed up, by repairing in perſon to Paris, to engage the legiſlators to apply a remedy to this evil: they did not even condeſcend to read the four memorials I delivered in. During the twenty-ſix hours I ſpent in Paris, I heard, almoſt every moment, bands of pretended federates demand my head: and calumnies of every deſcription, as well as menaces and inſults, followed me even into the country-houſe to which I retired.

Having delivered in my reſignation, I was retained in the ſervice of my country, becauſe it was propoſed to me to negociate the ſuſpenſion of the war againſt England and Holland, which I conceived as indiſpenſable to the ſafety of the Netherlands. Whilſt I negociated, and that ſucceſsfully, the National Convention itſelf haſtened to declare war, without making any preparations, and without either power or means for its ſupport.

I was not even adviſed of this declaration, and learned it only through the medium of the Gazettes. I haſtened to form a ſmall army of new troops, who had never fought; and with theſe troops, whom confidence rendered invincible, I made myſelf maſter of three ſtrong places, and was ready to penetrate into the middle of Holland, when I learned the diſaſter of Aix-la-Chapelle, the raiſing of the ſiege of Maeſtricht, and the ſad retreat of the army. By this army I was loudly ſummoned—I abandoned my conqueſts to fly to its ſuccour; and conſidered that we could be extricated from our difficulties by a ſpeedy ſucceſs only. I led my companions in arms to the enemy. On the ſixteenth of March I had a conſiderable advantage at Tirlemont. On the eighteenth, I brought the enemy to a general action; and the center and right wing, under my charge, were victorious. The left wing, after having attacked imprudently, fled. On the nineteenth, we retreated honourably, with the brave men that were left together; for a part of the army diſbanded itſelf. On the twenty-firſt and twenty-ſecond, we fought with the ſame courage; and to our firmneſs was owing the preſervation of the remains of an army which

breathen

breathes ſolely for true liberty, for the reign of the laws, and for the extinction of anarchy.

It was then that the *Marats*, the *Robeſpierres*, and the criminal ſects of Jacobins of Paris, plotted the fall of the generals, and more eſpecially of mine. Theſe villains, bribed with the gold of foreign powers, to complete the diſorganization of the armies, cauſed almoſt all the generals to be arreſted. They keep them in the jails of Paris, to *Septemberize* them; for thus it is that theſe monſters have coined a word, to hand down to poſterity the remembrance of the horrid maſſacre of the firſt ſix days of September.

Whilſt I was employed in re compoſing the army, in which employment I laboured night and day, on the firſt of April (yeſterday) four commiſſioners of the National Convention reached me, with a decree, purporting that I ſhould be brought to the bar of the Convention itſelf. The war miniſter, Bournonville, my pupil, was weak enough to accompany them, to ſucceed me in my command. The perſons who were in the ſuite of theſe perfidious emiſſaries, informed me themſelves, that different groupes of aſſaſſins, either fugitives from, or driven out of, my army, were diſperſed on the road, to kill me before I could reach Paris. I ſpent ſeveral hours in endeavouring to convince the commiſſioners of the imprudence of this arreſt.—Nothing could ſhake their pride; and I therefore arreſted the whole of them, to ſerve me as hoſtages againſt the crimes of Paris. I inſtantly arranged with the Imperialiſts a ſuſpenſion of arms, and marched towards the capital, to extinguiſh, as ſpeedily as poſſible, the lighted embers of civil war.

My dear countrymen! it is expedient that a true and brave man remove for you the veil which covers all our crimes and misfortunes. In 1789 we made great efforts to obtain liberty, equality, and the ſovereignty of the people. Our principles were conſecrated in the declaration of the Rights of Man; and there have reſulted from the labours of our legiſlators, 1ſt, the declaration which ſays, that France is, and ſhall remain, a monarchy;—2dly, a conſtitution to which we ſwore fealty in 1789, 1790, and 1791.

This conſtitution might, and indeed muſt, have been imperfect: but it ought and might have been believed, that with time and experience its errors would be rectified, and that the neceſſary ſtrife between the legiſlative and executive powers would eſtabliſh a wiſe *equilibrium*, which would prevent either of theſe powers from ſeizing the whole of the authority, and attaining deſpotiſm. If the deſpotiſm of a ſingle individual is dangerous to liberty, how much more odious muſt that be of ſeven hundred men, many of whom are void of principles, without morality, and who have been able to reach that ſupremacy by cabals or crimes alone!

Licentiouſneſs and exceſs ſoon rendered it impoſſible to ſupport the yoke of a conſtitution that gave laws. The tribunes influenced the aſſembly of repreſentatives, and were themſelves awed by the dangerous club of the Jacobins of Paris. The ſtrife between the two powers became at length a deadly combat. Then was the *equilibrium* deſtroyed—France ceaſed to have a king; and the victory of the tenth of Auguſt was ſoiled by the atrocious crimes of the firſt days of September.

All the departments, but more eſpecially the wretched city of Paris, were delivered up to pillage, to denunciations, proſcriptions, and maſſacres. No Frenchman, the aſſaſſins and their accomplices excepted, had either his life or his property in ſecurity! The conſternation of ſlavery was augmented by the clamorous *orgies* of villains: bands of pretended federates ran through and laid waſte the departments; and of the ſeven hundred individuals who compoſed this deſpotic and anarchical body, four or five hundred groaned and decreed, and decreed and groaned, expoſed to the exterminating ſword of the Marats and Robeſpierres. It is thus that the unfortunate Louis the Sixteenth periſhed, without a judicial trial, and without a tribunal; and it is thus the decree of the nineteenth of November has provoked all nations, by holding out to them our aid, provided they will conſent to diſorganize themſelves. It is thus that the unjuſt and impolitic decree of the fifteenth of December has alienated from us the hearts of the Belgians, has driven us from the Netherlands, and would have brought about the maſſacre of our whole army by this nation, provoked at our outrages and our crimes, if I had not ſaved that very army by my proclamations. It is thus that a decree eſtabliſhed the tribunal which places the lives of the citizens at the mercy of a ſmall number of iniquitous judges, without recourſe or appeal to any other tribunal. It is thus that during the laſt month, all the decrees have been marked by the ſtamp of inſatiable avarice, by the blindeſt pride, and more eſpecially by the deſire of maintaining power, by calling to the moſt important poſts no other than daring, incapable, and criminal men, by driving away or murdering men enlightened and of a high character, and by ſupporting a phantom of a Republic, which their errors in adminiſtration and in policy, as well as their crimes, had rendered impracticable. Theſe ſeven hundred individuals deſpiſe, deteſt, calumniate, and revile each other; and have already, and that frequently, thought of poniarding one another. At this moment their blind ambition has led them to coaleſce afreſh; and bold criminality allies itſelf to feeble virtue, to preſerve a power as unjuſt as it is unſteady. In the mean time, their committees devour every thing; that of the national treaſury abſorbing the public funds, without being able to render any account of the expenditure.

What has this Convention done, to maintain the war it has provoked againſt all the powers of Europe? It has diſorganized the armies, inſtead of reinforcing and recruiting the troops of the line, and the ancient battalions of national volunteers, which would have formed a reſpectable army. Inſtead of recompenſing

penſing theſe brave warriors by promotion and praiſes, theſe legiſlators have left the battalions incomplete, naked, diſarmed, and diſcontented. In the ſame way have they treated the excellent cavalry; and the brave French artillery is in the ſame manner exhauſted, abandoned, and in want of every neceſſary. They notwithſtanding create new corps, compoſed of the ſatellites of the ſecond of September, and commanded by men who have never ſerved, and who are in no other way to be dreaded, unleſs by the armies they ſurcharge and diſorganize. The Convention ſacrifices every thing to theſe ſatellites of tyranny, to theſe cowardly *head-loppers*. The choice of officers, and that of anminiſtrators, are in every particular the ſame; we ſee, throughout, the tyranny which flatters the wicked, becauſe the wicked alone can ſupport tyranny:—And, in its pride and its ignorance, this Convention orders the conqueſt and diſorganization of the whole univerſe. It ſays to one of its generals, "Go, and take Rome;"—and to another, "Sally forth, and ſubdue Spain;"—to the end that deſpoiling commiſſioners, ſimilar to thoſe horrid Roman Proconſuls againſt whom Cicero declaimed, may be ſent thither. In the worſt ſeaſon of the year, it ſends the only fleet it poſſeſſes into the Mediterranean, to ſplit and founder on the rocks of Sardinia; whilſt it expoſes the fleets of Breſt to the fury of ſtorms, by ſending them in queſt of an Engliſh fleet that has not yet left its port.

In the mean time, a civil war ſpreads through all the departments. Some of the inſurgents are excited by fanaticiſm, the neceſſary effect of perſecution; others, by an indignation at the tragical and fruitleſs end of Louis the Sixteenth; and others, finally, by the natural principle of reſiſting perſecution.

Arms are every where taken up; murders every where committed; and every where are pecuniary ſupplies and proviſions intercepted. The Engliſh foment theſe troubles; and will, by their ſuccours, ſupply fuel to them at their pleaſure. Soon will every one of our cruizers diſappear on the ocean; ſoon will the Southern department ceaſe to receive ſupplies of corn from Italy and Africa; and already have thoſe from the North and from America been intercepted by the ſquadrons of the enemies. Famine will annex itſelf to all our ſcourges; and the ferocity of our cannibals will but increaſe with our calamities.

Frenchmen! we have a rallying-point, which can ſtifle the monſter of anarchy: it is the conſtitution we ſwore to maintain in 1789, 1790, and 1791: it is the work of a free people; and we ſhall remain free, and ſhall recover our glory, by reſuming our conſtitution.

Let us diſplay our virtues, more eſpecially that of miidneſs: too much blood has already been ſpilled. If the monſters by whom we have been diſorganized chooſe to fly, let us leave them to meet their puniſhment elſewhere, if they do not find it in their own corrupted hearts; but if they wiſh to ſupport anarchy by new crimes, then ſhall the army puniſh them.

In the generoſity of the enemies we have ſo grievouſly outraged, I have found the ſecurity of external peace. Not only do they treat humanely and attentively our wounded, ſick, and priſoners, who fall into their hands—and all this in ſpite of the calumnies ſpread by our agitators to render us ferocious—but they engage to ſuſpend their march, not to paſs our frontiers, and to leave to our brave army the termination of all our internal diſſentions.

Let the ſacred torch of the love of our country awaken in us our virtue and our courage! At the bare name of the conſtitution, civil war will ceaſe, or can no longer exiſt, unleſs againſt certain malevolent men, who will no longer be ſupported by foreign powers. Theſe have no hatred to any others among us except our factious criminals, and deſire nothing more fervently than to reſtore their eſteem and friendſhip to a nation whoſe errors and anarchy diſturb and trouble all Europe. Peace will be the fruit of this reſolution; and the troops of the line, as well as the brave national volunteers, who, for the ſpace of a year, have offered themſelves as willing ſacrifices to liberty, and who abhor anarchy, will repoſe in the boſom of their families, after having accompliſhed this noble work.

As to myſelf, I have already made an oath, and I repeat it before the whole nation, and in the preſence of all Europe, that immediately after having effected the ſafety of my country by the re-eſtabliſhment of the conſtitution, of peace, and good order, I ſhall abandon every public function, and ſhall ſeek in ſolitude the enjoyment of the happineſs of my fellow-citizens.

The general in chief of the French army,

DUMOURIER.

Baths of St. Amand.
April 2, 1793.

No. V.

MEMORIAL PRESENTED TO THE STATES-GENERAL OF THE UNITED PROVINCES;

BY LORD AUCKLAND, AMBASSADOR-EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY FROM HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY.

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS,

THE underſigned ambaſſador extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic majeſty, in conſequence of expreſs orders which he received from the king, has the honour to lay before your high mightineſſes copies of all the papers which have been exchanged from the twenty-ſeventh of December laſt to the twentieth of this month, between lord Grenville, ſecretary of ſtate to his Britannic majeſty, and M. Chauvelin.

High and mighty lords, the king is fully perſuaded that the ſentiments and principles expreſſed in the name of Great Britain, are perfectly the ſame with thoſe which animate your republic, and that your high mightineſſes are diſpoſed to concur fully in the meaſures which the preſent important criſis calls for, and which are the neceſſary conſequences of thoſe ſentiments and principles.

The circumſtances which brought us to that criſis are too recent, and the conduct of the king too well known, to oblige the underſigned to enter into ſuperfluous details.

Not four years ago, ſome wretches, aſſuming the title of philoſophers, had the preſumption to think themſelves capable of eſtabliſhing a new ſyſtem of civil ſociety. In order to realize that dream of their vanity, they found it neceſſary to overthrow and deſtroy all received notions of ſubordination, manners, and religion, which have hitherto founded all the ſecurity, happineſs, and conſolation of the human race.—Their deſtructive projects have but too well ſucceeded. But the effects of the new ſyſtem which they endeavoured to introduce, ſerved only to ſhew the imbecility and villainy of its authors. The events which ſo rapidly followed each other ſince that epoch, ſurpaſs in atrocity all which had ever polluted the pages of hiſtory. Property, liberty, ſecurity, even life itſelf, have been deemed play-things in the hands of infamous men, who are the ſlaves of the moſt licentious paſſions of rapine, enmity, and ambition.

The annals of mankind preſent no epoch when, and in ſo ſhort a time, ſo many crimes were committed, ſo many misfortunes cauſed, and ſo many tears ſhed; even at this moment theſe horrors ſeem to be at their very height.

During all that time, the king, ſurrounded by his people, who, by Divine Providence, enjoy an unexampled proſperity, could not look on the misfortunes of others but with a ſentiment of indignation and pity; but, faithful to his principles, his majeſty never wiſhed to interfere with the interior affairs of foreign nations; he never deviated from the path of neutrality which he had preſcribed to himſelf. This conduct, which the king with pleaſure ſaw obſerved likewiſe by your high mightineſſes, and the good faith of which all Europe acknowledged, together with his peaceable diſpoſition, which ought to have been reſpected on every ground, was not ſufficient to ſecure his majeſty, his loyal ſubjects, and this republic, from the moſt dangerous and criminal plots.

For ſeveral months paſt ambitious projects of aggrandizement, alarming to the tranquillity and ſafety of all Europe, were planned in the moſt public manner; endeavours were made to ſpread in the interior parts of England, and in this country, maxims detrimental to all ſocial order: they were not even aſhamed to call theſe horrible attempts "*revolutionary power.*"

Ancient and ſolemn treaties, guaranteed by the king, were infringed; and the rights and territory of the republic have been violated. His majeſty, therefore, in his wiſdom, thought proper to make ſuch warlike preparations as ſeemed to him proportioned to the circumſtances of the times. The king has conſulted his parliament, and the meaſures which his majeſty thought fit to adopt, were approved by the ſpirited and unanimous conſent of a people, who abhor anarchy and irreligion, and love their king and conſtitution.

Such are, high and mighty lords, the motives of a conduct, the wiſdom and equity of which have, till now, inſured to the king your concurrence and cooperation. His majeſty has, in every reſpect, conſtantly kept a watchful eye on the ſupport of the rights and ſafety of the United Provinces. The declaration which the underſigned had the honour to make to your high mightineſſes, on the thirteenth of November laſt, and the arrival of a ſmall ſquadron deſtined for the protection of the ſhores of the republic, during the time when its own naval forces were aſſembling, prove it inconteſtably. Your high mightineſſes have acknowledged theſe diſpoſitions of his majeſty in what he has done already. You will not find them abated in the preparations that are now making. In conſequence of which his majeſty is perſuaded that he will continue to experience, on the part of your high mightineſſes, a perfect conformity of principles and conduct. That conformity can alone give to the united efforts of the two countries the neceſſary energy for their common defence, which

which will alſo oppoſe a barrier to the evils with which Europe is threatened, and ſecure from every attempt the ſafety, tranquillity, and independence of a ſtate, the happineſs of which is enſured by your high mightineſſes, through the wiſdom and energy of its government.

Done at the Hague, (Signed) AUCKLAND.
Jan. 25, 1793.

No. VI.

OFFICIAL NOTE OF THE EXECUTIVE POWER OF FRANCE.

Paris, Jan. 4, 1793.
Second Year of the Republic.

THE proviſional executive council of the French republic, before they reply more particularly to each of the points comprehended in the note remitted to them on the part of the miniſter of his Brittannic majeſty, will begin by repeating to that miniſter the moſt expreſs aſſurances of their ſincere deſire to maintain peace and harmony between France and England. The ſentiments of the French nation towards the Engliſh have been manifeſted during the whole courſe of the Revolution, in ſo conſtant, ſo unanimous a manner, that there cannot remain the ſmalleſt doubt of the eſteem which it vows to them, and of its deſire to have them for friends.

It is then with great reluctance, that the Republic would ſee itſelf forced to a rupture, much more contrary to its inclination than to its intereſt. Before it proceeds to ſuch a diſagreeable extremity, explanations are neceſſary; and the object of them is ſo highly important, that the executive council have not thought that they could entruſt them to a ſecret agent, always to be diſavowed. For this reaſon they have thought proper, under every point of view, to entruſt them to citizen Chauvelin, though he is not accredited to his Britannic majeſty but from the late king.

The opinion of the executive council on this occaſion is juſtified by the manner in which our negociations are at the ſame time carried on in Spain, where citizen Bourgoign was exactly in the ſame ſituation as citizen Chauvelin at London; which, however, has not prevented the miniſter of the Catholic king from treating with him on a convention of neutrality, the ratification of which is to be exchanged at Paris between the miniſter for foreign affairs and the charges-des-affaires of Spain. We will even add, that the principal miniſter of his Catholic majeſty, when writing officially on this ſubject to citizen Bourgoign, did not forget to give him his title of miniſter plenipotentiary of France. The example of a power of the firſt rank, ſuch as Spain, might have induced the executive council to hope that we ſhould have found the ſame facility at London. The executive council, however, readily acknowledge that this negociation has not been demanded according to diplomatic ſtrictneſs, and that citizen Chauvelin is not formally enough authorized. To remove entirely this obſtacle, and that they may not have to reproach themſelves with having ſtopped, by a ſimple defect in form, a negociation, on the ſucceſs of which depends the tranquillity of two great nations, they have ſent to citizen Chauvelin credential letters, which will give him the means of treating according to all the ſeverity of diplomatic forms.

To proceed now to the three points which can alone form an object of difficulty with the court of London, the executive council obſerve on the firſt, that is to ſay, the decree of the nineteenth of November, that we have been miſunderſtood by the miniſters of his Britannic majeſty, when they accuſe us of having given an explanation, which announces to *the ſeditious of all nations*, what are the caſes in which they may depend, before-hand, on the ſuccour and ſupport of France. Nothing can be more foreign to the ſentiments of the National Convention, and to this explanation which we have given, than this reproach; and we did not think it was poſſible that the open deſign of favouring ſeditious perſons could be imputed to us, at a moment even when we declared, that it would be doing an injury to the National Convention to aſcribe to them the plan of protecting inſurrections and ſeditious commotions, which might ariſe in any ſtate; of aſſociating with the authors of them; and thus of making the cauſe of a few individuals that of the French nation.

We have ſaid, and we chuſe to repeat it, that the decree of the nineteenth of November could not be applicable, but to the ſingle caſe where the general will of a nation, clearly and unequivocally expreſſed, ſhould call for the aſſiſtance and fraternity of the French nation. Sedition can certainly never exiſt, when there is an expreſſion of the general will: theſe two ideas mutually exclude each other; for ſedition is, and can only be, a commotion of a ſmall number againſt the majority of a nation; and this commotion would ceaſe to be ſeditious, if all the members of a ſociety ſhould ariſe at once, either to correct their government, to change its form entirely, or to accompliſh any other object.

The Dutch were certainly not ſeditious when they formed the generous reſolution of throwing off the Spaniſh yoke, and when the general will of that nation called on the aſſiſtance of France. It was not accounted a crime to Henry the Fourth nor to queen Elizabeth, that they liſtened to them. A knowledge of the general will is the only baſis of tranſactions between nations; and we cannot treat with any government

vernment but becauſe that government is ſuppoſed to be the organ of the general will of the nation to which it belongs. When by this natural interpretation, therefore, the decree of the nineteenth of November is reduced to its real ſignification, it will be found that it announces nothing more than an act of the general will above all conteſt, and ſo founded in right, that it was not worth while to expreſs it. For this reaſon, the executive council think that the evidence of this right might perhaps have rendered it unneceſſary for the National Convention to make it the object of a particular decree; but with the preceding interpretation it cannot give offence to any nation.

It appears that the miniſters of his Britannic majeſty have made no objections under the declaration reſpecting Holland: ſince their only obſervation on this ſubject relates to the diſcuſſion concerning the Scheldt, it is on this laſt point, therefore, that we have to make ourſelves underſtood.

We here repeat that this queſtion itſelf is of little importance. The Britiſh miniſters thence conclude, that it is therefore more evident that it has been brought forward only for the purpoſe of inſulting the allies of England. We reply, with much leſs warmth and prejudice, that this queſtion is abſolutely indifferent to England, that it is little intereſting to Holland, but that it is of the utmoſt importance to the Belgians. That it is indifferent to England, does not even require to be proved. It is little intereſting to Holland, ſince the productions of the Belgic Netherlands can be conveyed through the canals which end at Oſtend; but it is of great importance for the Belgians, on account of the numerous advantages which they may derive from the port of Antwerp. It is therefore on account of this importance, to reſtore to the Belgians the enjoyment of a valuable right, and not to offend any one, that France has declared that it is ready to ſupport them in the exerciſe of ſo legal a right.

But is France authorized to break ſtipulations which oppoſe the opening of the Scheldt? If we conſult the right of nature, and not of nations, not only France, but all the nations of Europe, are authorized to break them. No doubt can remain on this point.

If public right is conſulted, we ſay that it ought never to be but the application of the principles of the general right of nations to the particular circumſtances in which nations may be in reſpect to each other; ſo that every private treaty which might violate theſe principles, could never be conſidered but as a work of violence. We will next add, that in regard to the Scheldt, the treaty was concluded without the participation of the Belgians. The emperor, to ſecure the poſſeſſion of the Netherlands, ſacrificed, without ſcruple, the moſt inviolable of rights. Being maſter of theſe beautiful provinces, he governed them, as Europe has ſeen, with a rod of abſolute deſpotiſm, reſpected none of their privileges but thoſe which were of importance for him to preſerve, and continually attacked or deſtroyed the reſt. France entering into a war with the houſe of Auſtria, expels it from the Low Countries, and reſtores liberty to thoſe people whom the court of Vienna had devoted to ſlavery. Their chains are broken: they are reſtored to all thoſe rights which the houſe of Auſtria had taken from them. How can that right which they had over the Scheldt be excepted, eſpecially when it is of real importance only to thoſe who were deprived of it? In ſhort, France has too good a profeſſion of political faith to make, to be afraid of avowing its principles. The executive council declares then, not that it may appear to yield to ſome expreſſions of threatening language, but only to render homage to truth, that the French republic does not mean to eſtabliſh itſelf an univerſal arbiter of the treaties which bind nations together. It equally knows to reſpect other governments, and to take care that it may make its own reſpected. It does not wiſh to give law to any one, and it will never ſuffer any one to give laws to it. It has renounced, and ſtill renounces, all conqueſt; and its occupying the Netherlands will continue no longer than the war, and during that time which may be neceſſary for the Belgians to ſecure and conſolidate their liberty; after which, provided they be independent or happy, France will be ſufficiently rewarded.

When that nation ſhall find itſelf in the full poſſeſſion of its liberty, and when its general will may be declared legally and unfettered, then, if England and Holland ſtill affix any importance to the opening of the Scheldt, the executive council will leave that affair to a direct negociation with the Belgians. If the Belgians, through any motive whatever, ſhall conſent to deprive themſelves of the navigation of the Scheldt, France will not oppoſe it. It will reſpect their independence even in their errors.

After ſo free a declaration, which manifeſts the preſent deſigns of peace, the miniſters of his Britannic majeſty ought to entertain no doubt reſpecting the intentions of France. But if theſe explanations appear to them inſufficient, and if we are ſtill obliged to hear the language of haughtineſs, and if hoſtile preparations are continued in the ports of England, after having done every thing in our power to maintain peace, we will prepare for war; conſcious at leaſt of the juſtice of our cauſe, and of the efforts we have made to avoid that extremity. We ſhall combat with regret the Engliſh, whom we eſteem, but we ſhall combat them without fear.

(Signed) LE BRUN.

APPENDIX, Nos. VII. VIII.

No. VII.

PROCLAMATION BY ADMIRAL LORD HOOD,

TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWNS AND PROVINCES IN THE SOUTH OF FRANCE.

Proclamation, by the Rt. Hon. Samuel Lord Hood, Vice Admiral of the Red, and commander in chief of his Britannic majeſty's ſquadron in the Mediterranean, &c. &c.

To the inhabitants in the towns and provinces in the ſouth of France.

DURING four years you have been involved in a revolution which has plunged you in anarchy, and rendered you a prey to factious leaders. After having deſtroyed your government, trampled under foot the laws, aſſaſſinated the virtuous, and authorized the commiſſion of crimes, they have endeavoured to propagate throughout Europe their ſyſtem, deſtructive of every ſocial order. They have conſtantly held forth to you the idea of liberty; while they have been robbing you of it. Every where they have preached reſpect to perſons and property, and every where in their name it has been violated; they have amuſed you with the ſovereignty of the people, which they have conſtantly uſurped; they have declaimed againſt the abuſes of royalty, in order to eſtabliſh their tyranny upon the fragments of a throne ſtill reeking with the blood of your legitimate ſovereign. Frenchmen! you groan under the preſſure of want, and the privation of all ſpecie; your commerce and your induſtry are annihilated, your agriculture is checked, and the want of proviſions threatens you with a horrible famine. Behold, then, the faithful picture of your wretched condition; a ſituation ſo dreadful ſenſibly afflicts the coaleſced powers: they ſee no other remedy but the re-eſtabliſhment of the French monarchy. It is for this, and the acts of aggreſſion committed by the executive power of France, that we have armed in conjunction with other coaleſced powers. After mature reflection upon theſe leading objects, I come to offer you the force with which I am entruſted by my ſovereign, in order to ſpare the farther effuſion of human blood, to cruſh with promptitude the factious, to re-eſtabliſh a regular government in France, and thereby maintain peace and tranquillity in Europe.

Decide, therefore, definitively, and with preciſion. Truſt your hopes to the generoſity of a *loyal* and *free* nation. In its name I have juſt given an unequivocal teſtimony to the well-diſpoſed inhabitants of Marſeilles, by granting to the commiſſioners ſent on board the fleet under my command, a paſſport for procuring a quantity of grain, of which this great town now ſtands ſo much in need. Be explicit, and I fly to your ſuccour, in order to break the chain which ſurrounds you, and to be the inſtrument of making many years of happineſs ſucceed to four years of miſery and anarchy, in which your deluded country has been involved.

Given on board his Britannic majeſty's ſhip Victory, off Toulon, the 23d day of Auguſt, 1793.

(Signed) HOOD.

By command of the Admiral,
(Signed) J. M'ARTHUR, Sec.

No. VIII.

PROCLAMATION BY ADMIRAL LORD HOOD,

ON TAKING POSSESSION OF TOULON.

Proclamation, by the Rt. Hon. Samuel Lord Hood, Vice Admiral of the Red, and commander in chief of his Britannic majeſty's ſquadron in the Mediterranean, &c. &c.

WHEREAS the ſections of Toulon have, by their commiſſioners to me, made a ſolemn declaration in favour of monarchy, have proclaimed Louis the Seventeenth, ſon of the late Louis the Sixteenth, their lawful king, and have ſworn to acknowledge him, and no longer ſuffer the deſpotiſm of the tyrants, who at this time govern France, but will do their utmoſt to eſtabliſh monarchy, as accepted by their late ſovereign, in 1789, and reſtore peace to their diſtracted and calamitous country.

I do hereby repeat, what I have already declared to the people in the ſouth of France, that I take poſſeſſion of Toulon, and hold it in truſt only for Louis the Seventeenth, until peace ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed in France, which I hope and truſt will be ſoon.

Given on board his Britannic majeſty's ſhip Victory, off Toulon, the 28th of Auguſt, 1793.

(Signed) HOOD.

By command of the Admiral,
(Signed) J. M'ARTHUR, Sec.

No. IX.

THE NEW FRENCH CALENDAR;

COMMENCING SEPT. 22, 1793.

Names of Months.		English.		Term.
		AUTUMN.		
VINDEMAIRE	—	*Vintage Month*	from	Sept. 22 to Oct. 21
BRUMAIRE	—	*Fog Month*	——	Oct. 22 to Nov. 20
FRUMAIRE	—	*Sleet Month*	——	Nov. 21 to Dec. 20
		WINTER.		
NIVOSE	—	*Snow Month*	——	Dec. 21 to Jan. 19
PLUVIOSE	—	*Rain Month*	——	Jan. 20 to Feb. 18
VENTOSE	—	*Wind Month*	——	Feb. 19 to March 20
		SPRING.		
GERMINAL	—	*Sprout Month*	——	March 21 to April 19
FLOREAL	—	*Flowers Month*	——	April 20 to May 19
PRAIREAL	—	*Paſture Month*	——	May 20 to June 18
		SUMMER.		
MESSIDOR	—	*Harveſt Month*	——	June 19 to July 18
FERVIDOR	—	*Hot Month*	——	July 19 to Aug. 17
FRUCTIDOR	—	*Fruit Month*	——	Aug. 18 to Sept. 16

Sans Culottides, as Feaſts dedicated to

LES VIRTUS	—	*The Virtues*	—	Sept. 17
LE GENIE	—	*Genius*	—	Sept. 18
LE TRAVAIL	—	*Labour*	—	Sept. 19
L'OPINION	—	*Opinion*	—	Sept. 20
LES RECOMPENSES		*Rewards*	—	Sept. 21

The intercalary day of every fourth year is to be called *La Sans Culottide*; on which there is to be a national renovation of the oath, "To live free or die." The month is divided into three decades, the days of which are called, from the Latin numerals,

1. *Primidi.*	4. *Quartidi.*	7. *Septidi.*
2. *Duodi.*	5. *Quintidi.*	8. *Octodi.*
3. *Tridi.*	6. *Sextidi.*	9. *Nonodi.*

10. *Decadi*, which is to be the day of reſt.

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